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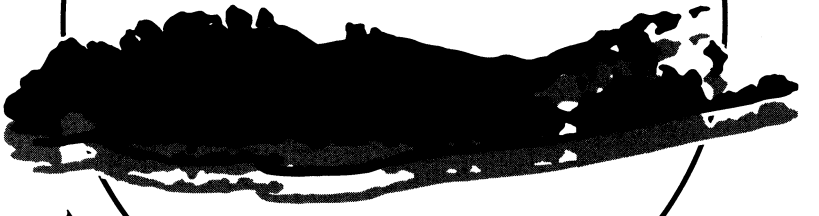

LONG ISLAND AS AMERICA

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

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

The Long Island Historical Journal

Cover: *The "Rose" of Long Island*, 1840 (showing Miss Julia Gardiner) tinted lithograph, 10⅜" x 13⅞". Artist and publisher, Alfred E. Baker. Museum of the City of New York, 39.5, gift of Miss Sarah Gardiner.

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Long Island Studies Council

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

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Editorial Comment

As we begin our sixth year we thank you, our loyal subscribers, for underwriting the reader-supported *Long Island Historical Journal.* We are proud to inform you that on 17 June 1993, we received an award from the Press Club of Long Island chapter, Society of Professional Journalists, for Karl Grossman's Fall 1992 article, "The Rise and Fall of LILCO's Nuclear Power Program."

The current issue is a milestone in the analysis of Long Island as America. Natalie A. Naylor presents a vivid account of Julia Gardiner, the "Rose of Long Island," who married President John Tyler in 1844, and, further along, a comprehensive index of every article published during our first five years, as well as those of other leading Long Island historical periodicals and collections. *For a separate (postpaid) copy of "Naylor's Index," please send $2 to* LIHJ, *Department of History, SUNY at Stony Brook, Stony Brook, NY 11794-4348.*

This issue features the long-awaited first instalment of Jane S. Gombieski's landmark study of the Ku Klux Klan in Suffolk County, during its rise and fall in the 1920s. Part one focuses on the KKK's drive to impact the churches; part two will deal with the Klan's political strength, and its rapid decline at the decade's end. In "Little Science, Big Science," Robert P. Crease continues his definitive series on Brookhaven National Laboratory; Jon Sterngass examines ethnic conflict in Brooklyn in his probing "'You May Take Watts, but You'll Never Take New Lots': Racial Succession and the East New York Riot of 1966"; Joann P. Krieg, the distinguished literary scholar, recalls the trials and triumphs of the dedicated supporters who established Walt Whitman houses, both in Huntington and Camden.

Also notable is Raymond E. Spinzia's life of Alva Smith Vanderbilt Belmont, the society leader and turn-of-the century pioneer of woman suffrage. In "Lost and Found," Richard P. Harmond and Raymond Plank each offers a nostalgic sketch of a colorful, nearly-forgotten book about Long Island. As always, we conclude with penetrating reviews of Long Island books and exhibits, and letters to the editor.

The subscription notice is for use, friends and readers: please be sure to renew for volume 6. If you really want to make our day, subscribe for another person—the journal makes a historic gift. Please send for back issues while they last—they are quickly becoming collector's items, a bargain at $5 each.

And do not hesitate to submit articles, reviews, letters, and suggestions: this journal belongs to you.

Long Island's Mrs. Tippecanoe and Mrs. Tyler Two

By Natalie A. Naylor

Acquebogue (on the North Fork) and East Hampton are barely twenty-five miles apart, but for Anna Symmes and Julia Gardiner the Peconic Bay was a wide gulf, and they grew up in different worlds on eastern Long Island. Though their lives took distinctly different paths, each became first lady in the 1840s, wives of men on the Whig national ticket in 1840. The Whig campaign slogan was "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" for William Henry Harrison, the hero of the Battle of Tippecanoe, and vice presidential candidate John Tyler. Anna Symmes was the wife of Harrison and Julia Gardiner the second wife of Tyler, who became president after Harrison died in office. They are Long Island's "Mrs. Tippecanoe and Mrs. Tyler Two."

These presidents' wives with Long Island roots are an intriguing study in contrasts. They were from different generations—Anna Symmes was born in 1775 and Julia Gardiner in 1820. Anna Symmes Harrison was a down-to-earth frontier wife who did not look forward to becoming first lady. Her husband died a month after his inaugural, and she never lived in the White House. Julia Gardiner Tyler, a Gardiner of Gardiner's Island, was socially ambitious, entertained lavishly in the White House, and adored her eight-months "reign" as first lady. Anna Harrison was the oldest first lady at sixty-five, and Julia Tyler the youngest at twenty-three when she married Tyler in 1844.[1] Though they both came from eastern Long Island, their families were very different.

Anna Symmes

Anna Symmes Harrison had deep roots in Long Island where she spent her formative years. Her ancestors included Cleves, Hortons, Tuthills, and Terrys, old Long Island families, some of whom had settled in the town of Southold in the seventeenth century. Her Symmes's grandfather and great-grandfather both were Congregational ministers. Her parents, Anna Tuthill and John Cleves Symmes, married in Mattituck in 1760. Their eldest daughter, Maria, was born on Long Island in 1762, and the Aquebogue church records list the deaths, in 1765 and 1766, of two unnamed infant daughters, each of whom lived only a matter of hours. The Symmes family moved in 1770 to Flatbrook, west of Morristown, New Jersey, where Anna was born on 25 July 1775.[2]

Anna Symmes's mother died either in childbirth or on her daughter's first birthday; sources differ as to the year, but not the day. Her father then married Mary (Henry) Halsey, a widow who soon died and left young Anna again without a mother. By this time the Revolutionary War was well underway. Her father, a state legislator and supreme court justice, was also a colonel in the militia and participated in an number of engagements. Symmes took his four-year-old daughter on horseback to Southold, on British-occupied Long Island.[3]

Anna Symmes spent the rest of her childhood and young girlhood with her Tuthill grandparents in Mattituck, where she received her early religious and domestic training. In later life she recalled that "the frivolous amusements of youth had no charms for her." She attended Clinton Academy in East Hampton, the first chartered academy in New York, which had recently opened.[4] After her grandparents died in 1793, Anna attended Mrs. Isabella Graham's well-known boarding school for young ladies in New York City. She thus received an excellent and extensive formal education by the standards of the time for women.

Her father, after serving in the Revolution and as a member of the Continental Congress, founded a settlement in the Miami Purchase of the Northwest Territory, where he was appointed a judge. His older daughter Maria went west with him in 1788, but soon married Major Peyton Short and settled in Lexington, Kentucky. When John Symmes returned east in 1794, he married Susannah Livingston, daughter of the governor of New Jersey. Young Nancy, as he called his younger daughter, accompanied him and his new wife back to North Bend, Ohio. By all accounts, Anna Symmes was a beautiful young lady at nineteen, of medium height and slender, with dark hair and eyes.

Marriage and Motherhood

At her sister's home in Lexington, Anna Symmes first met Captain William Henry Harrison, then an aide-de-camp to General Anthony Wayne. The youngest son of a distinguished Virginia family (his father was a signer of the Declaration of Independence), Harrison had abandoned medical studies for a military commission. When he proposed marriage, Anna's father would not give his consent. He wrote to a friend that Harrison "has understanding, prudence, education, and resource in conversation, about £3,000 property, but what is to be lamented is, that he has no profession but that of arms." Also, since he expected the Harrisons would settle in the Miami Purchase, Symmes was reluctant to see his two daughters living "80 miles apart." Despite her father's objections, the young couple were married on 25 November 1795, in what her father later referred to as "rather a run away match...though she was married at my house in my absence." Whether her father had stormed out of the house just before the wedding or it had been arranged in his absence, it was some time before he became reconciled to the marriage.[5]

When he first met his new son-in-law after the wedding, Symmes

reportedly said, "I see you have married Anna. And how do you expect to support my daughter?" Harrison, fingering his scabbard, replied, "My sword is my means of support, Sir." Symmes was obviously concerned about his daughter's future. He wrote one friend, "Some people say she has married a worthy young man. I hope I shall find him so, my greatest objection was that he was bred to no business, & therefore I can set him at none." He wrote in a similar vein to another friend,

> If I knew what to make of Capt. Harrison, I could easily take proper arrangements for his family, he can neither bleed [as a doctor], plead, nor preach, and if he could plow I should be satisfied. His best prospect is in the army, he has talents, and if he can dodge well a few years, it is probable he may become conspicuous.[6]

Soon after their marriage, however, Harrison resigned from the army to enter political life. He was Secretary of the Northwest Territory (1798), elected territorial delegate to Congress in 1799, and appointed governor of the Indiana Territory (1801-1812). He returned to the military in the Battle of Tippecanoe against the Shawnee (1811) and fought in the War of 1812. Now a war hero, Harrison represented Ohio in the House of Representatives (1816-1819), served in the Ohio Senate (1819-1821) and United States Senate (1825-1828), and was minister to Colombia (1828-1830).

During these years, Anna Symmes Harrison was busy bearing and rearing their ten children. For the first twenty years of their marriage, there was a new baby almost every other year. Harrison wrote Jefferson after his sixth child was born, "my nursery grows faster than my strong-box." Although it was a time of high infant mortality, only the last child died in infancy. However, half their children died in their late twenties or early thirties, and only two outlived their mother.[7]

Anna Harrison was in charge of the household and supervised her children's education, teaching some of the neighboring children as well, since there was not yet a school available. (Her husband was often away for long periods because of his political and military duties.) Her frugality is reflected in the advice she gave her son, William Henry Harrison, Jr., when he was studying away from home: "I hope, my dear William, you will be as economical as you possibly can....If your shift begins to wear out, you must get some woman, to patch, & mend, them every week. She can cut up the worst one, to mend the others." She also warned him about wasting his money on the theater.[8]

Anna Harrison was an "impeccable and dignified hostess," but preferred family and friends to official duties and a pretentious social life. The Harrisons had some servants for their large household, but their life style was not ostentatious. When common school reformer Horace Mann visited their home, he was struck by the modest and eclectic furnishings. He estimated that the furniture in the parlor and drawing room probably cost less than $250. "I should think," he wrote, "that half the farmers and merchants in

Norfolk County [Massachusetts] had a room quite as well *set off* as the best room of General Wm. H. Harrison."[9]

In 1830, William Henry Harrison returned to private life, running his farm in North Bend, Ohio. He had suffered financial difficulties for some years, and these were compounded by assuming his sons' debts. Harrison was one of several regional candidates of the new Whig coalition in the 1836 presidential election. He proved to be the most popular of the Whig candidates, though Martin Van Buren and the Democrats received a majority of the popular and electoral votes, and hence the presidency.

Harrison won the nomination of the Whig Party in 1840. To balance the ticket, John Tyler, an advocate of states' rights and a former Democrat, was the vice presidential candidate. Harrison and Tyler shared little politically except opposition to the Democratic ticket. They both were from aristocratic Virginia families; each was born and grew up on plantations along the James River in Charles City County, Virginia. However, Harrison, who was seventeen years older than his vice president, had spent most of his adult life in the West. The presidential election of 1840 is famous as the log cabin and hard cider campaign. Although Harrison had forsworn all alcoholic beverages a decade before because of a son's drinking problem, and his large home in North Bend, with more than twenty rooms and with clapboards covering the logs, was a mansion by western standards, such irrelevancies were buried in the slogans, songs, and personality contest against the incumbent, Martin Van Buren.[10]

Harrison made few personal appearances in the campaign. Many did come to visit him, however. When a group came to discuss politics with him on a Sunday, Harrison greeted them politely but turned them away, saying, "I have too much respect for the religion of my wife to encourage the violation of the Sabbath." She would often invite everyone at church home for Sunday dinner. Catherine Rensselaer also visited, and she wrote her brother, Mrs. Harrison is "one of the handsomest old ladies I ever saw...a perfect beauty, and such a *good* person." Another visitor observed, "she rules the General, apparently." Someone else wrote, "She is distinguished for her benevolence and piety and all who know her, view her with esteem and affection. Her whole course of life, in all its relations, has been characterized by those qualities that complete the character of an accomplished matron."[11]

Reluctant First Lady

Harrison won the election, but his wife did not look forward to becoming first lady. When she heard the news that he had won, she wistfully observed, "I wish that my husband's friends had left him where he is, happy and contented in retirement."[12]

Anna Harrison had been seriously ill during the summer of 1840 and despondent over the death of a son. Her physician urged her to wait until spring before traveling across the mountains to Washington, D.C. Hence, she was not present for her husband's inauguration. A widowed daughter-in-law and other female relatives helped with official social responsibilities in the

White House. Before Anna Harrison could join her husband, she heard the news that he had caught pneumonia and died after only one month in office—the shortest tenure of any president.

Anna Symmes Harrison continued to live in the famous "log cabin" in North Bend until it burned in the late 1850s. She then moved in with her eldest surviving son, John Scott Harrison, who lived a few miles away. (His son, Benjamin Harrison, would become twenty-third president of the United States in 1889.) Though Anna Harrison suffered from rheumatism and declining health in her old age, her mind remained sharp, and she was an "agreeable companion" and an entertaining conversationalist. A doctor later told her grandson, "I never met a more entertaining person than your grandmother. I could sit for hours and listen to her conversation." She kept up with politics by reading the newspaper. Anna Harrison, the "Matriarch of the New Northwest," died 25 February 1864, at the age of eighty-eight, sustained to the end by her deep religious faith. Anna Symmes Harrison is the only first lady who was also grandmother of a president.[13]

Julia Gardiner

When William Henry Harrison died, Vice President John Tyler became president. His daughters were the official hostesses because his wife, Letitia Tyler, was an invalid during her White House years. She died during her husband's term of office. Twenty months later, in his final year in the presidency, John Tyler remarried. Julia Gardiner, the second Mrs. Tyler, also came from eastern Long Island, but was from a very different milieu than Anna Symmes Harrison.

Julia Gardiner, the daughter of Juliana MacLachlan and David Gardiner, was born 4 May 1820 on Gardiner's Island, which Lion Gardiner had received as a royal grant in 1639.[14] Her father, David Gardiner, was a younger son who graduated from Yale, practiced law for a few years in New York City, and served in the New York State Senate for four terms. Juliana MacLachlan Gardiner inherited considerable real estate in Manhattan from her Scots father who had made his fortune from a brewery. After they married, David Gardiner ran Gardiner's Island for a cousin for several years before he retired to East Hampton in 1822, to manage the property his wife had inherited.

Julia, her two older brothers, and a younger sister grew up in East Hampton. Her brothers attended Clinton Academy in East Hampton, graduated from Princeton College, and studied law in New York City. In 1835, Julia Gardiner entered Mme. Chagarey's fashionable boarding school for young ladies in New York City, where she polished her social graces and studied music, French, literature, and other subjects appropriate for a well-to-do society lady.

When Julia returned to East Hampton, she missed the social life of the city, and several of the young men she had charmed poured out their laments for "Julia—the Rose of Long Island" in verses in the newspapers. Her family

was most embarrassed, however, when her picture appeared on a colored lithographed handbill advertising a New York store (see cover illustration). There was no mistaking that the young lady was Julia Gardiner; it was an excellent likeness, and the caption was "The Rose of Long Island." The Gardiners did not welcome the notoriety. They did not even patronize the store endorsed in the advertisement, since it was neither exclusive nor fashionable enough for their tastes.[15]

The time was right, her parents decided, to take their two daughters on a grand tour of Europe. They were gone for more than a year, visiting the capitals and countryside in the British Isles and on the continent.[16] A few months after the Gardiners returned in 1841, they headed to Washington, D.C. for an introduction to politics and the social season in the capital. Julia and her sister Margaret met Robert Tyler, the president's eldest son, and the Gardiners were formally introduced to President John Tyler at a reception in the White House.

Julia Gardiner, now in her early twenties, was a beautiful young woman—one of the great belles of her day. She was also an accomplished coquette. With a vivacious, charming, and dynamic personality, she captivated men who were first attracted by her beauty. She was five foot, three inches tall, with glossy black hair, large grey eyes, a clear complexion, and a stylish hourglass waist. Like her mother, she was socially ambitious, very determined, and usually got her way.[17]

The following December, the Gardiners returned to Washington, and soon a newspaper reported "the beautiful and accomplished Miss Gardiner of Long Island, one of the loveliest women in the United States, is in the city, and was the 'observed of all observers' during her promenade on the avenue today." Within the next few months, Julia Gardiner received no less than five proposals of marriage. Vying for her hand were a young naval officer, two congressmen, a Supreme Court justice, and the president of the United States.[18]

John Tyler's invalid wife, Letitia Christian Tyler, had died in September 1842. The Gardiner sisters had first become friendly with Tyler's two sons, but by February, Margaret was reporting to her brother that the president "had quite a flirtation with J[ulia]." The courtship proceeded, and rumors that they were engaged spread quickly. Julia later claimed she turned down John Tyler's first proposal, but when in March they perhaps did come to an understanding about marriage, her mother insisted she wait to be sure about her feelings. President Tyler had been widowed only six months and was thirty years older than Julia Gardiner.[19]

The Gardiners returned to East Hampton, visited Saratoga in August, moved into a townhouse on Lafayette Place, New York City, in November, and were planning another grand tour of Europe after the social season in Washington. John Tyler and Julia Gardiner corresponded, and although he implored her to come to Washington sooner, it was nearly a year before she saw him again.

On 28 February 1844, a few days after the Gardiners' return to the capital,

they were sailing on the Potomac with the presidential party on board the *Princeton*, a new Navy steam frigate. While firing a salute, the ship's gun exploded, killing eight men, including David Gardiner and two members of Tyler's cabinet. Julia Gardiner, President Tyler, and others had remained below deck, drinking champagne toasts. Julia fainted when she heard about her father, and the president carried her off the boat.[20]

Years later, Julia Gardiner said, "After I lost my father I felt differently toward the president. He seemed to fill the place and to be more agreeable in every way than any younger man ever was or could be." Accordingly, Tyler wrote Juliana Gardiner on 20 April 1844: "I have the permission of your dear daughter Miss Julia Gardiner, to ask your approbation of my address to her, dear Madam, and to obtain your consent to our marriage which in all dutiful obedience she refers to your decision." Tyler assured Julia's mother, "My position in Society will I trust serve as a guarantee for the appearance which I give, that it will be the study of my life to advance her happiness by all and every means in my power." In her positive reply, Juliana Gardiner forewarned Tyler that Julia "has been accustomed to all the necessary comforts and elegancies of life" and she trusted he would be able to "extend to her the enjoyments by which she has been surrounded."[21]

Marriage and "Royal Reign"

They set the date for 26 June 1844, and John Tyler secretly came to New York City for a small family wedding at the Episcopal Church of the Ascension. The couple returned to the White House for a reception before heading south to Tyler's summer cottage in Virginia for their honeymoon. Julia wrote her mother, "The P. [president] bids me tell you the honeymoon is likely to last *forever*, for he finds himself *falling in love* with me every day." Indeed, after they had been married for fourteen years, John Tyler once called on his wife in public "to bear testimony that the honeymoon has *not* passed with us."[22]

There had been gossip about their relationship in Washington before the wedding, and, initially, there was a great deal of skepticism about the marriage. Former President John Quincy Adams wrote in his diary, "Captain Tyler and his bride are the laughing stock of the city," and Philip Hone referred to "the old fool." Future President James Buchanan, however, said, "The President is the most lucky man who ever lived. Both a belle and a fortune to crown his Presidential career." John Tyler wrote one of his daughters, that Julia was "the most beautiful woman of the age and at the same time the most accomplished." They were a supremely happy and affectionate couple who adored each other, and he indulged her every wish.[23]

When Julia Gardiner became the second Mrs. Tyler, less than nine months remained in her husband's term of office. Until that time, his presidency had not been very successful. The Whigs had named Tyler to their ticket to appease the states' rights faction of the party, but envisioned a strong role for the cabinet under President Harrison. Tyler was the first vice president to succeed to the presidency because of the death of the president, and some

argued that he was still vice president, merely exercising the duties and powers of the office. Tyler established precedent by assuming the title of president and insisting on all the dignities and emoluments of the office. Called by some opponents "His Accidency," Tyler asserted his independence by vetoing legislation he thought was unconstitutional or unwise. Following his veto of a second bank bill, all of his cabinet resigned except Daniel Webster, and a congressional party caucus expelled Tyler from the Whigs, leaving him a "president without a party." A splinter group of Democrats nominated Tyler for president in 1844, but he withdrew during the summer and gave his support to the Democratic nominee, James K. Polk.[24]

Julia Gardiner Tyler's major role in Tyler's presidency was as hostess of the White House--a role in which she brilliantly excelled, albeit with the pomp and trappings of royalty, which had so impressed her on her grand tour of Europe. "I have commenced my auspicious reign and am in quiet possession of the Presidential Mansion," she wrote her mother after the wedding reception at the White House.[25] She found the president's home, however, rather dirty and threadbare and, with the help of Gardiner money, she began to redecorate, importing furniture and accessories from France.

The first lady assembled her relatives to serve as a court of ladies-in-waiting for "Her Excellency and Mistress President" at public receptions. She had the Marine Band play "Hail to the Chief" when her husband entered, and names of guests announced. (This custom which she inaugurated is still practiced.) Some criticized her regal pretensions, but most found her a charming hostess and enjoyed her opulent receptions. She introduced the polka to the White House (a dance her husband had earlier described as "vulgar" to his daughter). "Julia waltzes" were also composed for her. She hired a press agent to ensure favorable publicity in the newspapers, or, as her sister explained, "to sound Julia's praises far and near in Washington."[26]

Julia was an intermediary in her brother Alexander Gardiner's efforts to provide patronage jobs to friends and relatives. Alexander had joined Tammany Hall and the New York City Democratic party it controlled in 1842. He supported John Tyler's efforts to annex Texas, and, in cooperation with Tyler's son Robert, endeavored to maintain a Tyler faction in New York. Also with Julia's help, Alexander Gardiner managed patronage appointments in Suffolk County.[27]

In foreign policy, Tyler's major accomplishment thus far had been the Webster-Ashburton Treaty with England, settling the Northeastern boundary and improving relations with Canada. Tyler still hoped to annex Texas, although the Senate had rejected the treaty. "Mrs. President Tyler," as she was called, took up the Texas cause in dinner table flirtations and ballroom lobbying. When success was achieved by a joint resolution of Congress in the last days of Tyler's term, he presented the "immortal golden pen," with which he signed the legislation annexing Texas, to his wife who proudly wore it hanging from a chain around her neck.[28]

The "Lovely Lady Presidentress" culminated her "reign" with a grand

farewell ball. The three thousand guests danced under a thousand candles, consumed a buffet supper, and drank champagne and barrels of wine. The president's lady was at her best, attired in white, with a "white satin headdress hat embroidered with silver, with three ostrich feathers and full set of diamonds." John Tyler was delighted with the magnificent affair and happily exclaimed, "Yes, they cannot say *now* that I am a *President without a party*!"[29]

Mrs. Ex-President Tyler

John Tyler planned to retire to farming and a few years earlier had bought a new plantation which he called "Sherwood Forest." It was on the James River in the Tidewater region of Virginia, thirty-five miles east of Richmond. When the Tylers arrived, the remodeling was still in progress. Julia Tyler began to plan the grounds and gardens and kept her relatives in New York busy shopping with her orders for furnishings, while John Tyler supervised the planting and farming operations. The Tylers frequently visited and lavishly entertained neighbors, friends, and relatives. Their vacation trips in the summer of 1845 took them to the springs in Virginia and Saratoga and to visit the Gardiners in New York City and East Hampton. Their pace of social activities slowed a bit in subsequent years when children arrived.

Julia Tyler spent most of the seventeen years of her marriage, after leaving Washington, either pregnant or nursing one of their seven children. The Tylers came to East Hampton in 1846 to escape the feverish summer heat of Virginia and enable Julia to be with her mother and sister for the birth of her first child. They named him David Gardiner Tyler for her father and brother. (Their first five children carried Gardiner given names.) Julia's mother, and often her sister, came to Sherwood Forest to assist with the arrival of the other children.[30]

John Tyler, who began his second family in his fifties, was delighted with the children. Like his young bride, they had a rejuvenescent effect on him. A devoted father and husband, he let his wife sleep late in the morning and took charge of the babies. He later took his five boys hunting, fishing, and riding. In turn, Julia was a devoted mother and very attentive to her children. Later, after her daughter died in childbirth, she raised her granddaughter and took responsibility for an orphaned nephew.

"The Wife of Ex-President Tyler" became a Southern heroine in 1853, when her letter defending slavery appeared in the *New York Herald* and was reprinted in the *Richmond Enquire*r and *Southern Literary Messenger*. After reading *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the Duchess of Sutherland and a number of English women had urged Southern women to abolish slavery. In response, Julia Gardiner Tyler criticized outside interference in American internal affairs, denied alleged cruelties, and generally espoused and promoted the South's defense of slavery. Her perception of slavery, based on her experience on the Tyler plantation, was very different from that portrayed by Harriet Beecher Stowe. John Tyler owned more than seventy slaves, and Gardiner relatives, too, had slaves until New York State abolished slavery in 1827.[31]

After John Tyler headed an unsuccessful peace convention in Washington in February 1861, he supported secession and was elected to the Confederate Congress. He was stricken before the session began, and died on 18 January 1862, in Richmond; he was nearly seventy-two. Loyal to her husband and her adopted state, Julia Tyler became a "passionate secessionist" and "feminine 'doughface.'"[32]

When fighting first had broken out, Julia's mother implored her to come North with the children to Staten Island, where she was then living. John Tyler forbade this, confident that there was no danger. On his deathbed, he reiterated his wish that Julia remain at Sherwood Forest and not bring up the children in the North.[33]

In spring 1862, the Peninsula campaign against Richmond brought fighting closer, but thanks to her mother's intervention, General McClellan posted a protective guard at Sherwood Forest. In November, Julia Tyler secured a pass which enabled her to go North to Staten Island with her six younger children. In a few months, she returned to Virginia with her six-year-old and two-year-old, leaving the four older children, who ranged in age from nine to fourteen, with her mother. After she enrolled her oldest son in Washington College and sought unsuccessfully to sell Sherwood Forest, she again sought permission from Union authorities to return to the North.[34] She refused, however, to take the oath of allegiance now required, and finally, in fall 1863, resorted to a blockade runner, via Bermuda. Julia remained at Castleton Hill on Staten Island for the next eight years.

Sherwood Forest did not escape unscathed in the Peninsula campaign in 1864. Outbuildings were burned, livestock seized, the interior ransacked, and the house was turned over to freed slaves. "Mrs. Ex-President Tyler" pleaded in letters to General Butler and President Lincoln for the restoration of her property and release of her stepson who had been imprisoned. Her two oldest sons, who were sixteen and eighteen years old, were anxious to fight for the "glorious cause" and enlisted in the Confederate army in 1864.

Gardiner family relations were strained by the war, because of the Southern allegiance of the Tylers and Juliana Gardiner and the staunch Unionism of Julia's brother and his family, who also were living on Staten Island. After Juliana Gardiner's death, in October 1864, Julia's brother, David, contested her "undue influence" over their mother's deathbed will in the courts. Juliana Gardiner had been concerned about her daughter's future, especially because of the reported destruction of the Tyler plantation. A few months before she died, she observed to a friend:

> Julia is poor, has a large family, and is unprotected. She cannot afford to be poor. She must have enough. David is a man and he has one of the handsomest farms on the island. His wife's father is rich. Don't think that I don't care for David, but I must take care of Julia.

Ultimately, a compromise resulted in Julia's receiving the Castleton Hill house and equal shares with her brother of the rest of the estate, with a

slightly smaller portion going to the orphaned son of her sister. But the three years of litigation permanently estranged Julia Tyler from her brother and other Gardiner relatives.[35]

Though her finances were strained in the postwar years, Julia Tyler found it difficult to economize or change her expensive life style. Her shopping expeditions were notoriously costly, and she thought nothing of spending $150 or $200 for a dress or $40 for a petticoat. She wanted to sell Sherwood Forest after the war, but her sons objected. She almost lost the plantation in the 1870s because of a shortage of cash to pay tax bills or loans. Although she had to mortgage her properties, Julia Tyler provided a good education for all her children; the sons all attended college.[36]

As Julia Tyler matured and grew older, she retained her beauty. She grew plumper after her children were born, but in her mid-thirties, a visitor reported she "still looks as blooming and fresh as a girl of 20." When Julia Tyler was sixty-one and visiting East Hampton, a local resident wrote in her diary, "She is very little changed since she left East Hampton over 30 years ago. She has the reputation of being one of the most beautiful women in America." Newspaper reporter Nelly Bly interviewed her when she was sixty-seven, and described her as tall and graceful with few grey hairs and "pink cheeks that a girl of sixteen might envy."[37]

Julia Tyler lived in the Staten Island home she inherited from her mother until 1872, when she moved to the Georgetown section of Washington. She enrolled her youngest daughter, Pearl, in Georgetown Academy of the Visitation. Still mourning her older daughter's death in childbirth, Julia Tyler became attracted to Catholicism and converted from the Episcopalian faith of her family. Financial constraints led her to move to Sherwood Forest with her granddaughter in 1874, to live with her eldest son.[38]

Julia Tyler used her connections in Washington to secure government positions for two of her sons. She pressed for a widow's pension for herself, and, in her petition, detailed her property losses during the war and present financial needs. In 1882, in the aftermath of President James A. Garfield's assassination, Congress awarded Julia Tyler and other widowed former first ladies annual pensions of $5,000.

After receiving the presidential widow's pension, Julia Tyler moved to a town house in Richmond, Virginia. She frequently visited friends and relations, though she was in declining health in her final years. She died of a stroke at the age of sixty-nine, on 10 July 1889, in the same hotel where her husband had died twenty-seven years before. Julia Gardiner Tyler, the "Rose of Long Island," was buried in a Richmond cemetery next to her beloved John Tyler and their daughter Julie. None of her Gardiner relatives attended the funeral.[39]

Conclusion

Julia Gardiner died during the administration of Benjamin Harrison, Anna Harrison's grandson. These two daughters of Long Island had gone West and

South. They were each beauties in their day who had very happy marriages. Each was, in many ways, a traditional wife who reared a large family. After forty-five years of marriage and a long political career, Anna Harrison had wanted her husband to retire rather than run for the presidency. His sudden death after only a month in office meant she had the shortest term as first lady. Julia Gardiner was a society belle who captivated men. She reveled at being a hostess, and was an accomplished ballroom lobbyist during her eight-month "reign" in the White House.

In a 1982 historians' ranking of forty-two first ladies, conducted by the Siena Research Institute, Anna Harrison ranked twenty-third and Julia Tyler twenty-seventh. Interestingly, each ranked higher than her husband's rating of twenty-sixth and thirty-fourth respectively in a similar poll the year before.[40]

On a visit in 1868, the "Rose of Long Island" asked President Andrew Johnson why there were no portraits of the first ladies in the White House. The painting she donated, the first to be hung, shows her as a young, twenty-eight-year-old society matron dressed in a ballgown at the height of fashion. Anna Symmes Harrison's White House portrait shows her at sixty-eight, still dressed in mourning for her husband. In their official portraits, as in their lives, Mrs. Tippecanoe and Mrs. Tyler Two present a striking contrast.[41]

NOTES

1. Widowed John Tyler was the first president to marry while in the White House; Grover Cleveland, a bachelor, was the next president to marry in office. Cleveland married twenty-one-year-old Frances Folsom, who succeeded Julia Tyler as the youngest first lady (Cleveland was twenty-seven years older than Folsom).

Among numerous collective biographies of the first ladies, see Mary Ormsbee Whitton, *First First Ladies, 1789-1865: A Study of the Wives of the Early Presidents* (New York: Hastings House, 1948); Betty Boyd Caroli, *First Ladies* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1987); Paul F. Boller, Jr. *Presidential Wives: An Anecdotal History* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1988); and Carl Sferrazza Anthony, *First Ladies: The Saga of the Presidents' Wives and their Power*, 1789-1961 (New York: William Morrow, 1990).

2. For local historians' claims that Anna Symmes was born on Long Island in Aquebogue, East Hampton, or Laurel, see, for example, Clarence A. Wood, "Riverhead Boasts First Lady, Too," *Long Island Forum* 13 (August 1950):149-50, and Verne Dyson, *The Human Side of Long Island* (Port Washington: Ira J. Friedman, 1969), 126. Her birth is not recorded in the Aquebogue church records, however, and her father was active in New Jersey military and civil affairs by 1774-1775 (see Charles E. Craven, *A History of Mattituck, Long Island, New York* [Mattituck: n.p., 1906], 317, 340, and *The Correspondence of John Cleves Symmes: Founder of the Miami Purchase*, Beverley W. Bond, Jr., ed. [New York: Macmillan, 1926], 5).

3. In some accounts, according to family tradition, Symmes donned a British uniform to take his daughter to Southold, but this seems highly unlikely. Tuthill genealogies list 1775 as the year of Anna Tuthill Symmes's death; her tombstone records 25 July 1776 (see Alva Tuttle, compiler, *Tuttle/Tuthill Lines in America* [Columbus, OH: n.p., 1968]; Charles H. Winfield, "Life and Public Services of John Cleves Symmes," *New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings*, 2d Series, 5 [1879]:23; Bond, Correspondence of John Cleves Symmes, 294 [1802 letter describing her mother's tombstone]; and Laura Carter Holloway, *The Ladies of the White House* [New York: United States Publishing Co, 1870], 356). Her widowed father unsuccessfully courted Sarah Conklin, of Ashamomoque, who married William Albertson in 1780 [Wood, "Riverhead Boasts," 151]).

4. Holloway, ibid., 287; for Clinton Academy, see Natalie A. Naylor, "'Diligent in Study and

Respectful in Deportment': Early Long Island Schooling," *Nassau County Historical Society Journal* 43 (1988):2-3.

5. John Cleves Symmes to Robert Morris, 22 June 1795, and John Cleves Symmes to Silas Condict, 28 February 1796, in *The Intimate Letters of John Cleves Symmes and His Family, including Those of his Daughter Mrs. William Henry Harrison*, ed. Beverley W. Bond, Jr. (Cincinnati: Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, 1956), 98, 103; James A. Green, *William Henry Harrison: His Life and Times* (Richmond, VA: Garrett and Massie, 1941), 61-64; Whitton, *First First Ladies*, 159.

6. Whitton, ibid., 159; John Cleves Symmes to Silas Condict, 28 February 1796, and John Cleves Symmes to Robert Morris, 2 March 1796, reprinted in Bond, ibid., 103, 82.

7. Whitton, ibid., 165; Green, *William Henry Harrison,* 485-89; Sandra L. Quinn and Sanford Kantor, *America's Royalty: All the President's Children* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983), 40-48.

8. Anna Symmes Harrison to William Henry Harrison, Jr., 27 March 1820, William Henry Harrison papers, Microfilm, 2d reel, New York Public Library; see also 8 May 1819 letter reprinted in Whitton, ibid., 318-19.

9. Holloway, *Ladies of the White House*, 294; Louis Leonard Tucker, "Anna Symmes Harrison," *Notable American Women: A Biographical Dictionary*, ed. Edward T. James, Janet Wilson James, and Paul S. Boyer (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, Belknap Press, 1971), 2:144; and Jonathan Messerli, *Horace Mann: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), 358.

10. For the 1840 campaign, see Robert G. Gunderson, *The Log Cabin Campaign* (Lexington: Univ. of Kentucky Press, 1957) and, for songs in the election campaign, "The Harrison Bandwagon," *American Heritage* 26 (October 1975):19-27.

11. Anna Harrison was a devout Presbyterian, while her husband was an Episcopalian (Freeman Cleaves, *Old Tippecanoe: William Henry Harrison and His Times* [New York: Scribner's, 1939], 321); Whitton, *First First Ladies*, 173; *Hempstead Inquirer*, 13 February 1841.

12. Whitton, ibid., 174.

13. Holloway, *Ladies of the White House*, 374-75; Cleaves, *Old Tippecanoe*, 328.

14. Gardiner's Island and the Gardiner family have been chronicled over the years. Some more recent accounts include Robert Payne, *The Island* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1958); Ellswirth S. Grant, "To the Manor Born," *American Heritage* 26 (October 1975):8-15, 84-85; Roger Wunderlich, "'An Island of Mine Owne': The Life and Times of Lion Gardiner, 1599-1663," *LIHJ* 2 (Fall 1989):3-14; Richard P. Harmond, "The Gardiners and Their Island, 1937-1972," ibid., 2 ibid:15-20.

15. See poems reprinted in Whitton, *First First Ladies*, 322, and Robert Seager II, *And Tyler Too, A Biography of John and Julia Gardiner Tyler* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963), 36. The advertisement is an early example of an endorsement, though it is uncertain whether it was done with Julia's consent. It is reproduced in Caroli, *First Ladies*, facing 42; Whitton, ibid, facing 242, see also 189, 321; *Bulletin of the Museum of the City of New York*, May 1936, 66; and is the cover illustration on this issue of *LIHJ*.

16. For a surviving diary that Julia's sister Margaret kept on the trip, see *Leaves from a Young Girl's Diary: The Journal of Margaret Gardiner, 1840-1841* (New Haven: Tuttle, Morehouse and Taylor, 1927).

17. Seager, *And Tyler Too,* xiv, 4; and Whitton, *First First Ladies*, 187-88.

18. Seager, ibid., 184; Oliver Perry Chitwood, "Julia Gardiner Tyler," *Notable American Women* 3:495.

19. Seager, ibid., 194, 199.

20. Ibid., 207, 204-6; see also Donald B. Webster, Jr., "The Beauty and Chivalry of the United States Assembled," *American Heritage* 17 (December 1965):50-58, 87-90; Alfred Hart Miles, "The Princeton Explosion," U.S. Naval Institute *Proceedings* 51 (Nov. 1926), condensed in *Iron*

Worker 21 (Spring 1957):1-11; William Oliver Stevens, *Discovering Long Island* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1939), 92-98; Barbara Marhoefer, *Witches, Whales, Petticoats, and Sails* (Port Washington: Ira J. Friedman, 1971), 51-54.

21. Seager, ibid., 207, 2-3. For facsimile of Tyler's handwritten letter, see Howard Gotlieb and Gail Grimes, "President Tyler and the Gardiners: A New Portrait," *Yale Univ. Library Gazette*, 34 (July 1959):2. Earlier, Mrs. Gardiner had her sons check the financial status of one of the congressmen courting her daughter; as it turned out, Tyler needed Gardiner financial assistance to support Julia's free-spending living style.

22. Seager, *ibid.*, 11, 350.

23. Payne, *Island*, 213-14; Norma Lois Peterson, *The Presidencies of William Henry Harrison and John Tyler* (Lawrence, KN: Univ. Press of Kansas, 1989), 237; Seager, ibid., 7, 13.

24. Seager, ibid., 151-62, 228-36.

25. Ibid., 8-9.

26. Ibid., 243-46, 257-61; Anthony, *First Ladies*, 127-29; Donald Barr Chidsey, *And Tyler Too* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1978), 120.

27. A Gardiner cousin asked in 1844 that his son, Sam Gardiner, be appointed custom's collector in Sag Harbor to replace Henry Dering. This appointment was botched when Alexander was deceived about political allegiances, compounded by the appointment of the wrong brother (another Gardiner cousin) as postmaster. Alexander maneuvered a patronage position for himself as clerk of a U.S. circuit court (Seager, ibid., 269-76, 284-87).

28. Ibid., 246-48, 283.

29. Lyon Gardiner Tyler, *The Letters and Times of the Tylers* (Richmond: Whittet and Shepperson, 1885), 2, 100, 356n; Seager, ibid., 263-64.

30. All seven children survived to adulthood; John Tyler also had nine children by his first wife, two of whom died in infancy (Quinn and Kantor, *America's Royalty*, 49-57).

31. Seager, *And Tyler Too*, 402-6, 21; see also Robert Seager II, "John Tyler: The Planter of Sherwood Forest," *Virginia Cavalcade*, Summer 1963, 6-8.

32. Boller, *Presidential Wives*, 84; a doughface was a Northerner who sided with the South on slavery and related issues.

33. Her stepson had a somewhat different recollection and later said his father had told her, "Julia, let no consideration induce you to go North" (see Seager, *And Tyler Too*, 471).

34. Washington College in Lexington, VA, changed its name in 1871 to Washington and Lee University, to honor General Robert E. Lee who served as its president, 1865-1870.

35. Seager, *And Tyler Too*, 502-6.

36. Ibid., 524, 639n.19, 531-32, 542. The eldest Tyler son, David Gardiner, a graduate of Washington College, was a lawyer, congressman, and judge, who also farmed Sherwood Forest. John Alexander studied in Germany and became a mining engineer. Julie attended a convent school in Halifax, Nova Scotia, and married at the age of nineteen. Lachlan studied medicine at the New York College of Physicians and Surgeons, and became a doctor. Lyon Gardiner received his B.A. and M.A. from the University of Virginia, and also studied law; he taught college, wrote the three-volume *Letters and Times of the Tylers* (1884), and became president of the College of William and Mary. Robert Fitzwater, an alumnus of Georgetown, farmed in Virginia. Pearl attended Georgetown Academy and Sacred Heart Convent in Washington, D.C. Julia also raised her orphaned granddaughter Julia Tyler Spencer, and educated her orphaned nephew, who studied in Germany briefly and then attended Washington College (see Quinn and Kantor, *America's Royalty*, 57-66, and Seager, ibid).

37. Sherwood Forest is still a working plantation and owned by Tylers. The restored 300-foot-long frame house is in Charles City County. Contemporary photographs of the house and grounds are in Herbert Bradshaw, "A President's Bride at Sherwood Forest," *Virginia Cavalcade*, Spring 1958, 30-39. Both Sherwood Forest and Berkeley Plantation, William Henry Harrison's

birthplace, are open to the public (advance reservations required for Sherwood Forest).

There has been confusion about the precise address in East Hampton of the 1844 summer White House. Julia's son John Alexander Tyler, who married Sarah (Sally) Griswold Gardiner, a third cousin, in 1875, lived at 217 Main Street. Julia's parents had lived at 127 Main Street, where she visited after her marriage. That house, damaged in the 1938 hurricane and rebuilt by Sarah Diodati Gardiner, is presently owned by Robert David Lion Gardiner. See Jeanette Rattray, *Up and Down Main Street* (East Hampton, 1968), 105-6, 137-38, and letter from Robert D. L. Gardiner, *Long Island Forum* 39 (October 1976):216.

The Castleton Hill Gardiner-Tyler house on Staten Island still stands. A private residence in the Sunnyside area at 27 Tyler Rd. (off Clove Rd), it is a designated New York City landmark building. See Elliot Willensky and Norval White, AIA *Guide to New York City*, 3d ed. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988), 836.

38. Seager, *And Tyler Too*, 358; Rattray, ibid., 139; Whitton, *First First Ladies*, 198.

39. Seager, ibid., 551-55.

40. Caroli, *First Ladies*, 385-90.

41. The portraits are printed in Margaret Brown Klapthor, *The First Ladies* (Washington, D.C. White House Historical Association, 1981), 25, 29; they are reprinted in black and white in Anthony, *First Ladies*, 120, (Harrison) and Caroli, ibid., facing 114 (Gardiner). A copy of Julia Tyler's portrait hangs in Sagtikos Manor, which has Tyler/Gardiner connections.

History of Brookhaven National Laboratory, Part Three: Little Science, Big Science

By Robert P. Crease

On 19 June 1962, Yale historian of science Derek J. de Solla Price stepped to the podium in the auditorium at Brookhaven National Laboratory (BNL) to begin the first of four lectures bearing the title "Little Science, Big Science." The lecture series had been established four years before to honor George Pegram, the dean of Columbia University and the head of the Initiatory Advisory Group (IUG), whose efforts in 1946 resulted in the establishment of BNL in January 1947. The purpose of the lecture series was to allow eminent scholars to examine the interaction between science, culture, and society.

Derek de Solla Price, a respected scholar with Ph.D.s in experimental physics and the history of science, became even more famous in the wake of his BNL lectures, published in 1963 as *Little Science, Big Science*, which brought the phrase "big science" into the everyday lexicon of writers on science.[1] He had made an excellent choice in matching topic and venue, for BNL had been a pioneer in big science. BNL, one of the first three "national laboratories" (and the only one not in existence as part of the Manhattan Project), was the site both of a forefront particle accelerator, the newly dedicated Alternating Gradient Synchrotron (AGS), and of a planned forefront experimental research reactor, the High Flux Beam Reactor (HFBR). Nuclear reactors and particle accelerators were indispensable research tools in the post-World War II era, but had grown beyond the resources of most universities. Indeed, the need to make reactors and accelerators available to large sections of the scientific community had been a principal motive behind the creation of the national laboratory system.[2] This article describes certain events involved in building the AGS, commissioned the year before de Solla Price spoke, as well as discussions of BNL's next large accelerator project and the first steps in the evolution of BNL's life sciences program.

The Alternating Gradient Synchrotron (AGS)

Important advances in accelerator physics often come about not through slow, incremental improvements in existing technology but through discovery of a new principle that allows more powerful accelerators to be built at lower proportionate cost. The Cosmotron, for instance—BNL's first world-class accelerator, dedicated in 1952—was made possible by a principle known as phase stability, announced independently in 1945 by Edwin

View during construction of world's largest photo synchroton, which went into operation in 1960 at Brookhaven National Laboratory. Photograph, courtesy BNL.

McMillan in the U.S. and Vladimir Veksler in the U.S.S.R. In the early cyclotrons, particles spiraled out from the center of a vacuum chamber sandwiched between the poles of a huge magnet, and the size of these machines was restricted by the magnet's having to cover the diameter of the vacuum chamber. But, according to the concept of phase stability, it was possible to accelerate particles in a circular orbit of constant radius provided their orbital oscillations were stable or "synchronized." This was a tremendous breakthrough, for instead of needing one huge magnet to cover the entire diameter of the vacuum chamber, numerous smaller magnets could keep the beam of particles in place by surrounding it, like beads on a necklace. Phase stability dramatically increased the possible size of accelerators, paving the way for "synchrotrons." The Cosmotron, the first proton synchrotron to be completed, and for a few years the world's most powerful particle accelerator with an energy over three billion electron volts (GeV), was surpassed by the 6 GeV Bevatron at the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory (LBL) in 1954. With the dedication of the 33 GeV AGS in 1961, BNL again became the site of the world's most powerful particle accelerator. Its construction marked a new phase in the development of big science. Still in operation more than three decades after its completion, the AGS is one of the most productive scientific instruments ever built.

Like the Cosmotron, the AGS was based on a new principle in accelerator physics, this one called "strong focusing." As with many breakthrough ideas, the principle of strong focusing was discovered in a backhanded way, and later found to have been anticipated by someone whose work had been dismissed. In early summer 1952, even before the Cosmotron was fully operational, BNL's accelerator builders, including Ernest Courant, Hartland Snyder, and John Blewett, along with M. Stanley Livingston, an MIT professor who had been the first head of BNL's Cosmotron Department and was visiting BNL that summer, awaited a visit by a delegation of accelerator scientists from a new laboratory in Europe, the European Council for Nuclear Research known universally as CERN (an acronym derived from its French name).

CERN was then in its infancy. Its governing council met for only the second time in Copenhagen, at the end of June, before a site was chosen.[3] CERN was to be jointly operated by a consortium of European nations in a way explicitly modeled on BNL and its joint operation by a consortium of U.S. universities; CERN was to be a "super-Brookhaven," said one European scientist.[4] The delegates endorsed a plan to build a proton synchrotron, which, according to the German physicist Werner Heisenberg, "could be constructed along the lines of the Brookhaven Cosmotron," but scaled up to 10-20 GeV. In July 1952, a team of three CERN scientists led by Norwegian Odd Dahl began to draw up initial plans. One of Dahl's first acts was to plan a trip to BNL with his deputy, the British physicist Frank Goward (who had built the first working electron synchrotron), and the German physicist Rolf R. Wideroë (designer of the first particle accelerator), and sent ahead a copy of the preliminary souped-up Cosmotron design.

Livingston organized a study group to brainstorm for ideas to improve the Cosmotron's basic design that the Europeans could incorporate into their own machine. One major drawback of the Cosmotron was that only negative particles were easily extractable from it. The Cosmotron kept its protons in orbit around its circular racetrack, using guide fields created by 288 magnets whose fields forced the paths of the positively charged particles inwards. These magnets were "C" shaped, with the gaps pointing outwards. When a target inside the machine was struck by beams of protons, the result was a shower of new or "secondary" particles; but because the paths of all positively charged particles were bent inwards by the strong Cosmotron magnets, only the negatively charged secondary particles, whose paths were bent outwards, were accessible through the gap in the "Cs." How could positive secondaries also be made accessible?

Livingston proposed a solution: what if some magnets were turned so that the gaps faced the other way? Then, inwardly bending positively charged secondary particles could be siphoned off through the gaps and studied by experimenters in the interior of the Cosmotron's racetrack. He put the problem to Courant, whose specialty was the theory of orbit stability in accelerators. Courant was initially pessimistic, for it seemed that turning some of the magnets inward would disrupt the focusing of the machine, or its ability to constrain the particles in orbit. It would involve repeatedly altering the field's shape or "gradient"; its change in strength from the center outwards. A field with zero gradient is constant and does not change, while one with a positive gradient grows stronger, while one with a negative gradient grows weaker farther away from the center. Livingston's proposal would mean "alternating" the gradient, or arranging the magnets so that the gradients would alternate positive and negative. Would this adversely affect orbit stability?

Despite his skepticism, Courant set out to work out the calculations. To everyone's surprise, they showed the focusing not only was not disrupted but could be made extremely strong. Until then, it was assumed that magnets cannot focus particles strongly in one direction, say vertically, through a negative gradient without simultaneously defocusing them in the other direction (horizontally, through a positive gradient). As a result, accelerator builders had compromised by building magnets to focus weakly in both directions. It now appeared possible to achieve both kinds of focusing simultaneously by alternating magnets that focused strongly in opposite directions: the net effect of arranging a series of magnets, each strongly focused in one direction and strongly defocused in the other so that the magnets alternated direction, was strongly focusing in both directions.

Hartland Snyder then developed an analogy between the way magnets focused beams of particles and the way lenses focused light beams, allowing the wholesale transfer of an entire network of equations and a systematic way of approaching and solving problems from a well-articulated field into the new context. Such use of analogy is often a fruitful technique in scientific methodology; Jeremy Bernstein opens one of his books with the remark that,

"It is probably no exaggeration to say that all of theoretical physics proceeds by analogy."[5] The application of this analogy also resulted in the invention of a new kind of 4-pole magnet, a quadrapole, that proved indispensable in subsequent particle accelerators. Blewett, meanwhile, showed that quadrapoles removed a major stumbling block in the way of more efficient development of linear accelerators (linacs). In so-called Alvarez-type linacs, focusing grids had been used in the drift tubes, which scattered many of the electrons and interfered with the focusing; the use of quadrapoles in their stead, Blewett showed, would eliminate the scattering and vastly improve focusing.

In a few days of feverish work and intense excitement, the BNL accelerator physicists realized that in their attempts to figure a way to extract positive secondaries they had stumbled onto a fundamentally new method for focusing particles, that would not only allow accelerators to be built at a much greater power, but also to create much narrower beams. This was significant, because the more tightly packed the proton beam, the more interactions would take place with the target. The Cosmotron had an aperature (opening) of 8 x 12 inches, Berkeley's Bevatron an aperature of 12 x 48 inches, and the first proposal for the CERN proton synchrotron an aperature of 18 x 6 inches; calculations now suggested that it was possible, in principle, to go over 30 GeV and have an aperature of 1 or 2 inches! The possibilities seemed almost limitless, and, in the enthusiasm of the moment, Livingston began talking of 100 GeV machines, with 2-inch aperatures, that could be draped over the natural terrain rather than have to be precisely engineered on a level surface.

An immediate two-order-of-magnitude jump in power over the Cosmotron was unrealistic—but one order of magnitude was not. After the CERN scientists arrived on 4 August for a week at BNL and heard the news, they decided to scrap their idea for a 10 GeV Cosmotron scale-up for their proton synchrotron and try to plan a 25-30 GeV strongly-focusing proton synchrotron (soon called the PS); this idea was presented to and ratified by the third CERN council meeting in Amsterdam, later that fall.

A few days after their European visitors departed, Courant, Livingston, and Snyder mailed a paper about their discovery to the *Physical Review*, discussing the principle, some potential difficulties, and its possible incorporation in an accelerator:

> The potentialities of this strong-focusing principle can be illustrated by describing its application to the design of a high energy accelerator. We have chosen to design for 30-[G]ev protons, which is 10 times the maximum energy of the Brookhaven cosmotron, and which requires an orbit radius of about 300 ft with a guide field of about 11 kilogauss. The aperature within the vacuum chamber can be as small as 1 x 2 inches.

The final section mentioned certain implications of the strong-focusing principle that can be understood "by analogy to lens optics," including 4-pole magnets (quadrapoles), soon to be indispensable features of particle

accelerators. Blewett submitted another article, applying the focusing mechanism described in his colleague's paper to linear accelerators.[6]

Early in 1953, BNL scientists were astounded to discover that strong focusing had already been described by Nicolas Christofilosa, an American-born Greek electrical engineer, living in Athens. In 1950, Christofilos sent an unpublished manuscript to the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory, where it was treated as something of a joke and found its way, superficially read, to a dusty file. Upon seeing the BNL strong focusing article in the *Physical Review*, Christofilos traveled to the U.S. to establish his priority. Retrieving his manuscript from the file, red-faced LBL scientists discovered that, while the details of his scheme differed from those of the BNL scientists, the principle was identical. The LBL scientists alerted their BNL counterparts, who promptly acknowledged Christofilos's priority.[7] Christofilos joined the BNL staff for a time, working on accelerator design.

So optimistic were BNL scientists about the strong focusing concept that in May 1953, a proposed FY 1955 budget included funds toward development of a $30-million 50 GeV strong-focusing accelerator. The project was soon scaled back; on 9 September 1953, BNL director Leland Haworth wrote to AEC commissioner T. H. Johnson, proposing construction, at BNL, of an accelerator initially of 25 GeV and a magnet field of 10,000 gauss (eventually to be upgraded to 35 GeV and 14,000 gauss), with a 260-foot radius, and a cost of $20 million. Haworth's letter is but five single-spaced pages long (one page consists almost entirely of a table), plus five additional pages of supporting material—two graphs depicting the advantages of a strongly-focused over a standard synchrotron, one building plan, and two site plans.

Nowadays, this letter is often cited with a mixture of nostalgia, humor, and anger by accelerator physicists accustomed to producing proposals of thousands of pages, containing detailed documentation of technical and engineering aspects. More remarkable than its brevity is the way the letter articulated the scientific justification of the machine:

> The Cosmotron has, during its relatively short operational use, yielded much new data...and has even led to the observation of certain hitherto unobserved heavy meson phenomena. That extension of the available energy would yield many fruitful results seems unquestionable...[F]urther extention seems highly desirable, for specific and predictable reasons as well as on the general grounds that past extensions of energy have always proved highly profitable.

Rarely has the case for a scientific instrument whose aim is basic research been put as honestly and succinctly. Rather than justify the value of such an instrument though reference to short- or long-term, direct or indirect returns or goals, Haworth simply assumes that his correspondent shares the view that achieving knowledge about the structures of the world is a value in itself, and that the proposed instrument seems particularly capable of producing more

such knowledge. The penultimate sentence of the letter is, "I trust that the foregoing is sufficiently explanatory for your present purposes."[8]

Four months later, at the outset of 1954, the AEC approved the project, embarking BNL on an intense, large-scale project involving collaboration and competition with CERN in its PS project. Nearly all major technical steps taken by one lab followed consultation with scientists at the other. The collaboration, involving more than information flow, included exchange of personnel; John and Hildred Blewett, for example, spent the second half of 1953 in CERN as full members of the PS group there. Courant and Livingston also visited CERN to help in implementing the strong focusing idea. (When Livingston first saw lofty and beautiful Mt. Blanc, which dominates Geneva's skyline, he remarked, "Mt. Blanc would really *make* Long Island!")[9]

This exchange was beneficial to both sides. A team of Europeans uncovered what, at first, seemed a fatal obstacle to the whole scheme: the orbits in a strong-focusing accelerator were hypersensitive to errors in placement or design of the magnets, which would cause destabilizing oscillations in the beam. Courant, however, soon found what looked like a way around the problem, though it involved increasing the aperature size.[10] But whether the scheme would work in practice was far from clear.

A second potentially fatal problem involved "phase transition." At a certain point during acceleration, all the particles would have the same rotation frequency independent of energy, meaning that they would lose stability. Fortunately, Courant already had encountered this kind of problem, and came up with an idea for solving it. It might be possible, he found, to accelerate the particles up to the point of instability by using the rising side of the radiofrequency voltage waveform—and, precisely at that point, suddenly switch to the falling side of the waveform, which then would pick them up and accelerate them still further. The acceleration frequency would have to be extremely accurate, but aiding the process would be that as they approached that energy the protons tended to "bunch" together. Though the particles would be momentarily unstable, the switch would allow them to regain stability for further acceleration. Whether this idea, too, would work in practice was not clear.

These two problems—potentially disruptive oscillations and phase transition—were so threatening that the BNL scientists felt they could not risk further work on the accelerator without testing their ideas. In August 1953, Haworth wrote to Johnson for authorization to build a quarter-size device to test these ideas, providing "the maximum of orbital data with a minimum of engineering complications."[11] The device would use electrons, not protons, and would be an "analogue" rather than a to-scale model to test the complex solutions of the equations of motion of charged particles in a strongly-focusing environment; analogy is often effective in experimental physics as well.[12]

On 23 December 1953, the AEC authorized the electron analogue, and its construction, in the wooden "test shack" behind the Cosmotron building, was

one of the few major undertakings by BNL without an equivalent project at CERN. The electron analogue gave BNL scientists greater confidence and uncovered problems they would not otherwise have noted until later, but also set back the AGS schedule by several months through diversion of personnel and resources. CERN scientists could not afford to build an electron analogue—but, as one later recalled,

> we were pleased when we found Brookhaven took the opposite view because we knew that through the close collaboration that was established we would learn as much from their analog as we would have from our own,

not to mention the fact that not building an analogue would give the CERN scientists a solid head start on their machine.[13]

Some idea of how potentially fatal phase transition was viewed can be gained from the fact that when, in the mid 1950s, the U.S.S.R. built a "synchrophasotron" at its Joint Institute for Nuclear Research in Dubna (loosely patterned on CERN, for the Soviet republics), its scientists were sufficiently terrified of phase transition that they incorporated an awkward magnet arrangement to avoid it. This made the synchrophasotron no great improvement over existing machines when it reached design energy of 10 GeV in 1957, to become the most powerful accelerator in the world. The depth of fear about phase transition also can be gleaned from the reaction of Vladimir Veksler, co-discoverer of the principle of phase stability, who visited BNL shortly after December 1955, when the electron analogue accelerated its electron beam to 5 MeV and successfully went through phase transition for the first time. Veksler was informed about this in Russian by a Princeton physicist, Tony Turkevitch. The news excited Veksler, who asked Turkevitch for a second account. Veksler posed the same question, in German, to Kenneth Green and received his third affirmative answer, this time in German. Veksler finally asked a fourth time, in English. As Martin Plotkin, who was present, remarked, "He wanted to make sure!"[14]

Digging the half-mile circular tunnel for the AGS began in January 1956. The first major purchase for the machine, a Cockroft-Walton generator to provide a preliminary boost to the protons, was made two months later. The rest of the injection system consisted of a 50 MeV Alvarez-type linac, but equipped with strongly-focusing quadrapoles as well as some design innovations by Christofilos. Its construction was a major accelerator project itself; delivery of its principal parts began in 1957.

Meanwhile, on the AGS proper, special effort was needed on the 240 magnet sections, which bend the paths of the protons in a circle and focus them to a narrow beam, and had to be designed and manufactured with extraordinary care. Special care also had to be exercised with the radio-frequency accelerating system, which boosted the energy of the protons, using many innovations introduced by BNL scientists, as well as with the pumping system to maintain the vacuum in the ring, which used ion rather than oil diffusion pumps.

Another major problem that emerged toward the end of the project was created not by the engineering difficulties but by changing scientific practices. The already constructed experimental area was now "completely inadequate," Haworth wrote to AEC area manager Van Horn as completion of the machine approached.

> Particle beams have grown in length and complexity. Thus, modern high energy experiments usually involve beam layouts up to several hundred feet of length which include large numbers of analyzing, bending and focusing magnets, electrostatic beam separators, vast arrays of counters and very large bubble chambers.[15]

A series of small moveable houses for the experimenters, which until then was the plan for accomodating future growth, would no longer be adequate. Haworth requested nearly $2 million to build a new Target Area and equip it with such things as overhead cranes and hydrogen safety equipment in connection with the now common use of liquid hydrogen in bubble chambers. The final AGS pricetag had crept upwards to $31 million, from the original estimate of $20 million, in 1963.

The CERN PS came on line first, circulating a proton beam of 24 GeV on 24 November 1959. The AGS was not far behind. Assembly of the 240 synchrotron magnets was completed in June 1959, installed on support girders, surveyed, and leveled into position. On 26 May 1960, when a 50-MeV beam was injected from the linear accelerator, the physicists were able to keep the beam circling a hundred times around the machine. On 22 July, the beam was accelerated through phase transition energy to about 7 GeV. On 29 July, the beam was accelerated for the first time to its design energy of over 30 GeV, at an intensity of about 2 x 10^9 protons per pulse. Haworth sent out dozens of cables saying, "AGS OPERATED ABOVE THIRTY [G]EV TODAY," and was promptly deluged by congratulatory replies. "NICE TO HAVE COMPANY," CERN cabled back, with a touch of self-congratulation.

Protons began their trip though the AGS in a nearby building, where they were initially accelerated by the Cockcroft-Walton generator to 750,000 electron volts and sent into the 110-foot long linear accelerator, which boosted them to an energy of 50 million electron volts. Then they were injected into the AGS itself, travelling around it inside a vacuum pipe six inches wide and almost three inches high, surrounded by 240 magnet units, each weighing sixteen tons, placed inside a circular tunnel half a mile in circumference and 843 feet in diameter. Twelve radiofrequency accelerating stations were spaced around the ring, each boosting the energy of the protons by 8,000 volts per pass, for a total gain of 96,000 electron volts each lap. At this rate, it took the protons about 300,000 laps (about 150,000 miles, made in about a second), to reach an energy of 30 GeV. By mid-March 1961, the AGS operated two eight-hour shifts per day, achieving a beam intensity above 10^{11} protons per pulse and a beam energy of 33 GeV. From the time of initial construction, the AGS took less than five years to build, at a total cost,

including a service laboratory, and experimental building, of $31 million.

Meanwhile, important organizational changes were necessary in the Accelerator and Physics Departments. Through most of the 1950s, George Collins headed an Accelerator Department and Haworth a separate Accelerator Development Department, whose two major projects were the AGS and accelerator development. On 1 November 1960, a new Accelerator Department was formed by combining the Cosmotron and AGS operations, with Kenneth Green as its head, and Blewett and Lyle Smith as deputy chairmen; the three major projects of this group were Cosmotron operations, AGS operations, and accelerator development. Chairmanship of the Physics Department, held for a long time by Samuel Goudsmit, was assumed by Maurice Goldhaber in May 1960, and when Goldhaber was appointed lab director the next year, by G. H. Vineyard (who also succeeded Goldhaber as lab director a decade later). The Physics Department moved into a new building in 1961, and its internal structure also changed, with new research groups forming and old ones expanding. In particular, the cloud chamber group and part of the old cosmic ray laboratory were combined into a single Bubble Chamber Group, under Ralph Shutt, which began building an eighty-inch bubble chamber for use with the AGS.

The AGS made it possible for experimenters to explore a new energy region, and obtain valuable information about the existence and properties of new kinds of subatomic particles. Many important discoveries were made on the AGS by BNL experimenters during the 1960s, helping to guide theorists in constructing a comprehensive picture of what was known as the "particle zoo"; some of these discoveries, to be discussed in a future article, include CP violation, the omega minus particle, the first charmed baryon, and the discovery of two kinds of neutrinos.

The Next Step: Storage Rings vs. Upgrading the AGS

Even before the AGS was finished, some BNL accelerator physicists were thinking about the next machine. Thus far, BNL and LBL had leapfrogged accelerators. BNL had built the 3 GeV Cosmotron, LBL the 6 GeV Bevatron, and BNL the 33 GeV AGS; the implicit understanding was that the leapfrogging would continue, with LBL getting the next largest machine (whose reasonable energy range seemed around 100 GeV), and BNL the one after that, whatever it might be. Perhaps some new principle could be found to cut costs for that one, allowing another huge jump in energy.

A new principle seeming to make this possible was the "storage ring" concept. Suppose a ring of strongly-focusing magnets were built around a circular vacuum pipe to store a beam of protons injected from an accelerator such as the AGS; the protons would stay in orbit, neither slowing down nor speeding up, at the AGS energy of 33 GeV. Suppose, too, that an identical ring were built nearby that also stored a beam of protons injected from the same machine, but orbiting in the opposite direction. Each ring could be filled by the injection accelerator over time, so that the intensity of the two

counterrevolving beams could be made extremely high. Suppose, now, that the paths of the two counterrevolving beams were made to intersect at one or more locations. Head-on collisions would occur between particles in the two beams, which would be much more violent than collisions between such particles and fixed targets.

The principle had been tested at Stanford, and some BNL accelerator builders, including Blewett and Luke Yuan, did some work on the idea. In September 1960, Green sent Haworth a memo concerning possible future expansion, together with a blueprint showing two storage rings, each about the same size as the AGS and intersecting at a single point east and slightly north of the AGS.[16] The following March, Blewett and Yuan circulated a memo announcing plans to discuss the possibility of storage rings and experiments that could be performed on them at the AGS at a summer session. The idea of storage rings at the AGS found favor at LBL, where some were concerned that BNL might attempt to convince the AEC to make BNL, rather than LBL, the site of the next major machine after the AGS. Thus, when later that spring the AEC received proposals for larger machines by both BNL and LBL, a Berkeley physicist, William Brobeck, suggested that one solution would be for Berkeley to work on the large accelerator of about 300 GeV, and BNL on storage rings at the AGS.

Although interested in the principle, BNL's accelerator builders were not necessarily convinced that storage rings were right for the laboratory at that point. Storage rings, not as versatile an instrument as conventional fixed-target machines, permitted collisions of only one kind of particle at a time (say, protons) and at only one location. Storage rings would sacrifice for the increase in energy over fixed-target machines a great deal in luminosity (a measure of the number of collisions), because particle beams are packed much less densely than solid matter targets. Equipment for studying that kind of collision was not well advanced at the time. Accordingly, Livingston and Blewett concluded in their 1962 textbook, *Particle Accelerators*:

> If applied to the present 33-[G]ev Brookhaven AGS machine, they would provide 66 [G]ev of excitation energy in the center of mass, equivalent to that from a 2500-[G]ev proton beam against a fixed target...The advantage of storage rings in providing high excitation energy means that they will probably be installed in some proton machines. However, the limitation to a single nucleon interaction and the unfavorable geometry for experiments on the secondary radiations make them less satisfactory as laboratory tools than existing high-energy machines. The storage ring should probably be considered as a useful but costly target arrangement rather than as a substitute for an ultrahigh-energy accelerator.[17]

Finally, several BNL experimenters who had become interested in the possibility of using neutrino beams were vigorously opposed to storage rings at the AGS, preferring that available resources be devoted to effecting an

upgrade of the AGS's intensity, which would be necessary to do effective neutrino beam research.

For all these reasons, BNL did not go out of its way to push the AGS storage ring concept with the AEC. In mid-December 1962, LBL and BNL scientists presented proposals to a panel investigating the future of the U.S. high-energy physics program, headed by Harvard physicist Norman Ramsey, at a meeting in Washington, D.C. LBL's biggest request was for a 75-100 GeV accelerator (somewhat above a 70 GeV machine nearing completion in the U.S.S.R.), while BNL's was to begin a design study in the 300-1000 GeV range—what was then known as "super" or "ultra" high energy.

The final report of the Ramsey Panel, issued in April 1963, discussed manpower, among other concerns. High-energy physics research, it said, was in the midst of "profound changes." More complex and expensive facilities requiring larger manpower and increased management problems, as well as reduced opportunities for direct participation of universities, will mean fewer leading machines than in the past. "More and more high energy physicists will participate in the work of fewer centers." All the more important, then, to coordinate the reach to higher energies and intensities, and to streamline and speed up the process. The panel, in effect, then ratified the "two-step" approach for LBL and BNL, but with slightly bigger steps; the LBL machine would be in the 200 GeV range, and the BNL design study would be for a 600-1000 GeV machine. But one key recommendation was for a program to construct and use storage rings, which "can be applied to only a limited category of experiments [but] make possible giant steps in available energy." They even had a site in mind. "Since the Brookhaven AGS is the highest energy accelerator in the world, it is the machine at which storage rings would be most valuable." The panel noted the possibility that CERN would construct storage rings in connection with its PS, but thought the idea of storage rings so important that a machine in this country should also be built. Therefore, it recommended the construction of storage rings for the AGS "at the earliest possible date."[18]

This controversial proposal originated within the panel: BNL had shown no real interest in it, but dutifully began to look into the idea, and, for its high-energy accelerator summer study project, included a conceptual design study for the 600-1000 GeV machine and a feasibility study of storage rings. If this showed that storage rings looked promising, Goldhaber assured the board of trustees, the storage ring study would be split off and turned into an independent effort. Blewett would consider the design and Yuan the potential experimental program.[19]

The summer study considered plans for a $60 million storage ring for completion about 1972, but few were enthusiastic. Criticisms of storage rings included their lack of versatility; they were regarded as a "single experiment...[for] only a limited group of experiments (primarily proton-proton collisions) can be performed with storage rings." This raised not only the problem of expense, but also fed into the discussion (that had taken place

since the founding of the laboratory) of the importance of education in the program of a national laboratory such as BNL, as multiple-use area facilities were needed by university users with a mission in education as well as research. Upgrading the AGS, on the other hand, would allow a flexible program able to provide four or five target areas with separate beams. Moreover, lack of a storage ring at BNL would not set back the technology of storage rings, especially because a proposal for a 2 x 25 GeV storage ring at the PS had been floated by CERN's Accelerator Research Division two years previously, favored by the European Committee for Future Accelerators. As Leon Lederman put it in his summer study talk, "the philosophy of the storage-ring experiments is not in the spirit of the way Brookhaven operates, being very much a one-group problem."[20]

Another crucial factor was the interest of Lederman and others in the new field of neutrino beam physics. To create a neutrino beam, a beam of protons is slammed into a target to create pions, and neutrinos are created by the decay of the pions. The name of the game is to get as intense a beam of neutrinos as possible, which means having as intense a beam of protons as possible. Neutrino beam physics could not be done with a collider, but could be done at the AGS with an improvement program. Thus, a group of experimenters interested in neutrino beam research began to promote the virtues of an AGS upgrade.

At the end of August, a "High Energy Study Group" chaired by Lederman was appointed, with the Ramsey panel proposals as an agenda framework and the $60 million storage ring considered at the summer study as the possible BNL response. The study group evinced no enthusiasm for storage rings—and equal disfavor for a project that had emerged at a high energy accelerator conference in Dubna, a few years before, involving a joint Soviet-American venture to build an accelerator in the neighborhood of 1000 GeV. Lederman's minutes of the study group read, "Discussion of International Collaboration and how it affects the 800 Gev machine. Much pessimism expressed—very little inclination to sacrifice regional HEP in the name of PEACE. Decision to let Kennedy and Kruschev et al continue discussions."[21] Instead, the study group supported the AGS upgrade and design studies for a "Very High Energy AGS," and mentioned the possibility of a meson factory. The upgrade, they felt, should consist of more than a new injector, but rather of an entire renovation of the AGS facilities. Goldhaber promptly wrote to the AEC to dissuade it from pursuing the idea of storage rings at the AGS.

The study group's report to the board of trustees, on 2 January 1964, recommended that the BNL work vigorously on design study for 600-1000 GeV machine, intending to obtain a beam "by 1975." As for AGS, it recommended augmenting the AGS luminosity by constructing a new injector to be completed "by approximately 1969." The committee expressed its negative reaction to the Ramsey panel's idea of storage rings, citing that CERN would probably build one at the PS, as well as concerns with the educational and scientific value of the storage rings. It pointed out that the

AGS upgrade program would cost about the same and have more "variety, flexibility, and multiple usage." This effectively ended the study of storage rings at the AGS, and a proposal was issued for an AGS upgrade (BNL 7956) in May 1964.

Nowadays, an outgrowth of storage rings called "colliders" are the accelerator type of choice of high-energy physicists—the controversial Superconducting Supercollider (SSC) now under construction in Texas would be the most powerful accelerator in existence. It thus might be difficult to understand an environment in which the project of constructing a collider was resisted, viewed as inferior to one involving improving an existing machine. Indeed, some physicists still question BNL's decision not to leap at the opportunity, all but handed them on a platter, to pioneer the development of the next major breakthrough in accelerator physics. Why was the lab which built the first proton synchrotron and discovered strong focusing so reluctant to tackle the next major step?

The answer lies in a constellation of factors, many of which pertain to BNL's interpretation of its role as a national lab in the era of big science. One set of factors was scientific. Many BNL scientists were skeptical of the reliability of the method and of suitable detection systems then available, while others pushed the virtues of luminosity over energy, especially in connection with neutrino beams. Another set was sociological. A worry throughout the high-energy physics community at the time was that there were too many research physicists and not enough support physicists and technicians to operate much larger machines, suggesting that it would be better to upgrade existing machines than build new ones. Also, some scientists, concerned with the role of national labs as training centers, thought this function would better be served by a multipurpose instead of a "single-use" machine. Moreover, the increasing cost of accelerators inevitably produced discourse about need for a national and even international program, and diversied rather than duplicate effort (e.g., CERN's). Thus, the decision not to embark on a storage ring facility at the AGS was not parallel to that of going ahead with a proton synchrotron and a strong-focusing machine.

Meanwhile, in 1964, CERN scientists prepared a design report for a storage ring project (the Intersecting Storage Rings, or ISR), approved the next year, which collided its first particles in January 1971. And, in 1963, scientists at the Stanford Linear Accelerator Facility submitted a preliminary proposal to the AEC for an electron-positron storage accelerator, though the project was not completed until 1972.

But the story of storage rings at BNL was not over. Within a few years, a proposal surfaced that, eventually, led to the rise and fall of an accelerator known as ISABELLE (Intersecting Storage Accelerator + BELLE), and the phoenix-like emergence of BNL's current major accelerator project, RHIC (Relativistic Heavy Ion Collider), from ISABELLE's ashes.

"Small Beginnings:" the Life Sciences

BNL's founders were aware of the potential uses of the lab's radiation facilities in transforming the life sciences, both in basic research into biological processes and in medical diagnosis and treatment. A life sciences program with a research hospital would be a natural complement to a lab oriented to the study of atomic energy. Camp Upton, the former army camp on the lab's site, had a 750-bed hospital together with support buildings and facilities, and the trustees had vague notions of converting some into temporary medical facilities with the long-range goal of constructing a modern research hospital.

The life sciences program, however, was slow to get off the ground. The reactor and accelerator projects—which were, after all, the lab's *raison d'être*—demanded more attention than anticipated; moreover, because what would make BNL's life sciences program unique would be the presence of radioisotopes for research and clinical use, full deployment of the program would have to wait completion of such projects. Also, the lab's planners were mainly physicists and chemists, who knew little about the life sciences and wanted to proceed cautiously. Expense was also an issue. First-class researchers in the life sciences were costlier than in other fields, and the trustees and the AEC were not sure the price was worth it, given the lab's orientation. All this conspired to put the life sciences on the back burner. During the first year, some trustees even wondered whether BNL ought to be planning a life sciences program at all. Although the original plans called for Biology and Medicine Departments, neither had an acting head for a few months after the lab opened, in 1947.

In April 1947, the clinical pathologist, F. William Sunderman, chief of the Division of Clinical Chemistry at the William Pepper Laboratory of the University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine, accepted the job of head of the Medical Department. However, he kept his existing position until the department was more developed, visiting the lab only every week or so. Sunderman's vision of a large, important research hospital at BNL almost immediately encountered resistance. When the Medical Department was officially activated on 1 July, an inauguration ceremony took place at which Sunderman spoke caustically about the trustees' foot-dragging:

> I am reminded of the young husband who accompanied his wife to the delivery room before the arrival of their first baby. When the door opened, the husband became sickened by the smell of assorted anesthetic and antiseptic vapors. Turning to his wife, he said, "Dear, do you really believe we should go through with this?"...Like the young husband's spouse, there appears to be no way *now* that we can *keep* from going *through* with it. I fear that some labor pains, however, are still ahead of us.[22]

Labor pains, indeed. They would be so severe that Sunderman, the midwife, would not last out the delivery.

Two weeks later, at the first meeting of his "Medical Advisory Board," Sunderman outlined a set of ambitious plans. The "ultimate objective" was a 200-bed research hospital to be completed by 1950, for $4,700,000, with another $2,500,000 for equipment, and annual operating expenses of $4,000,000. For the short term, an eighty-bed hospital would be built in the existing Camp Upton hospital buildings. A week later, upon learning that Los Alamos had received AEC approval in principal for its 350-bed hospital, a delighted Sunderman passed on the news to the Policy and Program Committee, saying, "If isolated Los Alamos can justify this...how much more readily can we!"[23] He then left on a tour of medical organizations of other laboratories.

Sunderman was moving too quickly, both for the trustees and the AEC. In his absence, the trustees received criticisms of his plans, which were said to be grandiose and impractical. "A research center in a relatively unknown field of endeavor cannot easily be created in peace times by fiat...[but] must originate from ideas....[P]rovisions for research must be made as ideas and problems develop, not before." The Medical Advisory Board's statement that "the Associated Universities, Inc. must be prepared to match the salaries paid elsewhere" was also not reassuring. The AEC, too, was reluctant to build large and expensive facilities at BNL; as Haworth reported later that year, "The AEC does not want to be in the medical care business."[24]

The trustees were now wary of saddling BNL with an expensive medical facility, unsure of the need, and distrustful of Sunderman. In his absence, they voted to table the medical research program and allocate only $169,800 to cover costs of medical service to employees. When Edward Reynolds said he would ask the deans of the medical schools of the nine universities for their views of a useful medical research program at BNL, some trustees wondered whether the conclusion might not be that there ought not to be one. One said, "It may prove that a medical research program should be undertaken by Associated Universities at some site other than Brookhaven, or at Brookhaven, or it might prove that it is not desirable to undertake such a program at all."[25]

Furious, Sunderman and his allies attributed the decision to the fact that the physicists and chemists who ran the lab looked upon life scientists as second-class citizens. William S. McCann, a friend of Sunderman's on the committee, wrote to him that

> many investigators in the physical sciences, devotees of pure and free scientific inquiry, suspect their bretheren in clinical investigation of being merely glorified pill peddlers, who never look beyond the limited horizons of the practical or useful, of having only a *zweck-wissenschaftliche Anschauung*.[26]

A series of meetings hosted by the life scientists at the lab also failed to spark a convincing initiative.

The trustees were too distracted by the reactor and accelerator projects to listen carefully, and Sunderman was present too infrequently to prevail over them. The Medical Department thus remained in limbo for months, in quarters

inadequate even in army days, and with no research initiative, while Sunderman, in the few times he was onsite, was too busy trying to bend the ear of trustees to pay much attention to the department's staff. To head the staff, Sunderman brought his friend Kenneth Koerber, from Philadelphia, and the lab had two other full-time doctors, Robert A. Love and Wilma Sachs. The three ran a simple clinic in old wooden barracks that had served as army hospital wards, but, until a research program developed, had little to do except perform first aid and catch up on pre-employment physicals for people hired months before. Serious illness and cases requiring surgery were sent to Mather Memorial Hospital in Port Jefferson, or South Side Hospital in Bayshore.

Sunderman, who became increasingly unpopular with the trustees, some of whom objected vociferously to his permanent appointment,[27] read the handwriting on the wall and resigned as Acting Chairman of the Medical Department, on 2 March 1948. The position was assumed by Captain R. D. Conrad, a retired Navy captain who had few medical qualifications but was a capable administrator, one of the "Bird Dogs" of the Office of Naval Research.

The Biology Department also experienced start-up woes. Its program was somewhat clearer, consisting of three general fields of research: effects of radiation on matter (including animal colonies and plant farms); studies using tracer techniques of biological mechanisms; and methods and techniques.[28] However, the department was hampered because its acting chairman, Leslie Nims, a capable and respected scientist, was not proving to be a good administrator. In March, the AEC called a halt to planning in the Biology Department at BNL.

By spring 1948, Brookhaven's life sciences program was in near-total disarray. Sunderman's ambitious plans for a large hospital had been rejected, he himself had left, and the Medical Department was in the hands of a retired Navy administrator. The trustees saw nothing to convince them that Brookhaven could offer research opportunities in the medical field that did not exist elsewhere. Moreover, while physicists across the country supported and assisted BNL's efforts, clinical researchers seemed uninterested in its opportunities and even less concerned to contribute to initiatives, causing the trustees to wonder whether it was worth it, given the enormous cost. As Reynolds put it, "we expect those interested in clinical research to lead the way." Responding to critics who accused the lab of turning its back on the medical departments, Haworth faulted the accusers for being "unwilling to start from small beginnings."[29]

Fortunately, a new member of the board of trustees had a plan to turn things around. A. Baird Hastings, professor of Biological Chemistry at Harvard Medical School, knew he was in for an uphill battle. Two of his postdoctoral students had turned down job offers at BNL, reporting that nobody interesting in their fields was there, that the place was in the middle of a wasteland, and that one would isolate oneself scientifically there. Only one other nonphysical scientist was on the board, a botanist who opposed a medical research program at BNL. As Hastings said, "the physicists and

chemists were going to run off with the whole show...They were in the mood to have nothing to do with medicine and only a little bit with biology." Alarmed that BNL's life sciences programs were on the brink of collapse, Hastings sought out his old friend and teacher Donald D. Van Slyke, one of the most renowned medical researchers in American history. Hastings convinced Van Slyke to become part-time "Consultant to the Laboratory" for the life sciences, and kept up pressure until he agreed to work full-time. "Hastings practically ordered me to go to Brookhaven," Van Slyke recalled.[30]

Van Slyke became the person who most shaped BNL's early life science program. An anomaly among the founding figures—he was not a young risk-taker but a white-haired eminence past retirement age—he fit right in to the "Brookhaven concept." He was skilled in forging interdisciplinary links; as a researcher, he had pioneered the bridge between chemistry and medical practice; as an administrator, he had forged unique interdisciplinary links between chemistry, biology, and medicine. Van Slyke was one of the two or three leading figures in the application of analytical chemistry to clinical practice, which revolutionized medicine in the first half of this century. In a 1963 BNL symposium on Van Slyke's eightieth birthday, Hastings called him the twentieth century iatro-chemist; "chemist to the medical sciences, and physician to chemistry."[31]

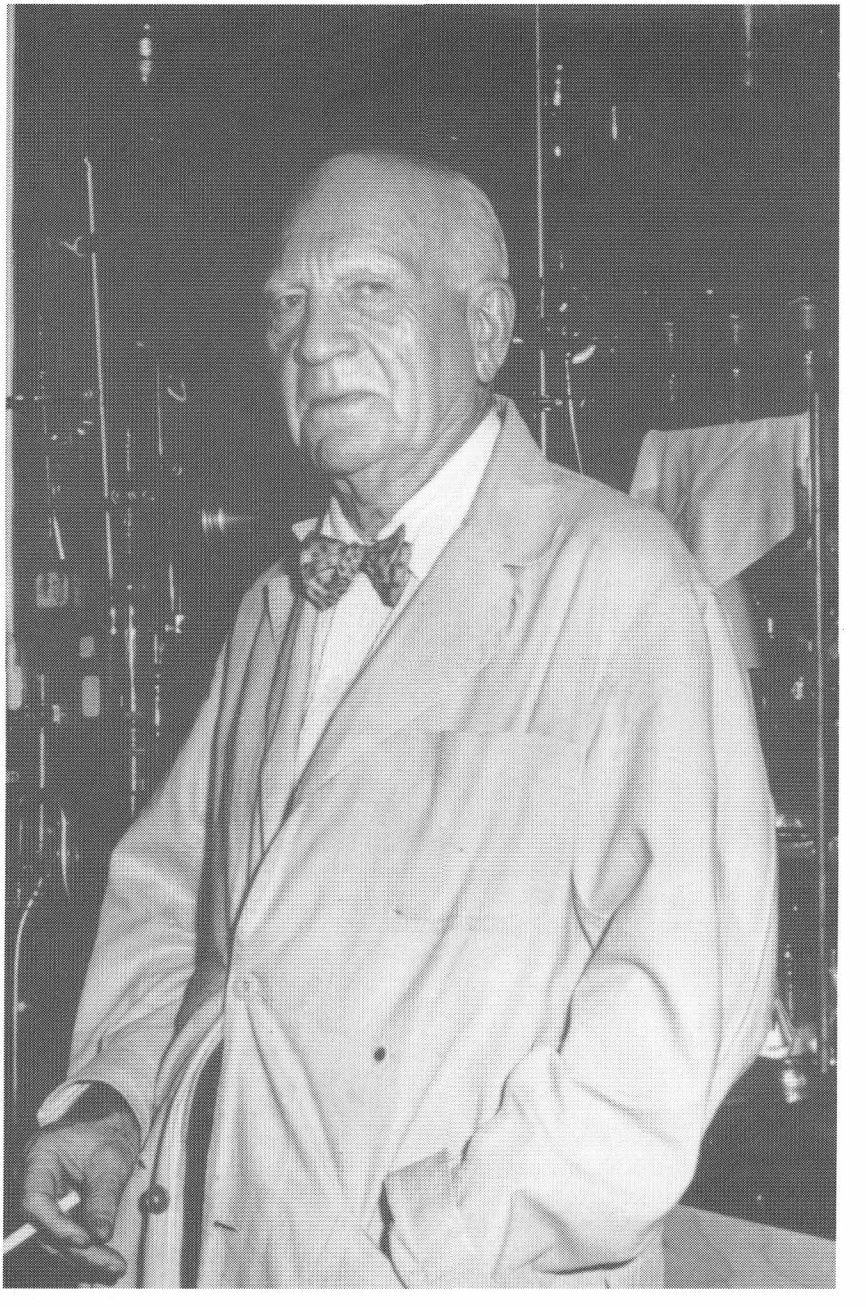
Van Slyke spent nearly his entire career at the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research (now Rockefeller University), declining, over four decades, many tempting invitations to leave. By the time his sixty-fifth birthday loomed, in March 1948, he had given his name to numerous methods and techniques. "I had everything I wanted to work with and complete freedom to do what I wanted," he said once. Everything, that is, but work past mandatory retirement, and the prospect had left him severely depressed, compounded by his wife's death after forty years of marriage; "Life to him wasn't worth living after her death," Hastings recalled. Then Hastings appeared, looking for someone with the experience to shape a life sciences program, and the authority to do battle with an arrogant group of physicists and chemists. At the end of his career, Hastings said that getting BNL and Van Slyke together was probably the most important thing he ever did. "I not only saved the biology and medicine [departments] for Brookhaven National Laboratory by that move," he remarked, "but I saved Van Slyke."[32]

Once Van Slyke agreed to join BNL, both his spirits and those of the BNL life sciences departments revived. On 15 March the Medical Department started twenty-four-hour emergency medical service to lab employees. On 31 March the conversion of three Camp Upton hospital wards to a temporary forty-bed hospital was approved. Van Slyke found himself fighting several policy battles involving the Medical and Biology Departments. One was to convince the trustees that the Medical Department ought to have a clinical research program at all. Another was opposing pressure to move it to New York City, making it (like the Cornell Medical Hospital, for instance) a kind of urban service facility to laboratories and hospitals there, and solving the

problem of isolation; Van Slyke objected, arguing that the chief and enduring value of the Medical Department would lie in the proximity of its researchers to those of other BNL departments. A policy battle involving the Biology Department turned on whether its work should encompass any research program favored by an environment whose facilities included a reactor and radioisotopes, or *only* those research projects requiring the reactor and radioisotopes—so that when a research project reached a point where it no longer needed such facilities, it would be terminated. Van Slyke argued for the former, more liberal approach, and his view prevailed—but the issue has returned again and again throughout BNL's history.

Van Slyke also participated in selecting permanent Medical and Biology Department chairs. His philosophy was to seek the best people he could and let them follow their research interests. "The organization, you might say, grew like Topsy rather than being designed from the start." The Medical Department had two close encounters with permanent heads early in 1948, one in March with Sidney Rothbard, who turned it down, and an even closer one in June with James Shannon, of the new Squibb Institute. Shannon was regarded as true BNL material; young and aggressive, experienced in administration, research, and dealing with the government, he was, as R. Keith Cannan, head of the committee, put it, one of the "men of to-morrow." Shannon was interested. He submitted a research program for the department, which obtained the written endorsement of the AEC (it did not involve immediate creation of a large hospital), and attended the June executive committee meeting to argue for it. The trustees wanted to know what BNL could do about clinical research, in the absence of a large hospital, that other institutions could not do better; Shannon responded with a "well-integrated long range program" connected with the lab's unique facilities, that impressed everyone. But agreement was never reached, apparently due to a salary dispute and Shannon's fears that little productive research could be carried on for at least a year because of lack of facilities.[33] Shannon was, indeed, a "man of to-morrow," but his future was not at BNL but rather as director of the National Institutes of Health, a job he held for many years.

In July, an old friend of Van Slyke's, Lee Farr, showed up at his Rockefeller office. Farr had worked with Van Slyke for six years at Rockefeller, leaving in 1940 to direct research at the Alfred I. duPont Institute, in Wilmington. Van Slyke had little hope of landing Farr, but outlined the BNL situation to him anyway. To Van Slyke's surprise, he found Farr unhappy with duPont, which had suffered after the war (as did most privately endowed institutions), and intrigued by the unusual possibilities of BNL. Farr visited BNL the next day, favorably impressing the directorate. He fit in with the trustees' "small beginnings" policy, and was of the opinion that a large hospital was not required for an effective clinical research program.[34] He was eventually recruited, and that August, he and Van Slyke proposed a three-fold plan for the department: the completion of a small, forty-two-bed hospital for treatment of onsite personnel and their families; completion of



Dr. Donald D. Van Slyke. Photograph, 1962, courtesy Brookhaven National Laboratory.

laboratories for experimental medicine; and eventual completion of a larger research hospital. For the laboratories, Van Slyke and Farr planned four "research groups," later called "divisions": bacteriology, biochemistry, pathology, and physiology. Sidney C. Madden, from Emory University, was chosen head of pathology; Van Slyke took over biochemistry until someone else could be found; William Hale, of the University of Iowa, headed bacteriology; physiology remained unfilled for several years.

Meanwhile, Van Slyke helped to find a permanent head for the Biology Department. By the end of 1949, it had four tenured faculty members (Nims, Singleton, Klein, and Sparrow), and moved into new facilities, but many complained of Nims's lack of administrative skill, finding him "undertaking too much, too soon," without the ability to coordinate. Nims promptly complied with Haworth's gentle suggestion to return to full-time research once a successor was chosen.[35] After an arduous search, H. J. Curtis was selected in May, but did not take over until October 1950. Curtis had a degree in physics from Yale, but spent the rest of his career as a biologist, working at Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory for three years before moving to Columbia University. During the war, he joined the Manhattan Project, directing the biology division at Clinton Laboratories before becoming head of the Physiology Department at Vanderbilt University.

"By that time [1950]," Van Slyke later recalled,

> I had gotten Farr for Head of Medicine and Curtis for Head of Biology and the departments were well-founded and going and I considered that it wasn't necessary to have an administrator standing between the heads of these departments and Haworth. I thought it was better to have Farr and Curtis report direct to Haworth. Besides which, I liked the laboratory work more than administration! But we had a good start. We'd gotten what I consider top grade men to start, and if you start with top grade men you can keep it up; you set your standard.[36]

That fall, Van Slyke accepted a job with the Eli Lilly Company, which was expanding its grants program in medical research and seeking an advisor to scout out worthy individuals in the U.S. and abroad. Haworth prevailed on him to stay on at BNL as a "guest investigator," a title for professors on sabbatical, with no salary but with all the privileges of a staff position. Under this arrangement, Van Slyke remained at BNL for the rest of his life, returning from Lilly to full-time research at the lab, in 1956, as senior scientist *emeritus*.

Meanwhile, the BNL life sciences program was at last on its feet, with a broadly-based research program which contributed to the understanding of basic biological processes through application of radioisotopic techniques, and of the effects of irradiation on organisms (including cancer treatments) and on communities of organisms; some of this work will be discussed in future articles. In 1952, the Biology Department expanded to a new building, which was almost fully occupied by the next year. A Medical Research Center was

built for the Medical Department (dedicated 16 December 1958), which included a forty-four-bed hospital, a small Medical Research Reactor (MRR) that went into operation the following March, designed for the sole purpose of serving the medical applications of reactors, and supporting laboratories.

Van Slyke continued to have an imposing presence at the lab in those later years, during which he improved many techniques he had developed in the 1930s by incorporating radioisotopic methods. In a field where hardly any work is known for more than a decade, Van Slyke was still a household name, thanks to techniques developed two and sometimes three decades previously. Many younger researchers tell about meeting him for the first time at the lab and afterward saying in a hushed voice, "Was that really *the* Van Slyke? I thought he'd been dead for a thousand years!"

Van Slyke, indeed, remained at the lab long after most of those whom he brought there. In 1961, Farr left for the University of Texas in Houston to organize a Brookhaven-style department; he was succeeded by V. P. Bond. In 1965, the Biology Department chairmanship went from Curtis, another of Van Slyke's hires, to H. C. W. Hirs. But, at the beginning of 1971, Van Slyke was still at BNL, working and publishing. He died that May, two months after his eighty-eighth birthday.

The Lab in 1962

In 1962, BNL entered a new phase in its history. The AGS, the world's most powerful accelerator, was headed for an upgrade which would make it an even more superior research tool. A series of major discoveries soon would be made by AGS experimenters, some of which won Nobel prizes. A second-generation reactor, the High Flux Beam Reactor (HFBR), was in the works. The work of other departments, not mentioned here, was also maturing, with research programs that frequently depended on each other in an interdisciplinary way.

In his 1962 Pegram lectures at BNL, Derek de Solla Price remarked that the importance of national laboratories is underestimated if they are taken simply as places where scientists go to work on large instruments too expensive for their home institutions:

> There is a further need to recognize that although a place such as Brookhaven was once where one went to work with big machines and certain other facilities, it has come nowadays to play an increasingly important role as a station on the commuting circuit of several invisible colleges. People come to work with other people, who have come to work with yet other people, who happen to be there. We need many more such facilities in various fields and in various countries.[37]

By the mid-1960s, BNL was not only the home of several of the largest and most important research instruments in the world, but also the site of pools of the skilled, interdisciplinary talent increasingly essential for the execution of scientific projects in many fields. The interdisciplinary character and growing

diversity of the lab would lead to new discoveries, but also to new tensions and dangers. The next article will explore some of the growing diversity and interaction throughout the 1960s and early 1970s—a period of severe cutbacks at BNL—as well as the development of other departments and research programs.

NOTES

1. The phrase "big science" had been coined the previous year by Oak Ridge National Laboratory director Alvin Weinberg, to refer to the recent exponential increase in scale of large scientific projects. See Derek J. de Solla Price, *Little Science, Big Science* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963); de Solla Price's BNL lectures were on 19, 23, 27, and 29 June 1962.

2. For BNL's early history, see Robert P. Crease, "The History of Brookhaven National Laboratory Part One: the Graphite Reactor and the Cosmotron," *LIHJ* 3:2 (Spring 1991): 167-188; and "The History of Brookhaven National Laboratory Part Two: The Haworth Years," *LIHJ* 4:2 (Spring 1992).

3. Geneva was selected in October, and work on the site began in May 1954.

4. Armin Hermann, John Krige, Ulrike Mersits, and Dominique Pestre, *History of Cern* (New York: North-Holland, 1987) 1:89.

5. Jeremy Bernstein, *Elementary Particles and their Currents* (San Francisco: W.H. Freeman, 1968), vii.

6. Ernest D. Courant, M. Stanley Livingston, and Hartland S. Snyder, *Physical Review* 88 (1952): 1188; John P. Blewett, ibid., 1197.

7. Ernest D. Courant, M. Stanley Livingston, Hartland S. Snyder, and John P. Blewett, *Physical Review* 91 (1953):202; Christofilos's manuscript was entitled, "Focusing Systems for Ions and Electrons and Application in Magnetic Resonance Particle Accelerators." Courant, Livingston, and Snyder also knew at the time of yet another and much earlier anticipation of the strong focusing principle (but which was not nearly worked out enough to be practical), and had referred to it in their original Physical Review article: L. H. Thomas, *Physical Review* 54 (1938):580, 588.

8. L. J. Haworth to T. H. Johnson, 9 September 1953.

9. John P. Blewett, "AGS Early History," in *AGS 20th Anniversary Celebration*, ed. Neil V. Baggett, BNL 51377, 5.

10. J. B. Adams, M. S. N. Hine, and J. D. Lawson, *Nature* 171 (1953):926; E. D. Courant, *Physical Review* 91 (1953):456A.

11. L. J. Haworth to T. H. Johnson, 21 August 1953.

12. For the important documents concerning the electron analogue, see Martin Plotkin: "The Brookhaven Electron Analogue 1953-1957," BNL 45058, 18 December 1991.

13. Kjell Johnson, "The AGS and the CERN PS: Recollections from the Early Years," in *AGS 20th Anniversary Celebration*, 37.

14. Plotkin, "Brookhaven Electron Analogue 1953-1957," 4.

15. L. J. Haworth to E. L. Van Horn, 2 November 1959.

16. G. K. Green to L. J. Haworth, 29 September 1960.

17. M. Stanley Livingston and John P. Blewett, *Particle Accelerators* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962), 647.

18. "Report of the Panel on High Energy Accelerator Physics of the General Advisory Committee to the Atomic Energy Commission and the President's Science Advisory Committee," 26 April 1963.

19. Minutes, AUI Board of Trustees, 19 April 1963.

20. In *Proceedings of the 1963 Summer Study on Storage Rings, Accelerators, and Experimentation at Super-High Energies*, June 10 to July 19, 1963, BNL 7534, 381.

21. Minutes, High Energy Study Group, 12 October 1962.

22. F. William Sunderman, "Remarks at the Opening of the Medical Department and Hospital Laboratories at the Brookhaven National Laboratory"; the document bears the date 1 May, but that is apparently erroneous.

23. F. W. Sunderman to Policy and Program Committee, 23 July 1947.

24. Perrin Long to P. Stewart Macaulay, 28 July 1947; Report of Conference of the Medical Advisory Board, Brookhaven National Laboratory, 16 July 1947, D.O. V, Internal Admin., Tech & Research 46: Medical Department:(General) 1948; minutes, Policy & Program Committee, 2 December 1948.

25. Minutes, executive committee of Associated Universities, Inc., 16 August 1947; Eldon C. Shoup, memo to files, 18 August 1947.

26. William S. McCann to F. William Sunderman, 2 Sept. 1947.

27. Eldon C. Shoup to Edward Reynolds, 5 Feb. 1948.

28. Budget and Program of the Biology and Medical Departments for Fiscal Year 1948, Brookhaven National Laboratory, 17 February 1948, D.O. V, Internal Admin., Tech & Research 46: Medical Department: (General) 1948.

29. Minutes, executive committee of Associated Universities, Inc., 19 March and 17 Sept. 1948.

30. Albert Baird Hastings, interview by Peter D. Olch, History of Medicine Division, National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, Maryland, 1969; Donald Dexter Van Slyke, ibid.

31. Hastings, "Donald Dexter Van Slyke: The 20th Century Iatro-Chemist," Chemistry in Medicine Symposium, held on the eightieth birthday of Donald Dexter Van Slyke, Brookhaven National Laboratory, 28-29 March 1963, in Proceedings, *Federation of American Societies for Experimental Biology*, May-June 1964.

32. Van Slyke, interview by Olch; Hastings, ibid.

33. Van Slyke, ibid.; R. Keith Cannan to Edward Reynolds, 10 May 1948; minutes, executive committee of Associated Universities, Inc., 18 June 1948; memo from chair to members of the advisory committee on biology and medicine, 8 July 1948.

34. Minutes, ibid., 14 October 1948.

35. Memo, R. D. Conrad to P. M. Morse, 29 March 1948; minutes, executive committee of Associated Universities, Inc., 18 November 1949; Leslie F. Nims to L. J. Haworth, 15 December 1949, D.O. V, Internal Admin., Tech & Research 10: Biology Department 1953-60.

36. Van Slyke, interview by Olch.

37. Price, *Little Science, Big Science*, 86.

Klokards, Kleagles, Kludds, and Kluxers: The Ku Klux Klan in Suffolk County, 1915-1928, Part One

By Jane S. Gombieski

Editor's Preface

The Ku Klux Klan, founded in 1865 in Pulaski, Tennessee, was a secret society, organized by Confederate veterans to maintain white supremacy during the era of Reconstruction. The Invisible Empire of the South aimed to prevent freed African Americans from enjoying the rights, privileges, and immunities guaranteed by the Constitution and its postwar Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. The Klan consisted of native-born, white, Protestant males committed to the restoration of Democratic party rule; its night-riding, terrorist tactics attempted to relegate former slaves to peonage and prevent them from voting Republican, holding office, or sending their children to newly-established, integrated public schools. In the words of a modern historian, Wyn Craig Wade, the veterans who made up the bulk of the Klan were encouraged "to whip, maim, and murder—to do anything they had been required to do as Rebel soldiers to achieve their goals... now...the overthrow of Reconstruction and the disfranchisement of blacks." Lynching, rape, arson, flogging, and other violent crimes against freed men and women and their white allies became so flagrant that the Grand Wizard, the shamelessly racist ex-Confederate General Nathan Bedford Forrest, "disbanded" the Klan in 1869. Continued lawless aggression by the KKK and its counterparts aroused Congress to pass the Ku Klux Act of 1871, subjecting individuals to trial in federal courts for violations of civil rights that states refused to prosecute. Enforcement of this (and the other "Force Acts") led to the temporary demise of the Klan in the early 1870s. However, the Radical Republicans' power in Congress decreased as the North lost its zeal for meaningful Reconstruction. By 1876, control of the South was restored to Democratic party control, discrimination again held legal sway, and the need for the Klan and its strong-arm enforcement of white supremacy dwindled, although it lingered close beneath the surface throughout the next forty years.[1]

In 1915, a regenerated Klan sprang to life in Georgia and spread into adjacent states. In the early 1920s, this "second" Klan mushroomed into the North and Mid-West, and on to the Pacific Coast, achieving a membership far in excess of its predecessor's. In reaction to a vast influx of immigrants with assorted ethnicities, faiths and languages, sometimes advocating social

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programs perceived as "un-American," the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., now targeted Catholics, Jews, radicals, liberals, and nonconformists of every shade, in addition to black Americans. From three- to five-million members were attracted to the new order, as opposed to the five hundred and fifty thousand who belonged to the Reconstruction Klan. Jane S. Gombieski's two-part series, the fruit of painstaking research, focuses on the "second" Klan in Suffolk County, during its rise and peak in the early and mid-1920s. Part one deals primarily with the organization of the Klan and its influence in some Protestant churches: part two (Spring 1994) will assess its political strength and the reasons for its decline at the end of the decade.[2]

Introduction

The churches of Suffolk County are leaders in the promulgation of ethnic, racial, and religious harmony. Yet some seventy years ago, a wave of klokards (lecturers), kleagles (recruiter-organizers), and kludds (chaplains) swept over the county's towns and hamlets, promoting the program and call to action of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc. The klokards, mostly Southern ordained ministers, soon obtained public platforms from which to disseminate their racially biased, anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, and anti-immigrant propaganda. The kleagles, usually residents of the county, sold memberships to white, Protestant, native-born, male Long Islanders eighteen years of age or more. The kludds were chaplains of local units who made known their affiliation gradually; as ministers of established churches with respectable congregations they furnished credibility, viability, and centers for Klan activity. By November 1923, the Long Island Klan claimed twenty thousand members, with eight hundred men joining every week. The *New York Herald Tribune* reported that the "Klan was potent politically in Nassau County but stronger in Suffolk": according to the historian David Chalmers, "By the beginning of 1924, one in every seven Suffolk residents was reportedly a member." Equating residents with voters, of which there were some 68,000, that total would have been 10,000. Women of the Klan were limited to auxiliary status, permitting them to help at rallies, parades (klavalkades), and charitable functions, and serve on church visitation teams. Other auxiliary groups included the Junior Order for Boys, the Tri-K for Girls, and the Cradle Roll, for toddlers. The American Krusaders, a key arm of the Klan, was for men barred from full-fledged status because they were foreign-born. Significantly, the Long Island headquarters of both the Junior Order for Boys and the American Krusaders were in Suffolk County, in Bay Shore.[3]

The Birth of a Nation and Klan Recruitment in Suffolk County

In a fiery-cross ceremony staged dramatically atop Stone Mountain, Georgia, "Colonel" William Joseph Simmons, a discharged Methodist preacher of the Florida-Georgia circuit, exhumed the Klan in October 1915. Simmons and other revivers promoted the organization in concert with showings of David Wark Griffith's epic pro-Klan film, *The Birth of a Nation*,

Table 1

1923 Suffolk KKK Open-air Meetings with New Member Initiations (Kludds officiated in midnight rites)

Community	*Crowd Estimate*	*Initiated*	*Source*
Eastport	4000	798	*Advance* 1 June
Patchogue	600	125	*Suffolk County News* 15 June
Hauppauge	25,000	1,400	*New York Times* 22 June
Middle Island	1,500	200	*New York Times* 3 July
Bay Shore	10,000-40,000	NA*	*Riverhead News* 20 July
Flanders	5,000	NA	*Riverhead News* 14 Sept.
East Islip	75,000 [*sic*]	500	*Port Jefferson Echo* 29 Sept.
Flanders	2,000	100-150	*Riverhead News* 5 October
Babylon/ Lindenhurst	15,000	350	*New York Times* 14 October
Greenlawn	2,000	60	*Long Islander* 2 November

NA: The press sometimes reported initiations of "large numbers," or printed KKK press releases with grossly inflated figures. Some papers, though, were skeptical: the *Riverhead News*, 2 Nov. 1923, estimated Suffolk membership at only 2,500; the *Tablet,* 5 Feb. 1924, figured no more than 9,500 on all of Long Island. Kleagle Selah Hiscox claimed 6,000 members in twenty-two Suffolk klaverns (Klan Kraft, 18 March 1924, and *New York Times*, 8 June 1924); Suffolk WKKK (Women's KKK) Queen Kleagle Helen Woodhull, of Babylon, bragged of 500 Klanswomen in the county (*Suffolk County News*, 19 Sept. 1924).

a smash hit in the North as well as the South. Large audiences witnessed a glorification of lynching, a distorted indictment of Radical Reconstruction, and a theme of white supremacy creatively packaged in a twelve-reel, two-hour-and-forty-five-minute work that critics judged a technical masterpiece. The film was adapted from Thomas Dixon's novel, *The Clansman: An Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan.* Dixon, a Southern Baptist minister and son of one of the founders of the original KKK, created the symbolic burning cross, adopted by the revivified Klan as a sign of dominance and terror. Before coming to Long Island, the movie played an exclusive engagement at the Liberty Theater, on Broadway, where huge figures of Klansmen on rearing steeds brandished fiery crosses above Times Square; the LIRR ran special trains for Long Islanders anxious to see it.[4]

In summer 1916, the film finally came to Bay Shore, Huntington, and Patchogue, where it opened at the Star Palace Theatre, accompanied by stage effects and a twenty-piece symphony orchestra that played "Dixie" when Southern troops marched to war, the "Light Calvary Overture" during battle

scenes, and "hootchy-kootchy" music, with driving tom-tom beats, to accent a white girl's pursuit by an African American man. The stirring "Ride of the Valkyries" and "Hall of the Mountain King" spurred on Knights in Klan regalia, with white hosts riding to the rescue on horses cloaked in KKK blankets and hoods, led by an avenging Klansman holding a lighted cross. Suffolk kluxers imitated this "parade of the liberators" down the main streets of Patchogue, Bay Shore, Orient, Northport, and other strongholds, at public meetings and before and after political victories. Klan officers in hoods and gowns, mounted on KKK-blanketed and hooded horses, appeared at the trumpet's sound, some bearing burning crosses high, others holding glass-studded or battery-powered crosses, followed by ranks of silent, white-gowned kluxers, arms folded across their chests. As it gathered strength, the Klan lit the Suffolk landscape from Montauk to the Nassau line, with crosses blazing on the eves of Lincoln's Birthday, Fourth of July, Labor Day, Columbus Day, Election Day, and Christmas, at carnivals, funerals, and parades, and often near or on the property of homeowners thought of as enemies. Demonstrations featured crosses twenty-five to sixty-feet high, made of utility poles with crosspieces wrapped in kerosene-soaked burlap, that burned for an hour or more and were visible for miles. Other crosses eight- to fifteen-feet high were lit along main roads, often at the same hour of night along the North and South shores. Smaller crosses were burned at grave-side rites for departed Klansmen. Both a mahogany cross with ruby red glass, used in Klan ritual, and a battery-powered cross of red light bulbs were carried in parades and on church visitations. Lawrence Deutzmann, the Suffolk County American Legion's publicity chairman and anti-Klan publisher-editor of the *Messenger* papers, had more than one cross burned on his property by the Smithtown Klan. Here, as elsewhere, the fiery cross (used as a literary device by Dixon, who borrowed the idea from Sir Walter Scott), was a cowardly, night-time weapon used to intimidate victims of racial, ethnic, and religious bigotry.[5]

When *The Birth Of A Nation* ran in the city, some prominent leaders wanted to ban it for instigating crime and racial prejudice. But in Patchogue, the *Advance* accepted a full-page ad and published a page-one rave review recommending this "masterpiece," which stood on the "bedrock of history." Some clergymen, however, complaining that the film competed with evening services, presented the village trustees with a thousand-name petition requesting that the Sabbath be observed. Although the Patchogue trustees outlawed Sunday performances (which seriously competed with Sabbath attendance, especially at the evening service), the law did not take effect until the run of the film was over.[6]

No protest was reported when the movie played in Huntington, in August 1916. *The Long Islander* ran a photo of a robed Knight in a pointed helmet, astride a KKK-blanketed and hooded horse, captioned: "The famous Ku Klux Klan as Pictured in *The Birth of a Nation*." An advertisement listed how many times the film played in major cities: New York, nine hundred; Boston

and Philadelphia, four hundred each; Chicago, six hundred; and three hundred apiece for St. Louis, Pittsburg, Los Angeles, and San Francisco.[7]

The Klan and War Veterans' Organizations

On 1 July 1916, Simmons's revived Ku Klux Klan was chartered nationally, its officers receiving copies of *The Kloran, the Book of Klan Ritual and Lectures*, filled with prayers, oaths, hymns, and rites familiar to fundamentalist Protestants. Despite the Kloran's emphasis on patriotism, the KKK played a minor role in World War I, sometimes earning contempt for its anti-Catholic bias at a time when many Long Island Catholic soldiers suffered death and wounds in combat. Veterans' groups removed Klan wreaths from war memorials, opposed kluxers' marching in parades honoring servicemen, and protested KKK meetings in buildings dedicated to veterans. Lawrence Deutzmann, the Suffolk American Legionaire and newspaper publisher-editor, courageously exposed the Klan's crimes, lies, and political plots. The Wilson Ritch Legion Post 432, of Port Jefferson, publicly denounced the Klan, vowing to use every legal means to stop it from organizing locally.[8]

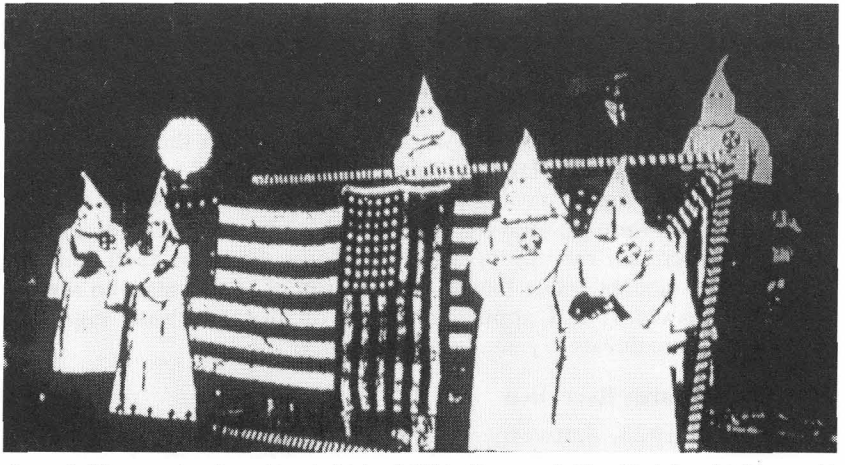
KKK Recruitment through Vigilance Committees

Recruitment began with analysis of community needs that could be exploited to promote the Klan as vital to Christians. Evangelistic proponents met with pastors and found that pervasive bootlegging, increased corruption by officials, and perceived postwar loosening of morality were appealing issues to incorporate in the structure of vigilance committees. The Klan also capitalized on the desire of restless young men for adventure, as well the concern of "law and order" upholders to enforce the Volstead Act. For example, pastor John James Macdonald, of the Port Jefferson Presbyterian Church, preached a sermon the "Ku Klux Klan," in December 1922, to an approving congregation. In 1923, Macdonald was elected president of the Citizens League of Suffolk County, a North Shore vigilance group aimed at obtaining "absolute information against people supposed to be engaged in the rum traffic." Egbert Fountain, Port Jefferson's Baptist minister, allowed klokards into his pulpit and advertised special Klan services. Fountain delivered sermons like "The Ku Klux Klan, Shall We Oppose It?" in which he presented large crowds with the Oath of Allegiance and Romans 12, the KKK's object lesson, and, in its ritual, the chapter to which the Bible was always laid open. Pastors active in vigilance groups endorsed the KKK's ideals after answering an emphatic "yes" to the question, "Has the KKK the right to organize in New York State?" Andrew E. Van Antwerpen, of the West Sayville First Reformed Church, allowed a gowned and hooded Klansman to his pulpit in November 1922, and later addressed two hundred people in Stony Brook in a spirited defense of the order. Charles E. Williams, a popular Setauket preacher, asked "Why the Ku Klux Klan?" and gave a positive answer in a church filled with Klan men and women from all over the Island,

followed by a reading of the Klan's principles and Romans 12. Most of the press, which called for action against lawbreakers, welcomed the support of the Klan and other church-backed vigilance committees in the effort to enforce Prohibition. Eager for colorful stories, the newspapers helped the Klan to expand by often depicting it as larger and stronger than it was.[9]

The Rev. William MacNicholl, of the Centerport Methodist Episcopal Church, whose Irish birth limited his membership to the American Krusaders, was called "the old man," a name savored by Klan organizers. MacNicholl read the KKK's ideals and principles from his pulpit, praised the Klan in sermons, and accepted $100 from a Klansman during a special service. A letter from the Huntington and Northport klaverns (meeting places, or "dens") acknowledged his support. MacNicholl, who recruited in many communities, addressed ministers from Setauket, Hicksville, and Patchogue in a meeting sponsored by H. B. Schneit, in the Riverhead Methodist Episcopal Church. Within a month, other pastors from Coram, Kings Park, Lake Grove, St. James, Stony Brook, Setauket, and Hauppauge had heard about the Klan and were planning its expansion. Their agenda included making lists of possible entry points and places where liquor was stored and sold, and identifying corrupt officials. The clergymen were committed to the enforcement of Prohibition because of their concern with alcohol abuse, the toll on families when earnings were spent on drink, and the brutalizing of wives and children by drunkards. Farmers renting barns to bootleggers for storage of liquor, baymen bringing in shipments from Rum Row hidden under their scallops, and residents helping to unload the cases and put them in waiting trucks and cars, were condemned for taking the ready money and aiding criminals who violated the Eighteenth Amendment. The Klan's encouragement resulted in increased numbers of men attending and giving financial support to the churches. William N. Norris, pastor of the Bellport Presbyterian Church, was known to be favorable to the Klan, if not actually a member, accounting for a considerable increase in church attendance, particularly among younger men. In November 1923, he preached to a congregation of kluxers in full regalia, exhorting the people to vote pro-Klan on election day. The "Trinity" Klan, which stretched from East Moriches to Sayville, and from Route 25 to Great South Bay, supposedly had two hundred and fifty members in March 1923. This unit used meeting rooms in the Pape building, in Patchogue, which was sublet to Court Advance, Foresters Lodge, exemplifying the Klan's reliance on fraternal organizations for recruitment and support. The Klan's easy access to meeting halls of the Elks, Masons, and Woodmen suggests its acceptance by these groups, just as its frequent use of churches for meetings and services indicates its considerable strength among Protestant clergy and laity.[10]

During recruiting drives in South Shore villages in March 1923, several newspapers urged the formation of vigilance committees. The *Sayville News* argued that every village needed a Law Enforcement League club, composed of "honest, law-abiding citizens" of sufficient numbers and influence to



Open-air Klan meeting, Stony Brook, 26 April 1924. Photograph, New York Herald Tribune, *28 April 1924.*

demand enforcement by the authorities. Bay Shore had such a club, while the Sayville Club of fifty men was "the strongest and most effective organization yet formed." The *Advance* suggested that "unless the K.K.K., which professes to be the exponent of moral uplift, can handle the situation, it is up to just about a score of forceful citizens to form a vigilance committee and clean house." The *Islip Press* urged people to join the Southside Law Enforcement League, and agree "to cooperate to the end that law shall be respected and our common heritage, the constitution, shall be preserved from disruption."[11]

In June, the Quogue KKK was credited with closing a gambling den, thus fulfilling its boast to purify and protect community morals. In July, the Rev. R. Clyde White, of the Wading River Congregational Church, presided at a meeting in the Riverhead Congregational Church. One hundred ministers and churchmen met behind closed doors to form a North Shore vigilance committee, to "stem the young ocean of booze that is said to be engulfing the eastern part of Suffolk County and to capture the bootleggers." Ministers and laymen representing North Shore churches from Port Jefferson to Orient set up the organization, whose slogan was "Information, Education, Agitation." John J. Macdonald was elected president. They did night watches of all coves, creeks, and bays, as well as the Sound, and tried to notify the Coast Guard and Customs and Prohibition agents of suspicious craft apparently ready to send liquor shipments ashore. Once the goods were loaded on trucks, search warrants were necessary but complicated arrests by the sheriff or his deputies. Armed Klansmen were often accused of stopping cars and searching for liquor without warrants or authority, in what some considered Suffolk's version of the Wild West.[12]

In November 1923, William H. Alderson, pastor of the Islip Methodist Episcopal Church, assisted by Harry S. Crossett of the Bay Shore Methodist

Church, began a South Shore vigilance committee. With men from both churches, they drew up a list of places where liquor was sold, and devised plans that netted boats, trucks, and liquor shipments in a crusade against the rum trade, with the direct aid of Prohibition agents of the U.S. Treasury Department. The Rev. William Alderson warned from the pulpit that if reason failed to stop bootlegging, "a more radical plan" would be put in effect, with KKK vigilance committees meting out justice whenever moral or legislated laws were "flagrantly violated." Members planned a "general clean-up" after rum-running off Fire Island was stopped. Such ambition typified Klan thought, while fueling the criticism of opponents who saw the KKK as a lawless, self-appointed judge of morals whose vigilance committees were threats to genuine law and order.[13]

How the Klokards Recruited

In spring 1923, Antwerpen offered the opening prayer at a Klan recruitment meeting at the Sayville Congregational Church. The building was "literally packed to the doors," with vast crowds standing outside to hear Oscar F. "Big Bill" Haywood, from Mount Gilead, North Carolina, a klokard, kleagle, and skilled publicity-seeker. Although expelled for Klan activities from the New York City Calvary Baptist Church, in December 1922, Haywood was an electrifying speaker, welcome in Long Island pulpits and meetings. The Sayville pastor, William T. Edds, objected to the rental of his church to Haywood, who plastered the area with signs that read: "The KKK day by day in every way is growing stronger and stronger, stands for Christians, Protestants, American ideals. Here yesterday, today and forever." Haywood denied being a racist, but told "negro jokes" and advocated "Klannishness." TWAK (Trade Only With A Klansman) signs in windows of business establishments sometimes drove away possible customers and subjected owners to boycotts and harassment. Suffolk Klansmen were prone to boycott others, but tried to avoid it themselves. In summer 1923, for example, the *Port Jefferson Echo* carried a garage advertisement with the not very subtle coded line that "We Kleen Kars Karefully," a phrase often seen in Klan journals.[14]

The Congregational pastor Edds's objection was expected and wanted. The National Council of Congregational Churches recommended that members refuse to join "any secret organization that attempt to exercise the power of government in the dark," and voted in conference that a "secret organization that works government to its own end, is a menace to the stability of government." Using Edds's church was a ploy calculated to arouse controversy and guarantee newspaper coverage, giving an opportunity to cite the high purpose, ideals, and rights of kluxers. Flyers advertising white-Protestant-only meetings were handed out on street corners, and anti-Catholic KKK cards, distributed on the night before St. Patrick's Day, provoked people into inappropriate action. The KKK rented the Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Community Building in Bay Shore, in November 1922, for

what it claimed would be an American Legion meeting. After the Knights of Columbus gave up its regularly scheduled basketball night for the "veterans," an ad in the *Bay Shore Journal* announced a "free Klan lecture in Community Hall," exposing the Klan's deception. When the Klan then rented the Odd Fellows Hall, the klokard, G. A. Mahoney, was driven from the hall by a hostile crowd, which prompted the local press to run a pro-Klan editorial on free speech. In April 1923, members of the Nassau, Queens, and Suffolk Councils of the Knights of Columbus were shocked to read an advertisement, in the *Floral Park Record*, for a Klan rally in Childs Hall. They attended *en masse*, took over the speaker's platform, and passed a resolution by a vote of four hundred to thirty that the Klan was un-American and should have no place in the community. As local residents subscribed to city dailies that exposed nationwide Klan atrocities such as lynching, tar-and-feathering, branding, mutilation, and other violent crimes, many felt that the same Klan terror tactics would follow recruitment. Speakers wearing Klan white robes and hoods, even when unmasked, represented an America that was unacceptable. One klokard, the Rev. Dr. John Moore, admitted it had been unwise to hold a Klan meeting in the same hall that served the Roman Catholic parish of Our Lady of Victory Church for masses. However, when he spoke on the South Shore of Suffolk, there was no opposition to his claim that the cause of the Klan was advanced by advertising, use of the ballot to elect the right candidates, and enforcement of the laws against such evils as white slavery, bootlegging, and dope-vending. In Sayville, Bay Shore, and Floral Park, the Klan garnered free publicity by posing as a victim deprived of its First Amendment rights.[15]

Eloquent, enthralling, bombastic ministers like Haywood; John Moore, of Plains Bluff, Arkansas; Basil Newton of Guthrie, Oklahoma; J. H. Hawkins of West Virginia; G. A. Mahoney; and C. Lewis Fowler, were popular in Suffolk. These dynamic klokards' enthusiasm was whetted by their $8-share (double the usual amount) of the $10 membership donation (klectoken) for every man they signed up, together with lucrative fees for lectures. Their technique was to meet with local key figures and the press to ensure a welcome, after which invitations went out for an open Klan meeting, notices appeared in the press, posters with pictures of Klansmen were put on telephone poles, flyers papered the area, and KKK literature and membership cards were made available. Well-advertised church visitations, featuring an illuminated cross and special Klan sermon, were carefully orchestrated, with gold coins, cash, and letters from a local grateful Klan presented to the pastor in front of the congregation, and robed and hooded kluxers in the front pews or around the pulpit. As an aftermath, Klansmen from the three provinces of Long Island, New York, and part of New Jersey were summoned to an open-air meeting, where candidates were initiated in an awesome ceremony to which reporters and photographers were invited. In the final stage, when all members had their official Klan regalia, klokards would be re-assigned to other parts of the country.[16]

The Role of the Kleagles

Major Emmett D. Smith, the Imperial Wizard's representative on Long Island, who operated from Queens, frequently addressed Suffolk rallies. Smith, a Southerner who also was King Kleagle of the Realm (state) of New York, later ran the state Klan from Binghamton until his death in 1926. Successful district and county kleagles like Suffolk's Selah Van Velsor Hiscox, of East Patchogue, with clean records and deep roots in the community, wielded political weight and had many contacts. Their membership packet included the "ABCS of the Ku Klux Klan," and a reprint of "Scum O' The Melting Pot," a 1920 magazine article protesting the naturalization of "undesirable" aliens. The kleagles sought "Real men 100 percent American White Native Born Gentile Believing in Tenets of the Christian Religion and in the Separation of Church and State." Kleagles, who made a good living until their areas reached membership potential and income decreased, were paid $4 of each $10 klectoken; King Kleagles $1; Great Titan 50 cents; $2 went to the Imperial Wizard; and $2.50 to the Propagation Department, in Atlanta. Some organizers kept klectokens, did not report new members, and skimped on the proceeds from goods and services, such as fireworks at demonstrations.[17]

Although the anti-Klan *Messenger* reported that he left his post with unpaid Klan bills, Hiscox announced in October 1924 that he had quit as kleagle of Suffolk (for a job with a Patchogue razor factory), because he found the expense of initiations and related business too high. As with some other Klansmen, Hiscox's real problem was the split in the ranks caused by former Imperial Emperor Simmons's efforts to regain the leadership from Imperial Wizard Dr. Hiram Wesley Evans. Simmons's representative, Charles Kressel (sometimes spelled Kessel), of Baldwin, sowed discontent in Suffolk by organizing units of the Hidden Hosts, Knights of the Flaming Sword, and the woman's group, the Kamelia. A rebellion was attempted in February and March 1924 by units wanting to break with Atlanta. Hiscox was loyal to Simmons, who advocated more local control over leadership and finances, and did away with the secrecy of membership. Pro-Simmons kluxers wanted more Klan money to stay in their own Long Island treasuries, but Evans wanted full imperial coffers for the coming election campaign. Early in 1924, Evans ousted Simmons amid protracted wrangling and litigation.[18]

The district kleagle controlled a klavern until it was chartered, after which it elected a president known as the Grand Exalted Cyclops (E. C.), often a respected member of the community. For example, James E. Zegel, the Treasury agent in charge of the Bay Shore Prohibition-enforcement office, served as the Islip E. C. in 1924, at the peak of the KKK's popularity and power. Maynard C. Spahr, pastor of Brookhaven Methodist Episcopal Church, was Brookhaven's E. C. in 1927, when the Klan publicly dedicated a Klubhouse in Blue Point, and geared up to stop New York Governor Alfred E. Smith from winning the presidency in 1928. The Great Titans were "Klan congressmen," because their jurisdictions coincided with congressional

districts. In 1926, Paul F. W. Lindner, a well-regarded Malverne businessman, was Great Titan of Province 2 (Nassau, Suffolk, and part of Queens), an area coterminous with the First Congressional District. The officers of the province met regularly at KKK headquarters in Malverne, where they set up the Klan Kounty Kalendar, distributed Atlanta communiques, brought in items for the Klans news bureau, and handled other important business. Once the required number of klaverns was established in New York State, a Grand Dragon was appointed, whose jurisdiction also included New Jersey. Atlanta was slow to grant charters, because the portion of initiation fees and membership dues that local klaverns were entitled to keep reduced the flow of money into the national headquarter's treasury. Chartered members paid five cents per capita, per month. The imperial tax was $1.80 per year, and the annual realm tax $1 per member. All Klan paraphernalia had to be ordered from Atlanta, from horse blankets costing $3 to altar Bibles at $1.75, altar swords at $6, and fiery crosses, complete with fuel tank, $25. Grand Dragon outfits cost $40, with helmet, an E. C's regalia ran $12, and a member kluxer's robe, with hood, $6.50. A charter was generally withheld from a unit until it signed up the quota of possible members allotted to it by Atlanta; for example, the Bellport-Patchogue "Trinity Klan" was assigned to recruit five hundred. After provisional status for several years, both the "Trinity" and Bay Shore units threatened secession, perhaps to pressure Atlanta; by 1926, their charters were granted.[19]

The Importance of the Kludds

Kludds, the chaplains of local units, were militant ministers who mixed religion and politics. When some pastors rejected the Klan, like William T. Edds, of Sayville, who resigned rather than permit its activity, they were sometimes replaced with pro-Klan ministers, or had to relocate. The KKK's Propagation Department furnished willing churches with free religious tracts that united Christianity with kluxism, and colorful placards that merged fundamentalist messages with KKK aims and principles. Kludds received free regalia, subscriptions to Klan publications, and the opportunity to preach in church and at large public meetings where they also performed Klan baptisms, weddings, and initiations. Many newspapers quoted their sermons. All this resulted in increased income, attendance, and Sunday school enrollment for churches at which they appeared. Donations from visiting Klansmen helped restore buildings, provide new additions, and acquire items like organs and stained glass windows. The kludds allowed kluxers into their pulpits, preached pro-Klan sermons themselves, and often had standing-room only at special Sunday evening Klan services. Pastor Macdonald gave a December 1922 sermon on the Klan, and another in November 1923, "The Fiery Cross and the Cross Under Fire." The illuminated Klan cross placed on church roofs or behind the pulpit was popular. Antwerpen was famous for his cross and his sermon, "The Irrepressible Light" At one November 1923 service devoted to the Klan, thirteen kluxers in regalia sat in the front seats,

as five hundred people filled the church to hear Antwerpen declare "that it was the duty of the Klansmen to show the light of the world." Kludds officiated at well-advertised Klan funerals, attended by kluxers from the entire region. At the funeral of Klansman Ferdinand J. Downs, Walter L. Angelo, of the Eastport First Methodist Protestant Church, Howard E. Mather, of the East Moriches Methodist Episcopal Church, and Antwerpen all appeared in Klan regalia for rites which included robed and hooded pallbearers, crosses burned at grave-side, and kneeling Klansmen raising their hands to heaven in the KKK salute. The well-advertised event was covered by reporters, photographers, and film makers.[20]

Kludds determined to resurrect what they perceived as morality, restore desired community standards, and fill churches with "real men," found the Klan's message appealing. Their postwar world was beset with race riots, labor strikes, and waves of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe who brought different languages, customs, and religions. New ideas were promoted in movies and on the radio. Communism, the "red peril," appeared an imminent danger. People had to adapt to a faster-paced world with a dynamically expanding technology. Women insisted on voting and taking part in the political process: they demanded non-traditional roles and exhibited public behavior that newspapers denounced. As if in answer to klokards like Haywood and Mahoney, sounding the Klan's call for "pure womanhood" protected by "real men," Setauket Klanswomen donated money to a Middle Island colleague who lost her home and possessions in a fire, and South Shore Klanswomen gave cash to the Bellport Presbyterian Church. Dressed in Klan regalia and led by a police motorcycle escort, Patchogue women of "Acirema" (America spelled backwards) escorted the casket of an esteemed Klanswoman in a parade to a local cemetery, carrying a mammoth American flag, held horizontally, on which people tossed coins to help pay expenses. Women sang Klan hymns at graves decorated with KKK wreaths shaped into crosses and bearing the Klan motto, all part of the "Lodge of Sorrows" function allowed to women. Within the order, however, women were confined to inferior status to men, with "absolutely no confiding of the work, plans and other matters of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, nor may a Klansman reveal his identity to a Woman of the Klan any more than to any alien."[21]

The Press

Several papers were outspokenly anti-Klan, including the chain run by Lawrence Deutzmann, and that of James B. Cooper, of Babylon, each a Democrat who sought office unsuccessfully against "Republiklan Klandidates." The chain run by the Harry Lee family was studiously neutral. But by and large, the Suffolk press not only supported the KKK, but was its invaluable ally. The *Bay Shore Press, Northport Journal, Northport Observer,* and the eight-paper chain owned by W. Kingsland Macy bought advertisements in Klan journals, while the *Long Islander*, *Greenport Watchman*, *Advance*, *Port Jefferson Echo*, and others kept the Klan in the public eye. The

papers announced meetings, wrote favorable editorials, reported on pro-Klan sermons, and lauded the order for its benevolence. The Klan's self-serving acts of charity ranged from the gift of ten thousand cigarettes to a veterans hospital, to one hundred dollars donated by the Provisional Ku Klux Klan of Greenport to the local library, to $25 sent to the Greenport African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. The letter that accompanied the A.M.E. Zion donation was printed in several newspapers, giving the Klan publicity worth far more than the amount of the gift. Though Suffolk residents could read the city dailies for news of the Klan's crimes and scandals, the local papers avoided such stories, protecting not only the Klan but themselves both from boycotts and getting dropped from the government's lucrative legal notice list.[22]

Klan Threats: "On Yo Way"

"Boy, does yo' get a letter from de Ku Kluxes, what yo' gwine do wid it?...Read it on de train." In May 1923, a threatening note was pushed under the door of Dr. Daniel W. Wynkoop, the founder of Southside Hospital, Bay Shore, and an active Democrat: "The Ku Klux Klan advises you to leave the village at once unless you want to be tarred and feathered." The Babylon Klan resented Wynkoop's letter in the *Babylon Signal,* in which he alleged that the Klan in the South was run largely by men of questionable character, and hinted that "ministers now travelling in the interests of the organization have been discredited at home." A *Southampton Times* article reported a warning to a resident that the Klan had received several complaints from villagers and determined that "you are an undesirable citizen and you and your family are unfit to live with respectable white people. The records show you desire niggers. Take a hint and beat it. (Signed Ku Klux Klan)."[23]

The Suffolk Klan's condescendingly superior attitude toward African Americans was reflected in a *Port Jefferson Echo* report that nine klansmen, in full regalia, conducted "impressive" services for a Klansman laid to rest in Stony Brook, at which "colored grave diggers...turned white on the appearance of the hooded knights." On Christmas Eve 1923, the Klan presented African American families in Setauket with baskets of food, but later that evening burned crosses near their homes. A $50 gift to the Long Island Colored Citizens Union was parried with a warning not to form a political club or seek office (the terms under which Antwerpen, at a Brookhaven rally, once called for a separate auxiliary for Protestant blacks). Visitations to A.M.E. churches were made with the advance approval of the pastor and board of trustees. E. C. James E. Zegel and kludd Antwerpen, for example, visited Setauket twice in fall 1924, in hopes of convincing the congregation that they were not "anti-Negro," first at the church and then at a meeting held by the local Klan "for the benefit of Colored People." Under the heading of "Principles and Purposes," the first annual meeting of KKK Grand Dragons, in Asheville, North Carolina, in 1923, declared that:

> The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan has no fight to make against the Negro. He is recognized as an inferior race and Klansmen are sworn to

> protect him, his rights and property and assist him in the elevation of his moral and spiritual being and in the preservation of the purity of his race.

This patronizing theme sounded throughout Suffolk, as church visitation teams donated cash amounts of $25 to $250, and stated they had no evil intentions, particularly if intermarriage with Caucasians were rejected and no attempts made to get into government. The Rev. Robert E. Duvall, of Arnett A. M. E. Church, Port Jefferson, returned the Klan's donation, an act of particular bravery in the face of Klan support by Macdonald's and Fountain's churches, the school district's pending acceptance of a twelve-by-twenty-foot silk American flag from the Klan, and the fire department's massive Klan night during its annual carnival in 1923, attended by more than two thousand kluxers from all over the Island, at which several huge crosses burned.[24]

Klan Recruitment through anti-Catholicism

The national Klan made Roman Catholics the major thrust of its bigotry, because of the deeply-held perception that America "was colonized by Protestants, with the oft-professed purpose of creating a new world safe from Roman tyranny." Many people disputed what they presumed was the Catholic church in America's claim of jurisdiction above the government's, and the right to annul its laws. The church's refusal to recognize marriages involving Catholics performed by Protestant ministers was a serious issue, as was the Klan's accusation that the Roman hierarchy sponsored un-American teaching and practices in its parochial schools. One of the most effective anti-Catholic canards was the spurious "Secret Oath of the Knights of Columbus," taken whole cloth from a 1912 work designed to discredit Catholics in general and Fourth Degree Knights of Columbus in particular. In each of two parts, the "Priest's Oath" and the "Jesuit Oath of Secrecy," a member of the Knights of Columbus allegedly swore to wage war against heretics, Protestants, and Masons, sparing neither age nor sex,

> or [*sic*] condition and that I will hang, burn, waste, boil, flay, strangle, and bury alive these infamous heretics, rip up the stomachs and the wombs of their women, and crush their infants heads against the walls in order to annihilate their execrable race.

The false oath required members to vote for Catholic candidates, place Catholic girls as spies in Protestant families, and store arms and ammunition in readiness when "commanded to defend the Church either as an individual or with the militia of the Pope." The *Messenger* scoffed at the claim that the K. of C. was storing guns in the hollow columns of church buildings, but the thousands of copies of the oath distributed by the Klan gulled many people to believe it was true because of the reference, under the text, to its entry in the *Congressional Record*.[25]

The fake oath was cited as evidence of wrong-doing in a congressional elections committee investigation that condemned its publication. In

September 1921, the *New York World* exposed the Klan's trickery in "Ku Klux Salesmen Circulated A Forged Oath of Treasonable Murderous Obligations." In October, the Long Island Chapter of the Knights of Columbus, under Grand Knight of the Montauk Council, James L. Tobin, representing twenty-six thousand members, condemned the Klan for usurping functions legally vested in public authorities, scheming to turn public officials into "subservient tools," and contravening principles of democratic government through racial and religious rancor. The council petitioned the president, attorney general, congressmen, and the governor to adopt measures to preserve freedoms and restore the rights of Catholics.[26]

The Knights of Columbus threatened to prosecute the *Rail-Splitter*, a rabidly anti-Catholic, Klan-owned newspaper distributed on Long Island by William MacNicholl, the Centerport Methodist minister, as "an act of religious duty, as well as a service to our country." The *Rail-Splitter* printed pornographic material on the horrors and excesses of the church, allegedly written by former priests and nuns. The oath appeared in an article by Grand Dragon Arthur H. Bell, who cited such trumped-up K. of C. slogans as "The Pope is King," and "To Hell With Government." Though the *Rail-Splitter* defended Bell's work as the "greatest defense of Klancraft and the greatest unmasking of the K. of C. ever written," he did not publish the oath again. However, despite K. of C. protests, pro-Klan Suffolk ministers like Charles E. Williams, of the Setauket Methodist Church, continued reading the oath from the pulpit to horrified congregants. A Roman Catholic plot to destroy the public school system and install the pope in Washington seemed plausible to those who believed the warning of klokards like C. Lewis Fowler that Catholics were "laying extensive plots to get political control and their immediate aim is the presidency or vice presidency." In 1928, the false oath helped to rally voters against Alfred E. Smith.[27]

In February 1923, Suffolk newspapers carried a K. of C. advertisement offering $25,000 to anyone in the state who could prove that the "blood and thunder" oath was true. No one accepted the challenge, but the Klan continued to disseminate anti-Catholic literature. The *Christian Advocate*, organ of the Methodist Church in New York, published "A Hoax or Worse," an editorial suggesting that some material sent to Protestants "by mistake" was the work of the KKK, "unworthy of the name of Protestant for the action." The "secret" mail was supposedly intended for "All Councillors of the Fourth Degree, Knights of Columbus, and To Those Engaged in Special Political Work for the Church. Under Special Seal of Absolute Secrecy. Guard as Your Own Life." It confided a plan to elect Alfred E. Smith president, and to crush the KKK, Masons, and Junior Order of United American Mechanics. The supposed text ended: "Down with the heretics! Do you want to see the Holy Father sitting in the White House? Then smash the Protestants."[28]

In communities where both Catholics and Protestants ran for school boards, crosses often burned on the property of Catholic candidates, as in an intense campaign in Babylon. When the two Catholic candidates won by

narrow margins in August, the Klan's appeal to New York Commissioner of Education Frank P. Graves resulted in a second vote, in November. The Klan's petition to bar Catholics from serving on public school boards, inasmuch as they had their own parochial schools, ignored the Constitution's proscription of any test of religion as a qualification for office. State troopers poised for trouble were stationed at the polls, the railroad depot, and near fire alarm boxes. When this time the Catholic candidates lost, the press declared that Protestant values would henceforth rule in Babylon School District 4. In December 1923, the K. of C. repeated its offer of a $25,000 reward.[29]

From Mineola to Greenport, floats in Klan parades featured little red schoolhouses, with open Bibles, and Klansmen standing guard in support of their belief that the public school system was threatened. In spring 1923, C. Lewis Fowler advised the people of Bellport and Patchogue that no Catholic should be allowed on a public school board until Protestants were allowed to teach in Catholic parochial schools. Fowler ranted against Catholics, blaming the K. of C. for destroying free speech and free press. His diatribe also attacked Jews, accusing them of breaking down Christian morality and controlling all governments in the world through B'Nai B'rith-sponsored financial manipulation. The *Riverhead News* reported Fowler's effort "to stir up feeling against the Hebrews" by explaining that in some places where the Klan had established "Christian" competitors close beside Hebrew stores, "By special financing the `Christian' newcomers were able to undersell their neighbors of an alien race and drive them out of business and out of town." Fowler's book on the Klan, available at its Bay Shore headquarters and advertised in the *Advance*, was notorious for its message of bigotry and hatred.[30]

Throughout 1923, Protestants were bombarded with anti-Catholic literature and lectures. Fred Wilcock, of the Farmingdale Methodist Episcopal Church, preached in a church packed with Klan men and women. His inflammatory "Pulpit Editorial on the Ku Klux Klan," published in the *Long Islande*r in October 1923, accused "representatives of the Pope in our midst" of instituting a Catholic boycott against Protestants in the village. He thundered that "three million Protestant men" were now aware of the danger facing the priceless heritage of the Reformation—religious liberty and all other democratic institutions. He concluded: "If Klansmen are only Klansmen in name and not at heart, it will die an ignominious death." Later that month, the Rev. Herbert W. Hancock, of the Huntington Methodist Episcopal Church, preached to Klan men and women and accepted a miniature KKK helmet filled with $50 in gold coins. The same evening, Oceanside's Methodist Episcopal pastor, Gustav Laass, offered Haywood his pulpit for an attack on the K. of C. as "one of the greatest enemies of the Ku Klux Klan," after which a church visitation team in full regalia presented Laass with a gift of cash. In December, Abraham Rosenberg, a Stony Brook-Setauket circuit preacher delivered a pro-Klan sermon at the East Northport Methodist Episcopal Church, for which kluxers paid $25. Charles E. Cragg, rector of St. John's Protestant Episcopal Church, after addressing a

delegation of more than two hundred kluxers and accepting a cash donation, preached a three-week series with the deliberately patronizing titles of "Our Friend the Jew," "Our Friend the Negro," and "Our Friend the Catholic."[31]

Many Methodist ministers supported the Klan with sermons, officiating at funerals, speaking at meetings indoors and out, and welcoming church visitations. Bishop Luther B. Wilson, head of the New York and Long Island Methodist Episcopal church, refused to bar church facilities to the Klan or interfere with what he termed his ministers' First Amendment rights. Even certain clergy whose denominations opposed the Klan exposed their flocks to its message: for example, Frank Voorhees, pastor of the Mt. Sinai Congregational Church, preached a typical pro-Klan sermon, "One Hundred Per Cent for Christ and The Church," and presided at a Klan funeral for a LIRR worker, at which thirty-six men and women wore regalia and crosses were burned at the grave.[32]

Anti-Klan Activity in Protestant Churches

For all its strength in the Protestant churches, many ministers rejected the Klan. The Right Rev. Frederick Burgess, bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Long Island, announced in October 1923 that he would "close any of his churches which tolerated the hooded patriots within its confines." In May 1924, the National Methodist Conference voted to bar the Klan, despite its widespread support. Raymond Scofield, pastor of the Sag Harbor Christ Protestant Episcopal Church, preached that the hooded order's doctrines were irreconcilable with Jesus' teaching of brotherly love. The pastor of the Sag Harbor Methodist Church condemned Antwerpen's use of the local First Presbyterian Church in one of his recruitment drives. Loyd P. Worley, minister of the Woodbury Methodist Church, challenged MacNicholl's support of the KKK in a letter to the editor, in which he granted kluxers their right to free speech but questioned whether they cultivated the true Christian spirit. His view of the Klan's intolerance was based on the experience of his brother, "a kluxer until they started a tar and feather program in the community." H. G. Cook, the Bay Shore Congregational pastor, publicly rebuked Antwerpen for attempting to recruit Klansmen in the meeting room of the church. Louis H. Johnston, pastor of the Patchogue Congregational Church, refused the request of kluxers in his flock that he enroll and order a robe and hood, and, reportedly, prohibited Klan activity in the church building. During a Klan recruitment drive, he warned of the "dangerous effects of the wave of religious and racial intolerance sweeping the country [which] can neither foster nor ban any sect because it is founded on the principle of freedom of thought." Johnston once officiated at a funeral attended by kluxers in regalia, but this probably was an exception. When Selah Hiscox married a Johnston congregant in September 1924, Johnston did not officiate. The wedding was performed by Antwerpen, with the agreement that it would not be a Klan marriage ritual. Several years later, Johnston resigned, complaining of the "provincialism of many people here

and especially some of the old-time residents whose families date back to Revolutionary Times," with whom he could not reconcile his views.[33]

The *New York Times* warned that "perfectly credible reports" revealed that "parts of Long Island where the Ku Klux Klan has gained a foothold are suffering from a new plague of bitter controversy based on racial and religious differences." Obviously, the Klan divided communities, made people suspicious of one another, and split rather then unified local Protestant denominations. In 1926, H. Lawson Nicolls, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Greenport, was forced to resign because he disagreed with the trustees' decision to let the Klan meet in the church hall. In his letter of resignation, he stated that Jewish, African American, and Catholic fellow citizens ought not be subjected to the atmosphere generated by "this spirit of ours or any other community. The old conceited cry of race superiority is a curse in disguise." Nicolls held that Protestants should love their Catholic fellow citizens according to the New Testament, remembering that Jesus was a Jew by design, and an African the only one allowed to share his burden on the way to the cross.[34]

Conclusion

From the headquarters in Atlanta, Imperial Wizard Hiram Wesley Evans and his staff formulated the policy, concocted the literature, and issued marching orders to kluxers all over the country. Southern klokards scoured the nation, instructing eager converts to organize and recruit, to propagandize and proselytize, to promulgate fear and loathing of every religion, belief, and nationality different from those of the past, and generally to promote the considerable power of the Klan by means of meetings held indoors and out, impressive parades, the burning of crosses, and the formation of vigilance committees.

Suffolk County proved fertile ground for the growth of paranoid nativism in the early and mid-1920s. The Klan met with support from men and women in all walks of life, but among those most responsible for its success were the scores of militant ministers (see table 2), committed to doing what they perceived as their duty to God and country. Because a klavern covered several villages, not every minister served as a kludd; however, committed pastors sparked the vigilance committees that united kluxers of varied denominations into a force with a common purpose. The Klan made significant inroads in other phases of Suffolk life, but without the endeavors of so many pastors it could not have reached its acquired strength.

Many Suffolk churches, of course, did not follow the course of total endorsement. Some congregations opposed the Klan as un-Christian, un-American, and a usurper of the police power, whose practices violated the U.S. Constitution and the laws of New York State. Others compromised, forbidding the use of their meeting rooms but otherwise supporting the Klan. In still others, the clergy and laity differed, with the pastor critical of the Klan while the congregation and trustees approved it; in such cases, the minister often resigned or was relocated.

Table 2

In 1924, the Klan reported the following list of Suffolk "Churches Whose Pastors Preach a Militant Protestant Gospel, and Who Stand for Americanism":

Amagansett Presbyterian—Rev. Clarence B. Scoville, Minister.
Bellport Presbyterian—Rev. William Norris, Preacher.
Calverton and Flanders, Methodist—Rev. C. E. Furman, Preacher.
East Moriches Methodist—Rev. Howard E. Mather, Preacher.
Eastport Methodist—Rev. Walter Angelo, Preacher.
Greenport, Methodist—Rev. R. R. Roberts. Preacher.
Manorville Methodist—Rev. Howard E. Mather, Preacher. Services, 3 P.M.
Port Jefferson Baptist—Rev. Egbert P. Fountain, Minister.
Riverhead Methodist—Rev. W. E. Schoonhoven, Preacher.
Setauket Methodist—Rev. C. E. Williams, Preacher.
West Sayville Reformed—Rev. A. E. Van Antwerpen, Preacher.
Yaphank Presybterian—E. F. Grey, Preacher.
Centreport [sic] M. E. Church—Rev. William MacNicholl, Preacher.
Commack and East Northport M. E. Church—Rev. Abraham Rosenberg,, Preacher.
Babylon Prtestant Episcopal—Rev. Mr. Burlingham, Preacher.
Hampton Bays M. E. Church—Rev. Earle Schaffner, Preacher.

Source: *Klan Kraft*, 24 June 1924.

Ministers who condoned or promoted the KKK were termed "lameducks" in a *New York Times* editorial, unable to fill pews on their own, or self-deluders who thought they were open-minded when they let robed and hooded Klansmen preach bigotry from their pulpits. Perusal of Suffolk newspapers in the 1920s suggests that the ostensibly pro-Klan clergy's main objective was reform of political, police, and judicial corruption, the eradication of "houses of ill repute," gambling, and speak-easies, and the reinforcement of Suffolk's historic Protestant values. Their message, delivered through the filter of KKK paranoia, fell on the willing ears of tradition-minded congregations, confronted by what they saw as the confusing and rapidly changing ethnic, religious, moral, and intellectual trends of the newfangled "roaring twenties."[35]

The Klan in Suffolk peaked and abruptly declined toward the end of the decade, its tactics of bias and exclusion exposed as false ideals. But before its fall, the KKK achieved a powerful impact on Suffolk politics, to be examined in part two of this series, in Spring 1994.

NOTES

1 . Among histories of the Klan from Reconstruction to modern times, see Wyn Craig Wade, *The*

Fiery Cross (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987)—for quotation, see 86; David M. Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan*, 1865-1965 (1965; reprint, New York: Franklin Watts, 1981); and William Loren Katz, The Invisible Empire (Seattle: Open Hand, 1985). Studies focusing on the Reconstruction Klan include Allen W. Trelease, *White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971, and Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution 1863-1877* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 425-59. For the twentieth-century Klan, see Kenneth T. Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City 1915-1930* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1967); Arnold Rice T*he Ku Klux Klan in American Politics* (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1962); Patsy Sims, *The Klan* (New York: Stein and Day, 1978) [with a useful glossary]); and Richard K. Tucker, *The Dragon and the Cross: the Rise and Fall of the Ku Klux Klan in Middle America* (Hamden, CT: Archon, 1991). For the Ku Klux Act, see Trelease, ibid., 388-92, 399ff; for the role of women in the Klan, see Kathleen M. Blee, *Women in the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1991.

2. For the Klan on Long Island, see the Wagner Collection, Queensborough Public Library, Jamaica, the meticulous records of Charles F. Wagner, secretary of Richmond Hill Klavern 83, a key unit and training center for Long Island Klansmen (hereafter cited as Wagner Collection); records of the Valley Stream Social Club (a Klan klavern), KKK Collection, Suffolk County Historical Society, Riverhead (hereafter cited as Valley Stream Social Club); *Mineola Klan Klorero Journal* (Atlanta: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 1926 [hereafter cited as *Mineola Klan Journal*]); Frank J. Cavaoili, "The Ku Klux Klan on Long Island," *Long Island Forum* 42 (May 1979):100-106, and "The Ku Klux Klan Memorial Riot," ibid., 54 (Winter 1962):35-37; and extensive reports in the New York, Brooklyn, Riverhead, Smithtown, Southampton, Patchogue, Port Jefferson, and other newspapers cited below. For estimates of the size of the second KLan, see Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism*, 291 (three million), and Tucker, *Dragon and Cross*, 6 (five million); for Forrest's self-serving but plausible figure of 550,000 for the original Klan, see Wade, *Fiery Cross*, 50.

3. *New York Times*, 7 Nov. 1922; *Riverhead News*, 10 and 22 Nov. 1922; (Smithtown) *Messenger*, 24 Nov. 1922; *Klan Kraft* (the Suffolk County Klan`s official organ), 18 Mar. 1924; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 18 Nov. 1923; *New York Herald Tribune*, 30 Nov. 1923; Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism*, 256; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 7 Mar. 1923; *Mineola Klan Journal*; the Bay Shore Klan bought the Vitagraph Building under the name of the Suffolk County Civic Association, probably the first Klan Klubhouse in Suffolk (*Long Islander*, 16 Nov. 1923).

4. Simmons, a private in the Spanish-American War who palmed himself off as "Colonel," led the Klan until 1922, when he was deposed by Hiram Evans, a Dallas dentist; Thomas Dixon, *The Clansman: An Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, and Garden City: Doubleday, Page, 1905; *New York Times*, 6 and 14 Mar. 1915; after its 1 January 1915 premiere as *The Clansman* in Riverside, CA, *The Birth of a Nation* opened 3 Mar. 1915 in New York City.

5. "Klan Parade A Mile Long," New York Times 7 Nov. 1923; "Klan Celebrates with Great Parade," *Suffolk County News*, 9 Nov. 1923; "Trumpet Starts Review of Mounted Klansmen on Long Island Field," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 28 Apr. 1924; "10,000 Cheer as Klan Declares War on Smith," New York Herald Tribune, 28 Apr. 1924; "Big Klan Parade," *Riverhead News*, 16 Nov. 1924; "Blazing Klan Crosses Bring Out L.I.Firemen as Blinding Storm Rages," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 13 Feb. 1923; "Many Crosses Burned," *Riverhead News*, 16 Feb. 1923; "Fiery Crosses Light Long Island," *New York Times*, 14 Oct. 1923; "Klan Sends Christmas Dinners to Poor," and "Burns Crosses," *Port Jefferson Echo*, 29 Dec. 1923, 25 Jan. 1924; *Messenger*, 22 July 1925; the Scottish chiefs used burning crosses to summon fellow clansmen, as described in Sir Walter Scott, *Lady of the Lake: A Poem in Six Cantos* (1810; reprint, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1888), 105, 291.

6. *Suffolk County News*, 7 July 1916; *Advance*, 7 and 14 July 1916; Wade, *Fiery Cross*, 124-29; Patchogue Village Trustees Book, 1916, 397, 400; the *New York Sun* bucked the trend, poking fun at the impact on Patchogue of what it called the "The Dearth Of A Nation" (*Advance*, reprint of 14 July 1916; Suffolk papers tended to reprint each other's articles; because many of these

papers are no longer extant, the reprints in the *Advance* are cited); Patchogue voted 1175 to 648 to let theaters show movies on Sunday (*Port Jefferson Echo*, 21 July 1923).

7. *Long Islander* (Huntington), 14 Aug. 1916.

8. *The Kloran, the Book of Klan Ritual and Lectures* (Atlanta: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 1916); *Advance*, 22 Dec. 1922; *Messenger*, 22 Dec. 1922, 26 Jan. 1923; *Advance*, 8 June 1923.

9. *Port Jefferson Echo*, 2 December 1922, 28 July, 18 Aug., 20 Oct. 1923; *Suffolk County News*, 1 Dec. 1922, 13 Apr. and 3 Aug. 1923; according to the Rev. Richard L. Francis, who became pastor of Setauket Methodist Church in 1936, Charles E. Williams was not ordained (interview with author, 15 Jan. 1993).

10. *Suffolk County News*, 28 Sept. 1923; *Tablet* (organ of diocese of Brooklyn), 1 Mar. 1924; *Riverhead News*, 29 June 1923; *Long Islander*, 26 Oct. 1923; Advance, 1 June, 23 Nov. 1923; Norris described Klansmen as "blacksmiths, carpenters, farmers, fishermen, the kind of men who made America great," and the Klan as a "splendid influence for good and a strong factor in maintaining Americanism" (*New York Times*, 8 June 1924).

11. *Advance* (reprinted from *Islip Press*), 16 and 23 Mar., 7 Dec. 1923.

12. *Riverhead News*, 30 Mar., 13 July 1923; *Port Jefferson Echo*, 14 July 1923; (Sayville) *Suffolk County News*, 6 July, 3 Aug. 1923.

13. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 20 and 21 Nov. 1923; *Tablet*, 24 Nov. 1923; *New York Herald Tribune*, 30 Nov. 1923; (Riverhead) County *Review*, 30 Nov. 1923.

14. *Suffolk County News*, 1 Dec. 1922, 23 Mar. 1923; "Definition of Klannishness," *Klan Kraft*, 29 Apr. 1924; *Port Jefferson Echo*, 30 June 1923; Klan rules dictated spelling key words that begin with c with k in ads, as in "Klassy Karnival Koming (*Klan Kraft*, 24 June 1924), or "Keep Kar Klean" (*Vigilance* [the New York State Klan's monthly publication] 2 {21 Nov. 1924}.

15. *New York Times*, 15 Apr., 23 Oct. 1923; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 15 Apr. 1923; *Advance*, 9 Feb., 23 Mar. 1923; *Suffolk County News* 13 Apr. 1923; Tablet, 11 Nov., 2 Dec. 1922; *New York Times*, 7 Nov. 1922; *Bay Shore Journal*, 3 Nov. 1922.

16. *Mineola Klan Journal*; C. Lewis Fowler became editor of the *American Standard*, the New York City Klan weekly (*Tablet*, 16 Feb. 1924).

17. Kleagle packet, Wagner Collection.; Herbert Kaufman, "Scum O' The Melting Pot," *McClure's* (Apr. 1920).

18. *Advance*, 23 Mar. 1923; 22 Feb., 8, 21 Mar., 23 Oct. 1924; *Tablet*, 8 Mar. and 1 Nov. 1924. For Evans's ouster of Simmons, see Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism*, 105-7; the Richmond Hill klavern took note of this event (minutes, 5 Jan. 1924, (Wagner Collection).

19. *Klan Kraft*, 27 May 1924; *Advance*, 3 June 1927; *Mineola Klan Journal*; Wagner Collection; *New York Times*, 17 June 1927; Valley Stream Social Club; *Advance*, 30 Mar. 1923, 1 Feb. 1924.

20. *Advance*, 11 May 1923, 26 Feb. 1925; *Suffolk Citizen*, 2 Nov. 1923; *Port Jefferson Echo*, 7 June, 7 July 1924; *New York Times*, 16 Nov. 1924; *Mineola Klan Journal*; *Riverhead News*, 23 May 1924; the case of Downs, a Klansman and special constable killed in a shoot-out with bootleggers, will be discussed in part two of this article, Spring 1994; *Farmingdale Post*, 9 Jan. 1925.

21. *New York Times*, 27 Nov. 1922; *Suffolk County News*, 1 Mar. 1924; *Advance*, 5 May 1025; for the role of women quotation, see Howard E. Mather, *Klan Kraft*, 24 June 1924.

22. (Smithtown) *Messenger*, 26 Jan., 6 July 1923 (kluxers canceled subscriptions and otherwise boycotted Deutzmann's papers); *New York Times*, 4 Dec. 1923; *Mineola Klan Journal; Advance*, 8 June, 14 Dec. 1923; *Riverhead News*, 13 July 1923; *Long Islander*, 14 Dec. 1923.

23. *Advance*, 23 Feb., 18 May, 15 June 1923; *Suffolk County Citizen*, 18 May 1923.

24. *Port Jefferson Echo*, 7 July 1923 (this was the first reported Klan funeral on Long Island [*Suffolk County News* 13 July 1923]); *Port Jefferson Echo*, 25 Jan. 1924 (stating Christmas Eve cross-burnings at other locations in Suffolk); *Advance*, 29 June, 30 Mar., 1923; *New York Times*, 19 Oct. 1924; *Suffolk County News*, 26 Sept. and 31 Oct. 1924; *Papers Read at the [1923] Meeting of Grand Dragons Knights of the Ku Klux Klan: Together with Articles of Other Interest*

to Klansmen (New York: Arno, 1977), 125; *Port Jefferson Echo*, 9 Feb. 1924; *New York Herald Tribune*, 10 Nov. 1924; *Port Jefferson Echo*, 1 Mar. 1924, 1 Sept. 1923.

25. Dr. Hiram Wesley Evans (the Dallas dentist who took over the Klan's national leadership from Simmons), "The People or the Pope?" *Kourier Magazine* (special Catholic edition) 3 (July 1927), 1-38; Christopher J. Kaufman, *Faith and Fraternalism, The History of the Knights of Columbus 1892-1992* (New York: Harper & Row, 1982), 169-71; *Tablet*, 24 Sept. 1921; *Messenger*, 6 July 1923; *Congressional Record* 49, 15 Feb. 1913, 3219. For the "Secret Oath" see "The Ritual and Secret Work of the Hibernians," *The Menace* 90 (1912) [an anti-Catholic weekly], in Kaufman, ibid., 9-13; the bogus oath, which continued to sell in bulk in John F. Kennedy's presidential campaign, still surfaces.

26. *Congressional Record*, 15 Feb. 1913, 3219, 3221; *New York World*, 14 Sept. 1921; *Tablet*, 1 Oct. 1921; see also *Criminal Libels Against the Knights of Columbus Exposed*, 2d ed. (New Haven: Knights of Columbus, 1960), 8.

27. The non-extant *Rail-Splitter*, cited in *Tablet*, 1 Mar. 1924; *New York Times*, 27 June 1924; *Advance*, 16, 30 Mar. 1923; Williams advertised in the *Long Islander*, 21 Dec. 1923; C. Lewis Fowler, *The Ku Klux Klan: Its origin, Meaning, and Scope of Operation* (Atlanta: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 1923), 21-23.

28. *Christian Advocate*, 15 Feb. 1923; the *Bay Shore Journal* repudiated the false oath (but not until after election day 1923), and announced its new policy of religious freedom (reprinted in *Tablet*, 3 Mar. 1923.

29. "Finds Fiery Cross in Yard," *New York Times*, 27 Mar. 1923; *Advance*, 30 Mar. 1923; "Ku Klux Elects School Board at Lindenhurst,". *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 21 Nov. 1923; *Tablet*, 29 Dec. 1923.

30. *New York Times*, 13 June and 6 July 1926; *Advance*, 9, 16, 30 Mar. 1923; *Riverhead News*, 6 Apr. 1923; Fowler, *Ku Klux Klan*, advertised in *Advance*, 9 Mar. 1923.

31. *Long Islander*, 21 Mar. 1924, 12 and 19 Oct., 21 Dec. 1923; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 22 Oct. 1923; like Antwerpen, MacNicholl, and other foreign-born Kluxers, Wilcock belonged to the American Krusaders.

32. *Messenger*, 23 May 1924; *Tablet*, 13 Oct. 1923; *Port Jefferson Echo*, 18 June 1925.

33. *New York Times*, 2, 3 Oct. 1923; *Tablet*, 9 June, 13 Oct., 10 Nov. 1923; *Messenger*, 23 May 1924; *Advance* 9 Mar.,14 Dec. 1923, 1 May, 11 Sept. 1924; *Long Islander*, 2 Nov. 1923; *Suffolk County News*, 12 Sept. 1924; *Advance*, 22 Mar. 1929 (for Johnston's resignation).

34. "Long Island Getting Its Reward," *New York Times*, 2 June 1923; "Klan Admitted to Church, Pastor Quits," *New York Amsterdam News*, 27 Jan. 1927, quoted Lawler's letter of resignation; "And as they came out, they found a man of Cyrene, Simon by name: him they compelled to bear his cross" (Matt. 27:32).

35. "Why People Join the Ku Klux," editorial, *New York Times*, 12 December 1922.

"You May Take Watts, but You'll Never Take New Lots": Racial Succession and the East New York Riot of 1966

By Jon Sterngass

During the past several years, racial tension and violence have convulsed the New York metropolitan area. From Yusuf Hawkins in Bensonhurst to the Central Park jogger, from mobs in Howard Beach to riots in Crown Heights, one incident after another has transfixed the region. These incidents have provided endless grist for the analyst's mill, as well as countless opportunities for hand wringing among good people of all colors.[1] However, neighborhood tension and racial division are far from new to the New York area; the draft riots of 1863, and riots in Harlem and Bedford Stuyvesant in 1964 are prominent examples. Rarely remembered is a race riot in 1966 in East New York, provoked specifically by racial succession (the residential replacement of one racial group by another) in eastern Brooklyn.

Change in a neighborhood's color does not inevitably lead to race riot, just as race riots can have causes other than racial succession (for example, the riots provoked in Los Angeles by the beating of Rodney King). Yet, as the 1991 riot in Crown Heights demonstrated, conflict over housing, turf, and neighborhood resources often need only a spark to end in tragedy. In the light of recent racial disturbances, the resurrection of an all-but-forgotten riot in Brooklyn's history, as well as a reexamination of racial problems in Brooklyn during the 1950s and 1960s is certainly germane. Many major issues of 1966 reverberate eerily across the twenty-seven years: the culpability of marauding gangs, arguments over the Civilian Review Board and police treatment of minorities, the validity of New York City's payment of funeral expenses for a victim of violence, evaluation of the behavior of police during the riots, the problem of aimless teenagers in the summer, and the difficulties in creating a truly multi-racial urban community.

A racially-inspired firebombing in Canarsie in 1990 underscored the difficulties African Americans faced in finding open housing, and the extremes to which some white people would go to keep nonwhites out of their neighborhoods. The incident was particularly poignant because many Canarsie residents had fled other neighborhoods in Brooklyn that they perceived had become devalued and marginalized after nonwhites began to reside in them. At the same time, many Canarsie residents freely admitted that Wilfrid Phillip, the prospective African American homeowner, paid far more (more than $200,000) than they now could afford for a home in their neighborhood.[2]

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After each racial incident, the issue of population succession in Brooklyn becomes a topic of prime interest both to residents and the news media. According to Saul Alinsky, a leading neighborhood organizer, "integration is the time between when the first black family moves in and the last white family moves out."[3] Yet the presence of substantial numbers of Hasidim in Crown Heights casts doubt on the inexorability of racial succession. Demographics are not the sole determinant of community relations and development.

In 1940, African Americans were only 4 percent of Kings County's population; in 1990, they made up 35 percent. Between 1940 and 1975, Brooklyn's African American population increased by approximately 600,000, a more rapid rate than in any other large city. In the decade of the 1950s, the white population of Brooklyn declined by almost one-fifth, while the nonwhite population increased 150 percent. Such massive change could not be painless under the best of circumstances. Combined with racism and general urban malaise after World War II, the result was often disastrous. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the neighborhoods of eastern Brooklyn known as Brownsville, New Lots, and East New York, transformed in ten years from predominantly working-class, white communities into impoverished, overwhelmingly black and Puerto Rican areas.[4]

According to the 1950 census, out of 160,000 residents of East New York, only 3,000 were black or Hispanic, less than 2 percent of the population. By 1960, these minority groups accounted for 11 percent of the population, 38 percent by 1970. Brownsville witnessed even more radical demographic changes. In 1950, fewer than 25,000 nonwhites (13 percent of a population of 185,000) lived in this largely Jewish neighborhood. In 1960, there were 80,000 (46 percent of 174,000), and 75,000 in 1970 (76 percent of a population of 99,000).[5]

This sudden population exchange was not always peaceful. Racial strife upset the status quo in many parts of America during the "long, hot summer" of 1966. In mid-July, major confrontations occurred in such diverse places as Troy, New York; Jacksonville; East Harlem; and San Francisco, while full-scale riots broke out in Chicago and Cleveland. Vice President Hubert Humphrey declared that if he lived in a ghetto he, too, might join a slum revolt.[6]

In New York City, minority complaints over police brutality resulted in a proposal, in January 1966, for a new Civilian Review Board with more civilians than police officers. The issue became politically charged when opponents forced a referendum, portraying supporters of the new board as pandering to minorities, as well as soft on crime. In East New York, considerable racial tension existed between the Italian American, Puerto Rican, and African American populations. Disputes over "turf" often escalated into violence. Signs in some white stores defiantly proclaimed, "You may take Watts, but you'll never take New Lots." Against this background of discontent, incidents in eastern Brooklyn in July 1966 set off a week of one of New York's worst riots.[7]

Disturbances in East New York centered on two distinct locations.

Tension between blacks and Puerto Ricans permeated the western section on the border of Brownsville, an area filled with decaying tenements and abandoned buildings. A second neighborhood, east of Pennsylvania Avenue, was filled with neat row houses and tree-lined streets. Lower-middle-class residents of Irish, Italian, and Polish extraction contested this area with a burgeoning nonwhite population looking for decent housing. The crux of this second problem was the triangle formed by the intersection of Livonia, New Lots, and Ashford Avenues, an unofficial boundary between African Americans north of New Lots Avenue and Italians, Irish, and Poles to the south. Some Italians reputedly denied blacks access to this triangle, as well as to local parks.[8]

On Monday night, 18 July 1966, an African American woman (Betty Powell) was shot in the hip by an unidentified man as she stood near her apartment house on Alabama Avenue. When police arrived, a crowd of some three hundred residents had gathered; rocks were thrown, windshields smashed, and incidents of violence spread throughout East New York. Fistfights broke out among blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Italians at Dumont and Alabama, and then fourteen blocks away at Warwick and Livonia Avenues. Shots were fired, debris was hurled off roofs, and the police were warned "to proceed with extreme caution" down Alabama Avenue. Where normally seventy-five officers were needed, more than two hundred were kept on duty at the Miller Avenue precinct. As rapidly as the police dispersed the crowds, they reformed in another area. Partial quiet was not restored until 2:30 A.M.[9]

As Tuesday dawned, the *New York Times* interviewed several black families on Alabama Avenue, in the process of leaving East New York as rapidly as possible for fear of continued unrest between African Americans and Italians and Puerto Ricans. One black youth stated that if the police did not keep the Italian gangs off Warwick Street, he would get a gun and do it himself. His Italian counterpart suggested, "We can settle it—just let us at them." Rain on Tuesday night, and cooler weather on Wednesday, seemed to calm tensions a little.

On that Wednesday, Mayor John V. Lindsay attended the dedication of Flatlands Industrial Park, on the border of Canarsie. At one time, this ninety-six-acre parcel was proposed as a hub for integrated schools which would draw students from Canarsie, East New York, and Brownsville, but intense opposition from white school board members and homeowners' groups killed the plan. In the end, the industrial park not only aided in segregating schools, but also served as a barrier separating Canarsie from Brownsville and East New York. Lindsay was met by a crowd of angry African American and Puerto Rican demonstrators, who complained that the city seemed systemically to support segregated schools and neighborhoods. A tense moment ensued as demonstrators jokingly carried Lindsay aloft through the crowd: "Businessmen and invited guests in suits and ties...seated in folding chairs before a platform of city officials were seemingly bewildered by the screaming mass of raggedly dressed people."[10]

Malcolm Evans, the white pastor of the predominantly black Negro Reformed Church (on the corner of Van Siclen and New Lots), warned on 20 July that the calm might be temporary. He echoed a common complaint about police harassment of minorities in that year of the Civilian Review Board controversy: "If the police don't play it colorblind, they're going to cause another Watts here in Brooklyn."[11] The very next day, renewed rioting erupted.

Tensions began to build at 5 p.m., when an unknown sniper in the vicinity of St. Marks and Saratoga Avenues wounded three-year-old Russel Givens. That night, eleven-year-old Eric Dean was shot and killed by a sniper at Ashford Street and Dumont Avenue, one block from the notorious traffic triangle at Livonia, New Lots, and Ashford. Lindsay returned to eastern Brooklyn, where he met with some thirty white and black residents from about 7 to 8 p.m. at Frank's Restaurant (744 New Lots Avenue), declared the meeting a success, and returned to Manhattan. One aide recalled that when the mayor asked his staff the reasons for the problems in Brooklyn, "we hardly knew where East New York was."[12]

While the leaders met at Frank's, a group of white protesters gathered outside, claiming to represent a loosely organized group known as S.P.O.N.G.E. (Society for the Prevention of Negroes Getting Everything). The marchers chanted slogans such as "2-4-6-8, we don't want to integrate," and jeered Lindsay for favoring nonwhites. After the mayor left, a group broke through police barricades and chased black counter-demonstrators down the street. Eric Dean was shot at about this time, apparently while attempting to catch a glimpse of Lindsay. Details now become sketchy: what is certain is that when a crowd of more than five hundred gathered, the police lost control of the situation. Soon the entire neighborhood was in a state of anarchy.[13]

Disturbances flared in the area bordered north by Sutter Avenue, south by Livonia, east by Milford Street, and west by Warwick Street. People on roofs hurled tire jacks and bricks at passing police cars, while gangs of from twenty-five to one hundred blacks tossed garbage cans through shop windows, rocked police cars, threatened whites, and looted some stores. Whites retaliated by sacking black-owned shops. Fistfights between blacks and whites broke out in several locations. Human Rights Commissioner William Booth, an African American, rushed to the scene, stood on a car, and attempted to address a crowd of one hundred black youths, begging them to disperse. They remained unpacified, shouting back their complaint, "Why can't we go to New Lots Ave?", an area Italian Americans had designated their "turf." Lindsay again was forced to retrace his steps and return to East New York. This time he stayed until after 1 a.m.; although only two arrests were made, things did not quiet down until two hours later.[14]

The next day, 22 July, more than a thousand extra police were assigned to eastern Brooklyn; fourteen people were arrested in at least four separate incidents. Snipers shot at people from passing cars, rioters threw Molotov cocktails from roofs, and fighting again broke out among gangs of white, black, and Puerto Rican youths. A group of some fifty blacks assembled at

Miller and New Lots, shouting "Get the whites." Whites, in turn, wielded bicycle chains and lead pipes—many African Americans claimed they were afraid to take the IRT New Lots train for fear of attack by white hoodlums.[15]

Teenagers were the root cause of much of the violence. One East New Yorker remarked, "Some Puerto Rican boy whistles at a Sicilian girl, she smiles back and a rumble is on." Others blamed outsiders, noting with suspicion the preponderance of New Jersey license plates in East New York. Police Commissioner Howard Leary blamed the violence on aimless youths in a hot New York summer, and requested parents to keep adolescents home. One reporter noted that,

> Despair by longtime residents over what seems to them to be increasing lawlessness may well be the strongest element of uneasiness in East New York and Brownsville. This feeling often cuts across racial lines, with householders privately complaining about hoodlums among their own people.[16]

The Reverend Joseph Judge, of Brownsville, asserted the centrality of racial issues: "The main problem in East New York seems to be that white kids regard certain areas as theirs." Groups of white people drove through nonwhite areas pointing their fingers like pistols, and shouting "Bang, bang, nigger, you're dead." One burly white youth stated emphatically, "The Negroes are breaking us up and trying to throw us out of our neighborhood. We're standing our ground and we're not leaving."[17]

The black-owned *Amsterdam News* editorialized under the heading, "City's Failure":

> The basic cause...was classic insofar as race riots in the United States go. Negroes and Puerto Ricans moved near or into a white section of East New York. Bad blood ensued, because the whites resented them. The police were run ragged for years, trying to keep the peace...The East New York blow up was the first true race riot in the city probably in more than a century, or since the draft riots during the War of the Rebellion in 1863. The one in Harlem in 1964 was strictly an affair between Negroes and the police, not Negro and white.[18]

By 23 July, a degree of tranquility returned to occupied East New York. Police helicopters filled the sky, and hundreds of cops searched rooftops, uncovering caches of bricks and Molotov cocktails. Despite the furor over the Civilian Review Board, there was no recrimination against the police, whose report noted with self-satisfaction:

> During almost two months of daily incidents with more than a thousand policemen assigned, not a single shot was fired by a police officer although many were frequently in a perilous situation...Courtesy, tact and diplomacy were in evidence throughout the police operation. Judicious restraint and good judgment were manifest.

This conclusion was echoed by the *Amsterdam News*, which commended the police for their self-control in preventing a replay of the riots in Watts.[19]

Mayor Lindsay returned to eastern Brooklyn for the fourth time in three days, to meet with any leaders he could find to broker a truce between youth groups. Again, there was an exodus of working-class families seeking safer neighborhoods. Joe Louis, a cook living on Alabama Avenue, cited the soon-to-be metaphor of choice to explain why he was leaving: "I got a big family. Living here is like Vietnam."[20]

More than five hundred mourners attended Eric Dean's funeral on 26 July, with the city helping to pay expenses the family could not meet. Eric's mother (Aluvita Dean) said, "I don't understand it. We have white neighbors and we all get along real fine. Some of them dropped around to say how sorry they are about all this." A few days later Ernest Callashaw, a seventeen-year-old African American, was arrested for the "accidental" murder of his friend Eric Dean.[21]

As Brooklyn quieted down, rumors spread that the city had used Mafia bigwigs Albert and Larry Gallo as peacemakers. They supposedly passed the word "to cool it" in the Italian American community, and discouraged Italians from out of East New York from joining the fighting. The Gallos also reputedly advised local Italians to talk to any agitators in the area, "and if they still made trouble, they [the Gallos] would talk to them." No one seemed unduly upset by the Mafia's newfound civic mindedness.[22]

After the riots, Lindsay was asked to explain the causes of East New York's problems. "My friend," he replied, "You could talk about that for a month straight." Less than two weeks after the Brooklyn riots, in one of the defining moments of the civil rights movement, Dr. Martin Luther King was hit by a rock while leading a peaceful march to desegregate neighborhoods in Chicago suburbs.[23]

The formation of the ghetto in American history has been examined at great length. Before the Civil War, African Americans often lived interspersed with whites, but the explosive growth of cities after 1865 altered this situation.[24] The demise of the "walking city," with its haphazard arrangement of stores, businesses, and residential areas, resulted in a more tightly organized urban system. New forms of transportation led to the growth of suburbs, and allowed urban residents to sort themselves into racial, ethnic, or class-based groups.At the same time, increased compartmentalization of industrial, commercial, and residential activities divided the new metropolis. The migration of southern African Americans to the North intensified residential segregation. Although the Depression reduced this problem to relative insignificance, it returned with a vengeance after World War II, fulfilling W. E. B. DuBois's prediction that "the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line."[25]

Ghetto formation was studied by sociologists of the Chicago school in the 1920s and 1930s. Borrowing from biologists, they invented the concept of ecological succession, in which neighborhood change was viewed as an

invasion process of alien groups that either succeeded or was repulsed. With the example of Chicago before their eyes, they concentrated on racially transformed areas, the most visible component of neighborhood change.[26] After World War II, sociologists evolved a less traumatic view of racial succession. The normal replacement of one group by another was not to be feared in and of itself, and perhaps would hardly be noticed if skin color were not involved. Theoreticians claimed that the so-called "invading" group was usually similar in socioeconomic make-up to the population it replaced. However, whether viewed as organic or dysfunctional, all agreed that as far as African Americans were concerned, something new was happening. Blacks did not play the role of immigrants. Instead of dispersing, the black ghetto expanded. One 1965 study concluded that "Negroes are by far the most residentially segregated large minority group in recent American history."[27]

The contiguous Brooklyn neighborhoods of East New York, Brownsville, and New Lots reflected this trend. East New York remained rural until 1835, when a Connecticut merchant, John Pitkin, tried to develop it as a competitor to western Brooklyn. New Lots, on East New York's eastern edge, was settled as early as 1670, but the entire area still was undeveloped when annexed to the city of Brooklyn, in 1886. Completion of the Williamsburg Bridge in 1903, and the New Lots IRT line in 1922, led to a building boom. By 1940, the northern half of East New York, above New Lots Avenue, was densely populated by Jewish, German, Italian, Russian, Polish and Lithuanian immigrants. However, there were still pockets of rural life; a few goats roamed parts of Linden Boulevard into the 1950s.[28]

Brownsville, in 1883, consisted of only 250 dwellings on Charles Brown's subdivided farmland. The completion of the Fulton Street elevated in 1889, and later of the Williamsburg Bridge, led to such an influx of Jews from the Lower East Side of Manhattan that Brownsville became known as the "Jerusalem of America." Brownsville prospered between 1920 and 1940, albeit never rising above a working-class neighborhood. "Rather than escaping the ghetto, the Jews brought much of it with them." Pitkin Avenue drew shoppers from all over Brooklyn, and the area was known for its vibrant commercial and cultural life.[29]

But, by 1965, Brownsville and East New York became metaphors for urban decay, the ghetto-of-choice for politicians who chose to pass up the South Bronx. Imagery from wartime destruction compared Brownsville to a "ravaged, bombed-out German city"; block fronts looked as if "shelled with heavy artillery." Residents of eastern Brooklyn were merely "going through the motions of existing because they have long ceased to live. Each time one visits Brownsville, more and more homes, stores, and buildings have been gutted by torch, or torn down by vandals." The head of a local mission claimed, "If there is a hell, many people in Brownsville will take it in stride." When Mayor Kevin White, of Boston, toured the area, he observed that this type of neighborhood "may be the first tangible sign of the collapse of our civilization."[30]

The cataclysmic change between 1940 and 1965 was a classic example of

American racial succession. African Americans began to move to eastern Brooklyn in large numbers after World War II, when the housing shortage in Bedford-Stuyvesant became intolerable. The war gave African Americans openings into previously closed job markets, with the Brooklyn Navy Yard, in particular, providing money and work for a rising black middle-class with few housing options. The rapidly growing black population was confined in overcrowded or deteriorating housing in Bedford-Stuyvesant, yet the white majority refused to allow the dispersal of the ghetto. Though Americans generally were displeased by the existence of slums, they were not willing that nonwhites (whom they associated with slums) move into white neighborhoods. Restrictions on construction during World War II masked this dilemma—as long as there were no vacancies, the situation remained static.[31]

After the war, however, the "dam" broke in Brooklyn. The migration of African Americans to northern cities reached 1.5 million-a-decade for the next three decades. The pent-up demand on the part of blacks with few housing choices meant they now could outbid whites for nearby housing. Simultaneously, the suburbanization of America created a vacuum in many city cores. Soon the boundaries of old "black belts" were in flux. African Americans moved into areas contiguous to old ghettos, obsolescent or panic zones associated with the concept of "white flight." In Brooklyn, they crossed such boundaries as Atlantic Avenue and Eastern Parkway, and followed major arteries, such as Rockaway and Pennsylvania Avenues and Cleveland Street, away from Bedford-Stuyvesant. To the west, the proportion of white residents of Crown Heights dropped from 85 percent in 1950 to 70 percent in 1960, 30 percent in 1970, and 7 percent in 1980.[32]

Tensions grew throughout the 1950s as nonwhites became more conspicuous. Construction ceased as private contractors began to ignore eastern Brooklyn. In 1948, the U. S. Supreme Court ruled that restrictive covenants were unenforceable, striking the death knell for one of white America's most effective methods for segregating neighborhoods. John Kain noted a pattern of segregation in each major urban center, where

> better-off white families are moving out of the central city into the suburbs; the ranks of the poor who remain are being swelled by Negroes from the South. This trend threatens to transform the cities into slums, largely inhabited by Negroes, ringed about with predominantly white suburbs.[33]

In 1940, only 7 percent of Brooklyn's black population resided in census tracts that were more than 80-percent black; ten years later, the proportion increased to nearly 35 percent. This expansion continued in the 1960s, when almost 300,000 blacks moved to Brooklyn, resulting in the corresponding territorial growth of segregated black neighborhoods. Brownsville, Crown Heights, and East New York soon were transformed, with Bushwick and East Flatbush quickly assuming the appellation of "transitional neighborhoods."[34]

Segregation of these growing African American communities, enforced in

various ways, involved white hostility as the primary feature. Illegal restrictive covenants confined upwardly-mobile blacks to "black" areas, as local real estate boards vigilantly enforced racist housing policies. The all-white National Association of Real Estate Boards issued a code of ethics under which a realtor "should never be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood...members of any race or nationality whose presence will clearly be detrimental to property values." Economic weapons could also be brought to bear against blacks who "did not know their place." In New York, in 1947, the Attorney-General alleged that the Mortgage Conference (whose members wrote more than 60 percent of the area's mortgages) would not make loans on blocks where black or Spanish-speaking people resided. Banks redlined areas of cities, making it impossible to obtain money for investment or home improvement.[35]

As a last resort, neighborhood "preservation" or "improvement" associations were not beneath using rocks, fire bombs, or more extreme forms of violence to discourage nonwhites who persisted. In South Brooklyn, racists piled rubbish on black residents' property and, occasionally, burned a cross. In Park Slope and East Flatbush, hoodlums firebombed some black-owned houses. Elsewhere in Brooklyn, waiters broke dishes in front of black customers to discourage patronage, and black citizens were seated in restricted areas of certain restaurants and theaters. Thus, whites attempted to restrict the pattern of black settlement to areas in, or contiguous to, the ghetto.[36]

Government intervention in the form of urban redevelopment and public housing policies actually facilitated the growth of the ghetto. Middle-class housing and institutional projects were often built in decaying neighborhoods, whose residents were relocated in new vertical ghettos of public housing. Taxpayers' money and state power supported and reinforced the ghetto by limiting African Americans' options in housing possibilities. In eastern Brooklyn, the expanded power of eminent domain granted by Title I of the Housing Act of 1949 created new urban ghettos as fast as old ones were replaced. The state commission's report on "urban renewal" in Brownsville is worth quoting at length:

> The designation of an area as an urban renewal site should have seen the neighborhood move progressively upward toward improvement in its physical condition. In Brownsville, the reverse occurred. Massive delays developed in the program and the City failed to meet its schedule for the renewal efforts...not a single project [in 1973] had been fully completed since urban renewal began [in Brownsville] in 1961. Thousands of units of housing have been demolished by the City government and block after block has been left vacant for years, forming a wasteland of gutted carcasses of buildings and rat-filled rubble—*this is unique*. Nowhere else in the City has a 20-block renewal area existed, vacant and undeveloped, while excavation began on another 55 block contiguous area...Brownsville is a stark memorial of the delay and mismanagement of two City administrations. The

> losers, beyond question, are the poor who live in the project area. The beneficiaries are property owners, demolition companies, bureaucrats, builders, a couple of favored industries within the project area, and a handful of community people whose selection for project sponsorship recruits them as local defenders of the renewa process.[37]

The new housing, when it was built, usually reinforced segregation. Between 1941 and 1955, such public housing in eastern Brooklyn as the Boulevard, Cypress Hills, and Louis Pink projects were minority-oriented at their inception. The improvement of this new housing was totally illusory. No part of Brooklyn contained more public housing units than eastern Brooklyn, yet no part had greater problems with deterioration and abandonment. Even when public housing represented the only solid housing stock in the area, it institutionalized the ghetto, rather than dispersing the problem.[38]

One premise of white resistance to integration is that real estate values fall when blacks arrive. In the initial phase, this appears untrue. Generally, "pioneering" blacks paid more than market value for older or less desirable housing, difficult or expensive to rehabilitate, or unattractive in comparison with newer housing. Often, however, this middle class was followed by lower-class blacks, pushed by continuing demographic pressure and the shortage of desirable housing. While neighborhood whites love to talk about "How nice the newcomers are, and point to nonwhite neighbors they are fond of, a pervasive anxiety grips long-time residents about the neighborhood becoming another ghetto like Brownsville."[39]

The increase in crime, and the manic pace of suburb construction and highway building in the 1950s and 1960s, predictably resulted in a steady turnover of Brooklyn's neighborhood populations. Most of these neighborhoods declined from their previous socioeconomic status. Gunnar Myrdal pointed out in 1944,

> When a few Negro families do come into a white neighborhood, some more white families move away. Other Negroes hasten to take their places, because the existing Negro neighborhoods are overcrowded due to segregation. This constant movement of Negroes into white neighborhoods makes the bulk of white residents feel that their neighborhood is doomed to be predominantly Negro and they move out—with their attitudes against the Negro reinforced. Yet if there were no segregation, this wholesale invasion would not have occurred. But because it does occur, segregational attitudes are increased, and the vigilant pressure to stall the Negroes at the borderline is kept up.[40]

Blockbusting became extremely profitable, with some real estate agents buying and selling the homes of local people several times—first in northern, then in central, and finally in southern Brooklyn. If respectable realtors were reluctant to use scare tactics, marginal brokers were not, both white and black. Investigators from CORE identified agencies that discriminated

against nonwhites, and, with little effect, initiated grievance and direct-action campaigns against them. As blacks often paid more than whites for the same house, brokers encouraged white flight to maximize profits. However, anti-blockbusting legislation could also be viewed as destructively paternalistic. One New York pastor noted "a strong feeling of white racism in this area. The racists love the anti-blockbusting campaign because they believe our intention is to keep blacks out." In April 1970, when the assembly passed an anti-blockbusting bill by the overwhelming margin of 133 to zero, the housing chairman of the Jamaica NAACP lamented, "I am afraid it is a tool that will be used by white communities to keep blacks out." Stabilization for whites meant discrimination against blacks.[41]

Yet white flight in Brooklyn cannot be blamed solely on prejudice. Class and status issues also affected decisions to move. Nonwhite migration to Brownsville may have begun because that Jewish neighborhood showed the least prejudice. Faced with violence and hostility by a united front of homeowners, black neighborhood expansion often took the path of least resistance. Jews, for example, rarely engaged in race riots; when blacks moved in, they simply moved out. Yona Ginsburg described this pattern in Boston:

> According to Mattapan Jews, the belief that Jews panic and run away was shared by their non-Jewish neighbors. "My Italian neighbor is selling now. He said he'd never go to a Jewish area because Jews are spoiling the area for him." People claimed they heard such remarks as "My friend told me not to buy in a Jewish neighborhood because they are the first to sell to blacks."[42]

The older Jewish community still desired to live in a community of "their own kind," with rising incomes, land values, and housing prices providing the push that convinced many to leave. Upwardly-mobile Jews moved to places like Flatbush long before significant black migration. When selected white respondents were asked why they had moved from Brownsville, half claimed that "We wanted a better life," while the other half observed that "The neighborhood changed." The author concluded, "Race fear intensified a steady flight of the upwardly mobile that was already in process." As late as 1969, 52 percent of Jews disagreed (19 percent were unsure) with the statement, "With blacks pushing as they are, it may be [*sic*] good idea to move into neighborhoods with our own kind of people." Nonetheless, this verbal assurance did not stop them from moving out of core neighborhoods in massive numbers. The Jewish population of Brownsville declined from more than 175,000 in the 1940s to fewer than 5,000 by the late 1960s. The Hebrew Educational Society moved to Canarsie in 1968; the last synagogue in Brownsville closed in 1972.[43]

The East New York riots of 1966, however, took place primarily between blacks and Italian Americans. After the riots, the *New York Times* observed,

> Many whites, especially the once-strong Jewish population have been moving out since World War II to other sections of Brooklyn or pre-

> ferably to the Bronx and Queens. Others, especially Italians, are determined to stay and put up what they feel is a last stand for their homes.

This defiance turned out to be merely bluster; in the end, the deteriorating neighborhoods became overwhelmingly nonwhite, whether Jewish Brownsville or Italian East New York.

> It is not only housing itself which is the victim of obsolescence. Neighborhoods obsolesce too...Improved transportation, and above all the spread of automobile ownership, have put suburban living within the reach of most...rather than just a small minority...which tends to diminish the relative demand for housing in neighborhoods whose main attraction is centrality.[44]

In general, eastern Brooklyn's white population welcomed the opportunity to escape its neighborhoods. While some expressed qualms, most felt that a move to Queens or further east was a deserved chance at upward mobility. Brownsville (then and now) was not a place where people hoped to linger. Canarsie's population grew from 30,000 in 1950, to 50,000 in 1960, and to 80,000 in 1979.[45]

Soon after the violence of 1966 abated, eastern Brooklyn again dropped out of the glare of press coverage. The sporadic violence and crime that continued now involved minority perpetrators and victims, and thus was considered irrelevant by the mass media. On Election Day 1966, the new civilian-dominated Civilian Review Board went down to crushing defeat at the polls, gaining less than 40 percent of the more than two million votes cast. In summer 1967, some white youths in East New York still chanted "We don't want no niggers here." A reporter found a "Park closed" sign changed to read "Park closed to niggers." An altercation between blacks and Italian Americans led to a stabbing on Liberty Ave and Elton Street, but there was no repeat of the riot of the previous year. Giving up on East New York as hopeless, increasing numbers of white people moved to Canarsie, Queens, and points east.[46]

By 1966, eastern Brooklyn was stigmatized as a slum that needed eradication. The parks commissioner was "shocked by Brownsville" and its garbage-strewn streets. The *World Journal Tribune* described its housing as the "worst in the city," while a story in the *New York Times* decried the shortage of jobs, sanitation, and housing, and noted the provincialism and gang warfare (ironically, the *Times* reporter also observed an interracial group of children playing peacefully at a playground on the corner of Livonia and Pennsylvania Avenues). It became virtually impossible to find a cab, use a public telephone, or buy a newspaper. In the popular mind, this no-longer "transitional" neighborhood had "turned." The altered status was reflected by government assistance becoming a mainstay of the local economy. Only 8 percent of East New York's population were welfare recipients in 1965, compared with 31 percent six years later. Brownsville was little better. The

23 percent receiving welfare in 1965 increased to 38 percent in 1971, with some census tracts reporting more than 50 percent.[47]

Increased decentralization of jobs from the city core to the suburbs made it even more difficult for these Brooklyn neighbor-hoods to function. Because income is the most critical variable in predicting an individual's housing, the decaying housing stock of eastern Brooklyn deteriorated even further. From the 1950s on, the area was marred by rotting, crumbling three-story frame dwellings and four-story apartment houses. Many of the nineteenth-century frame buildings were virtually unlivable. As racial succession progressed, normal maintenance ceased. This deterioration did not slow the migration of nonwhites to eastern Brooklyn, because, in the dual housing market, nonwhites did not compete directly with whites for places to live. Initially, housing density even increased as buildings were subdivided to maximize short-term profits. Although blacks often paid higher rates than the nonwhites they replaced, banks and tax assessors followed the stereotyped theory of neighborhood devaluation. Landlord disinvestment in the form of housing abandonment reached epidemic proportions, until it became one of the largest sources of capital outflow from the area. According to one black woman who moved to Brownsville from Alabama in 1964, "We pulled a rent strike [in 1967], but as soon as the landlord saw he couldn't get any more money out of us he disappeared. We all had to move out and now the building is abandoned."[48]

In 1974, Brownsville and East New York tax-delinquency rates were almost 25 percent. Burned-out businesses and boarded-up buildings lined streets littered with broken store-front glass and the remains of automobiles, where only twenty years before a viable community existed. The fleeing black middle class again searched contiguous areas for decent housing. Retail traffic faded away, as small-scale white businessmen deserted the area. African Americans, who often lacked the capital or experience to take advantage of the situation, faced discrimination from banks and insurance companies. White people would no longer return, and eastern Brooklyn shrank in upon itself. Pitkin Avenue, which used to draw customers from all over Brooklyn, soon was only a localized shopping street.[49]

As the percentage of African Americans in public school rose, fighting broke out in the racially mixed schools. The battle over the placement of JHS 275 revealed the depth of white residents' anti-minority animus. The school was originally zoned to be on the border between white and black areas and drew from each, but pressure from East Flatbush and Canarsie residents forced it further towards Brownsville, and zoned 70-percent minority. To almost no one's surprise, JHS 275 opened in September 1963 with a minority enrollment of 80 percent that soon increased to 100. Similar problems plagued the construction of JHS 55.[50] Two years after the riots in East New York, the confrontation between teachers and residents of the experimental Ocean-Hill Brownsville school district led to one of the bitterest labor disputes in New York City's history, as well as a watershed in the relationship between African Americans and Jews. By this time, the public

school students were virtually all black and Hispanic and the teachers almost entirely white.[51]

Segregation of schools in so-called transitional neighborhoods reflected a borough-wide trend. By 1970, more than half of Brooklyn's 310 schools were at least three-fourths minority, with remaining white students increasingly choosing parochial or private schools. In Community School District 23, in Brownsville, only 14 percent of the students read at or above grade level in 1973.[52] East New York, New Lots, and Brownsville had reached the nadir of their descent. These areas may have improved somewhat in recent years (though not in crime statistics), but remain synonymous with the concepts of inner city and underclass. The 1990 New York Times Index listed ten subcategories for East New York: assaults, crime, education, firearms, fires, murders, police, roads, robberies, and shootings.

Many Jewish and Italian residents of East New York and Brownsville relocated to Canarsie in the 1950s and 1960s. One Brownsville migrant remarked, "the blacks were moving in; we had no choice." Another, thinking of the increasing possibility of black "encroachment" in the area, said bitterly, "We ran once; I guess the next step is a houseboat." White Canarsie residents often view themselves as pinned against Jamaica Bay by the inner-city black neighborhoods they fled. They hate and fear Brownsville and East New York, and, noting new racial succession in East Flatbush, once again perceive themselves as defending "their" aging neighborhood (developed after World War II) against the "invasion" of nonwhites.[53]

The 1990 census for New York City, if accurate, reveals a sharp reduction in black immigration and white emigration. For the first time in four decades, the city's white population declined by less than one million (540,000); the decrease in Brooklyn was only 200,000. However, the scarcity of affordable housing and neighborhood "change" continue to be major issues in New York City, as well as on Long Island. The nonwhite population of Brooklyn rose from 51 to 60 percent between 1980 and 1990. The concomitant rise in population, from 2.2 to 2.3 million, guaranteed that nonwhites will continue to move into previously white neighborhoods. When nonwhite people move into Canarsie, white residents often do not perceive individuals, but rather the specter of Brownsville and East New York, which they hoped they had left behind. A study of neighborhood transition in the 1970s in East Flatbush reported that, although whites might accept a degree of neighborhood integration, there were definite limits. The entrance of African Americans of observably lower-class life styles would be unacceptable to most white people, as would a noticeable rise in street crime. Finally, a disastrous change in the quality of local schools would not be tolerated.[545] These preconditions may seem racist to some, but make sense to many former residents of Brownsville and East New York.

African Americans, seeking a place of their choice to live, can legitimately protest that racial discrimination severely limits their options. The nonwhite view can be equally accusatory, as in the imaginary dialogue conceived by

Levine and Harmon in their study of racial succession in Boston:

> "This used to be a good place to live. What did they do to the neighborhood?" they [whites] would ask. "They," of course, would mean the blacks, not the planners, bankers, and real estate agents whose dirty work is still so much in evidence...
>
> Blacks would...have an equally pained, personal, and accusatory response. They would consider the Jews as having...voluntarily abandoned their cherished neighborhoods, its community and institutions, rather than give blacks a chance to be good neighbors. Moreover, the Jews cheated the blacks by selling them houses in disrepair at highly inflated prices. And now these Jews, sitting by the rivers of their suburban Babylon, shed insincere tears when they remember their "lost Zion."[55]

Optimistic prognosticators still claim that the black experience will mirror the immigrant experience, slowed only by the virulence of racism. One commentator contended that black (and Hispanic) growth in Brooklyn was only the most

> recent—and probably not the last—of a three-century old tradition of cultural group invasion and succession. The Dutch displaced the Indians, the Yankees tried to displace the Dutch, the Irish came next and then the Germans, the Italians, the Jews and others took turns migrating to Brooklyn. The history of Brooklyn's immigration has always been characterized by the desires of new immigrants to withstand the complaints of the old inhabitants and forge a better life for themselves and their families...The old immigrants became Brooklyn's working and middle class citizens; the new Black and Hispanic immigrants seek the same status.[56]

It seems difficult to hold this view, however, without a certain amount of forced optimism, or naiveté. Saul Alinsky's dictum that whites move out as blacks move in may yet be proven correct, just as the dream of a truly integrated New York neighborhood may be purely utopian. The violence in Crown Heights between African Americans and the Hasidic community demonstrated that the willingness of whites to remain in a mainly nonwhite neighborhood is no guarantee of interracial harmony. Of course, by definition, the Hasidim are not likely (nor willing) to integrate with anyone. However, their continued presence in Crown Heights shows that racial succession is not solely the result of inexorable demographic factors. The expansion of minority neighborhoods in American cities is the product of hundreds of large and small decisions, made by nonwhites and whites, bankers and politicians, schools and institutions. The last thirty years were filled with proposed solutions to the problem of the "enduring ghetto." What is needed—more government support, or less? Ghetto dispersal or ghetto development? Investment in people or investment in location? Racism runs deep in American society; perhaps major

institutional and attitudinal changes are too much to expect only thirty years after the Civil Rights movement. If the problems seems to defy solution, it is worth remembering that racial problems previously thought insolvable, such as slavery and Jim Crow, were eventually resolved.

NOTES

1. Michael Griffith, a black man beaten and chased by whites through the streets of Howard Beach, Queens, was hit by a car and killed (*New York Times*, 21 Dec. 1986); a white woman jogging in Central Park was beaten and raped by a group of black youths (ibid., 21 Apr. 1989); Yusuf Hawkins, a black teenager, was confronted by a white crowd and shot to death in Bensonhurst (ibid., 25 Aug. 1989); Gavin Cato, a black child, was killed in a car accident involving a Hasidic motorcade: in subsequent widespread black rioting, Yankel Rosenbaum, a Hasidic young man, was stabbed to death (ibid. 20-23 Aug. 1991): the above citations for these events, all of which received intensive coverage in the press, are for their first reports in the *New York Times*.

2. *New York Newsday*, 9 Feb. 1990; *New York Times*, 11 Feb. 1990.

3. Hillel Levine and Lawrence Harmon, *The Death of an American Jewish Community: A Tragedy of Good Intentions* (New York: The Free Press, 1992), 7.

4. Margaret Latimer, *Brooklyn Almanac* (New York: Brooklyn Rediscovery, 1984), 24; *New York Times*, 18 Feb. 1962.

5. Alter Landesman, *A History of New Lots, Brooklyn to 1887* (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1977), 199-201; Harold Connolly, *A Ghetto Grows in Brooklyn* (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1977), 134. Census undercount probably explains some of Brownsville's population decrease. See Gerald Sorin, *The Nurturing Neighborhood: The Brownsville Boys Club and Jewish Community in Urban America, 1940-1990* (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1991), 161-63; St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1945), 174-213; Karl Taueber and Alma Taueber, *Negroes in Cities: Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Change* (Chicago: Aldine, 1965), 200.

6. *New York Times*, 19 July 1966. For "long, hot summers," see *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968).

7. *New York Times*, 7 Feb. 1966; *New York Amsterdam News*, 6 Aug. 1966; David McCullough, *Brooklyn...And How It Got That Way* (New York: Dial Press, 1983), 212.

8. *New York Times*, 21, 23, and 24 July 1966.

9. *New York Daily News* and *New York Times*, 19 July 1966.

10. *New York Times*, 19 and 20 1966; Connolly, *Ghetto*, 212-22; Harold Savitch, "Powerlessness in an Urban Ghetto: The Case of Political Biases and Differential Access in New York City," Polity (Fall 1972):37-42; Woody Klein, *Lindsay's Promise: The Dream That Failed; a Personal Account* (London: MacMillan, 1970), 205-6. Rain also helped to disperse the Bedford-Stuyvesant riot of 1964; see Fred Shapiro and James Sullivan, *Race Riot: New York*, 1964 (New York: Crowell, 1964), 172.

11. *New York Times*, 20 July 1966, which also carried a report on the Grand Concourse, an area in the Bronx also undergoing rapid racial change.

12. Jonathan Rieder, *Canarsie: The Jews and Italians of Brooklyn Against Liberalism* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1985), 24.

13. *New York Daily News*, 22 and 23 July 1966.

14. *New York Times*, 22 July 1966; "What's Happening to the Boro of Churches?" *New York Amsterdam News*, 23 July 1966; see also Klein, *Lindsay's Promise*, 207.

15. *Annual Report of the Police Department of the City of New York* (New York: Police Dept.

Printing Section, 1967), 6; *New York Times* and *New York Amsterdam News*, 23 July 1966.

16. *New York Times*, ibid; *New York Daily News*, 23 July 1966.

17. *New York Daily News*, ibid; *New York Times*, 24 July 1966.

18. *New York Amsterdam News*, 20 August 1966; *New York Times*, 23 July 1966; Shapiro and Sullivan, *Race Riot*, 1-62, 127-172.

19. *New York Daily News*, 23 and 29 July 1966; *Annual Report of the Police Department*, 6; *New York Amsterdam News*, 30 July 1966.

20. *New York Times*, 24 July 1966; Klein, *Lindsay's Promise*, 208.

21. *New York Amsterdam News*, 30 July 1966; *New York Daily News*, 23, 27, and 28 July 1966.

22. *New York Times*, 6 August 1966; Rieder, *Canarsie*, 24.

23. *New York Daily News*, 24 July 1966, 8; New York Times, 6 Aug. 1966; Klein, *Lindsay's Promise*, 209-210.

24. Kenneth Kusmer, *A Ghetto Takes Shape: Black Cleveland, 1870-1930* (Urbana, IL: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1976), 12, doubts that a "black ghetto existed in American cities, north or south, prior to the 1890s," and David Katzman, *Before the Ghetto: Black Detroit in the Nineteenth Century* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1973), 69, claims that in 1880, "even in the areas of highest Negro concentration, blacks and whites lived next to each other." See also Gilbert Osofsky, *Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto, Negro New York, 1890-1930* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 9-16; Allan Spear, *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto, 1890-1920* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1967), 5-8; Joe William Trotter, *Black Milwaukee: The Making of an Industrial Proletariat* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1985), 21-24, 271-77. For the antebellum South, see Richard Wade, *Slavery in the Cities: The South, 1820-1860* (New York, Oxford Univ. Press, 1964), 266-81.

25. Taueber and Taueber, *Negroes in Cities*, 1-7; W. E. B. DuBois, "To The Nations of the World," address at Pan-African Conference, London, 1900. See also Thomas Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto: Neighborhood Deterioration and Middle Class Reform, 1880-1930* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1978), xvi.

26. Howard Aldrich, "Ecological Succession in Racially Changing Neighborhoods: A Review of the Literature," *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 10 (March 1975):327; R. McKenzie, "The Ecological Approach to the Study of the Human Community," *American Journal of Sociology* 30 (November 1924):298; Paul Cressey, "Population Succession in Chicago, 1898-1930," *American Journal of Sociology* 44 (July 1938):63; E. Burgess, "Residential Segregation in American Cities," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 140 (November 1928):105-115; R. Park, "Succession: An Ecological Concept," *American Sociological Review* 1 (Apr. 1936):171-79. Osofsky, *Harlem*, 105-6, noted that the concept of "invasion" was a not so subtle form of racial propaganda.

27. O. D. Duncan and B. Duncan, *The Negro Population of Chicago: A Study of Residential Succession* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1957), 108, 267-68; Taueber and Taueber, *Negroes in Cities*, 2-4, 31-68, 197-245, claimed New York City was no more segregated than other large American cities.

28. Nanette Raione, ed., *Brooklyn Neighborhood Book* (New York: Fund for the Borough of Brooklyn, 1985), 46-47; Frederick Heidenreich, *Old Days and Old Ways in East New York* (New York: 1949), 9-61.

29. Thomas Kessner, *The Golden Door: Italian and Jewish Immigrant Mobility in New York City, 1880-1915* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1977), 146; Alter Landesman, *The Birth, Development, and Passing of a Jewish Community in New York* (New York: Bloch Publishing, 1969), 1-16, 82-154; McCullough, *Brooklyn*, 198-204; Raione, ibid., 20; Rieder, *Canarsie*, 25.

30. Savitch, "Powerlessness," 32-33; Connolly, *Ghetto*, 139-144; Rae Glauber, "All Neighborhoods Change: A Survey of Brownsville, Brooklyn, U.S.A." (ms. in Brooklyn Historical Society, 1963), 1-7; Landesman, *Birth*, 371-75; *New York Times*, 7 March 1968, 6 May 1970, 15 July 1969.

31. Drake and Cayton, 174-213, 114-15.

32. Aldrich, "Ecological Succession," 332-33; Harvey Molotch, "Racial Change in a Stable Community," *American Journal of Sociology* 55 (September 1969):226-38; see also Ernest Quimby, "Bedford Stuyvesant: The Making of a Ghetto," in Rita Miller, ed., *Brooklyn, U.S.A.: The Fourth Largest City in America* (New York: Brooklyn College Press, 1979), 229-38; Toby Sanchez, *Crown Heights: Neighborhood Profile* (Brooklyn, NY: Brooklyn In Touch Information Center, 1987), 4-6.

33. Arnold Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1983), 15-16; Charles Abrams, *Forbidden Neighbors: A Study of Prejudices in Housing* (New York: Harper, 1955), 18-28, 276-78; Mary Manoni, *Bedford-Stuyvesant: The Anatomy of a Central City Community* (New York: Quadrangle, 1973), 5; Kain is quoted in Alexander Polikoff, *Housing the Poor: The Case For Heroism* (Cambridge, MA: Ballinger, 1978), 5.

34. Connolly, *Ghetto*, 130; Shapiro and Sullivan, *Race Riot*, 104-7; Taueber and Taueber, *Negroes in Cities*, 1-5; Jonathan Kaufman, *Broken Alliance: The Turbulent Times Between Blacks and Jews in America* (New York: Scribner, 1988), 165-93, describes one white, Jewish, liberal family's struggle to stay in a transitional neighborhood in Chicago.

35. Abrams, *Forbidden Neighbors*, 150-68, 276-78; Robert Weaver, *The Negro Ghetto* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1949), 231-67; Drake and Cayton, 174-213; Rose Helper, *Racial Policies and Practices of Real Estate Brokers* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1969), 210-12, 358-61. In a 1985 study of twenty-one brokers, eighteen steered black people away from predominantly white areas or refused to tell them of vacancies; more than 70 percent of minority testers met discrimination from real estate agents or landlords, not faced by whites (*New York Times*, 11 Feb. 1990).

36. Miller, *Brooklyn, U.S.A.*, 232; Polikoff, *Housing the Poor*, 4-6; Abrams, *Forbidden Neighbors*, 81-90; Connolly, *Ghetto*, 200.For the collusion of banks and government in the intentional racial destabilization of Roxbury and Mattapan, in Boston, see Levine and Harmon, *Death of an American Jewish Community*, 66-106, 194-224, and 278-305; see also George Sternlieb, *The Tenement Landlord* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1969), 164-70, and Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 29.

37. State Study Commission for New York City, *Urban Renewal in Brownsville, 1960-1973* (New York: Temporary State Commission, 1973), 3-4; on the day of the East New York riots, Whitney Young wrote a letter denouncing urban renewal for ignoring African American interests (*New York Daily News* 23 July 1966).

38. *New York Times*, 13 March 1962 and 7 March 1968; *New York Daily News*, 15 October 1955; *New York Journal American*, 17 March 1957. See also Polikoff, *Housing the Poor*, 9-19; Connolly, Ghetto, 132-99; Elliot Willensky, *When Brooklyn Was the World 1920-1957* (New York: Harmony Books, 1986), 110-11. R.H. Baylor, "Roads to Racial Segregation. "Atlanta in the Twentieth Century," *Journal of Urban History* 15 (November 1988), 3-21, explains the government's use of road placement to racially cordon off areas of the city.

39. Luigi Laurenti, *Property Values and Race: Studies in Seven Cities* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1960), 52-53; George von Furstenberg, Bennett Harrison, and Ann Horowitz, *Patterns of Racial Discrimination, Vol. 1: Housing* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1974), 193-216, suggested that data can be interpreted to justify almost any position. See also Nathan Kantrowitz, *Ethnic and Racial Segregation in the New York Metropolis* (New York: Praeger, 1973), 68. Savitch, "Powerlessness," 34.

40. Yona Ginsburg, *Jews in a Changing Neighborhood* (New York: Free Press, 1975), 136-73; Kantrowitz, *Ethnic and Racial Segregation*, 59-80; Weaver, *Negro Ghetto*, 285-303; Edgar Hoover and Raymond Vernon, *Anatomy of a Metropolis: The Changing Distribution of People and Jobs Within the New York Metropolitan Region* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1962), 175-229; Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1944) I:623.

41. Aldrich, "Ecological Succession," 332-33; Miller, *Brooklyn, U.S.A.*, 229-38; Manoni,

Bedford-Stuyvesant, 4; Taueber and Taueber, *Negroes in Cities*, 25; Linton Freeman and Morris Sunshine, *Patterns of Residential Segregation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1970), 30, 55-66; Helper, *Racial Policies*, 3-55, 277-301; *New York Post*, 11 March 1970; *New York Daily News*, 15 April 1970; Connolly, *Ghetto*, 152.

42. Quoted in Ginsburg, *Jews in a Changing Neighborhood*, 153-156.

43. Sorin, *Nurturing Neighborhood*, 163-69; Louis Harris and Bert Swanson, *Black-Jewish Relations in New York City* (New York: Praeger, 1970), 227-28; S. Lipton and D. Varady found Jews "least resistant" to blacks moving into the neighborhood ("Ethnicity and Racial Change," in E. Stern and A. Meir, eds., *International Aspects of Rural and Urban Metropolitan Systems* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1989), 29-42).

44. *New York Times*, 23 July 1966 *New York Post*, 2 November 1972; Kaufman, *Broken Alliance*, 169-73; Harris and Swanson, *Black-Jewish Relations*, 6-23; Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City* (Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press, 1963), 57-76; Hoover and Vernon, *Anatomy of a Metropolis*, 166-73; Aldrich, "Ecological Succession," 335.

45. Rieder, *Canarsie*, 16; Kessner, *Golden Door*, 160, 176; McCullough, *Brooklyn*, 198-203. Wreckers involved in urban renewal were astonished as early as 1947 that buildings they demolished in Brownsville had not fallen down years ago (*New York Daily News*, 13 October 1955). J. Darden, "The Significance of Race and Class in Residential Segregation," *Journal of Urban Affairs* 8 (Winter 1986):49-55, ranked race above class as the motive for white flight.

46. *New York Times*, 9 and 10 Nov. 1966, 15 June 1967; for a semi-riot in Brownsville, see "Brownsville Back to Normal Despair, "*New York Times*, 6-8 May 1970.

47. *New York World Journal Tribune* 2 Oct. 1966; *New York World Telegram*, 8 and 12 Feb. 1966; *New York Times*, 15 June 1967 and 23 July 1966; Connolly, *Ghetto*, 195.

48. *New York Times*, 10 Apr. 1972; Furstenberg, *Patterns of Racial Discrimination*, 1-101; Michael Stegman, *Housing Investment in the Inner City: The Dynamics of Decline; A Study of Baltimore, Maryland, 1968-1970* (Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press, 1972), 1-14, 27-92; William Julius Wilson, *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1987), 1-92; Sorin, *Nurturing Neighborhood*, 170.

49. Polikoff, *Housing the Poor*, 55; Connolly, *Ghetto*, 195-209; Richard Schaffer, *Income Flows in Urban Poverty Areas* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1973), 4-5; Aldrich, "Ecological Succession," 328-40; Sternlieb, *Tenement Landlord*, xiii-xvii; Hoover and Vernon, *Anatomy of a Metropolis*, 183-200. For housing violations and the futility of fines to control them, see *New York World Telegram*, 9 Ap. 1966.

50. Diane Ravitch, *The Great School Wars: New York City*, 1805-1973 (New York: Basic Books, 1974), 271; Connolly, ibid., 216; Savitch, "Powerlessness," 34-38; *New York World Telegram*, 22 Feb. 1966; *New York Times*, 2 Feb. 1968, 10.

51. Harris and Swanson, *Black-Jewish Relations*, xxi; Kaufman, *Broken Alliance*, 127-64. For Brownsville, see Maurice Berube and Marilyn Gittell, eds, *Confrontation at Ocean-Hill Brownsville: The New York School Strikes of 1968* (New York: Praeger, 1969), 3-16, 174; Naomi Levine and Richard Cohen, *Ocean Hill-Brownsville: Schools in Crisis* (New York: Popular Library, 1969), 52-84.

52. For segregation in Brooklyn's public schools, see Jeffrey Sunshine, "From Segregation to Integration, to Community Control...to Segregation?" in Miller, *Brooklyn, U.S.A.*, 287-303. Between 1954 and 1960, the number of segregated schools (more than 90-percent minority) increased from nine to thirty-eight, and to sixty-one by 1963.

53. Sorin, *Nurturing Neighborhood*, 164-65; *New York Times*, 22 July 1966; Rieder, *Canarsie*, 26, 58-63; J. M. Stahura, "Changing Patterns of Suburban Racial Composition, 1970-1980," *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 23 (March 1988):448-60; Rieder, ibid., 14-17, 26; Savitch, "Powerlessness," 34.

54. *New York Times*, 22 Mar. 1991; Cornelius Sullivan, "Farragut, East Flatbush: A Longitudinal

Study of a Neighborhood in Transition", in Miller, *Brooklyn, U.S.A.*, 239-49. See also George Galster, "White Flight from Racially Integrated Neighborhoods in the 1970s: The Cleveland Experience," *Urban Studies* 27 (June 1990):385-99.

55. Levine and Harmon, *Death of an American Jewish Community*, 336.

56. *An Introduction to the Black Contribution to the Development of Brooklyn* (New York: New Muse Community Museum, 1977), 40-41; Hoover and Vernon, *Anatomy of a Metropolis*, 140-54; Cressey, "Population Succession," 61.

Walt Whitman in the Public Domain: A Tale of Two Houses

By Joann P. Krieg

For a man who had the kinds of problems with governmental agencies that Walt Whitman experienced in his lifetime, it is somewhat surprising that the only two residences that were "home" to him are now in the public domain, the objects of state conservation. While this public ownership is taken for granted, it was accomplished only with the perseverance, and sometimes the daring, of a few people willing to commit to the idea that a poet not much honored in life should be publicly honored in death. Whitman, of course, saw himself as the poet of the people and always aspired toward the public domain, but long before he had attained his goal (if, indeed, he has), the architectural framework of his physical life, the places of his birth and death, had entered that dominion. Official histories of the acquisition of these properties offered for public consumption by state agencies or by private "friends" organizations do not tell the entire story, which is better constructed from the correspondence files and other records of those involved. The historical narrative presented here is based largely on information in the files of the Walt Whitman Birthplace Association (WWBA) in West Hills, Long Island, and on conversations with the curator of the Walt Whitman House, Camden, New Jersey. While its principal concern is with the Long Island house, references to Camden provide a wider historical context as well as a comparative view.[1]

In a sense, this tale of two houses reflects the social history of the nation. One, the house where Whitman died, is in an urban environment that even in Whitman's lifetime was lower-middle class, and which, at the time referred to here, was entering a long decline from which it never fully recovered. The other, the poet's birthplace, is in what was originally a rural environment, but, at the time of this story, was gaining a place in American history as an archetype of postWorld War II suburbia. The movement from rural to urban setting was a deliberate choice on Whitman's part, for he was at heart a man of the city, and, as if in response to his urbanity, the early involvement of municipal government in Camden meant that the house there was more easily preserved to his memory. The campaign to obtain the house where he was born was far more involved, requiring strategy, a degree of showmanship, and long-term perseverance, often—especially in the McCarthy era—in an atmosphere of heated political controversy. Records of the organizations

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involved reveal the tightrope that often had to be walked by those seeking to preserve the houses in which Whitman was born and died, a tightrope stretched between public and private interests in a time when conflicting ideologies cast long shadows over even the worthiest endeavors.

After Whitman's death in 1892, his books, papers, and personal effects were removed from his home at 330 Mickle Boulevard, Camden, by his three literary executors, Thomas B. Harned, Richard M. Bucke, and Horace Traubel, and divided equally among them. The small house, with its furnishings, was then closed from public view, opened only occasionally, usually on the poet's birthday, 31 May, for members of the Walt Whitman Fellowship, International. Soon the house passed into private hands, to be rented out. In 1919, when the publisher of a Camden newspaper, J. David Stern, and his wife, attempted to take an English visitor on a tour of the house on Mickle Street, they found it occupied by an immigrant family who knew nothing of its former owner. Using the editorial pages of his newspaper, Stern was able to arouse civic duty so that the house became the property of the city of Camden, which undertook some restoration work and installed a curator. A friends' group, the Walt Whitman Foundation, was instituted to work with the city government. Its chairman (until his death in 1938) was Dr. Alexander MacAlister, who had been Whitman's physician; the widow and daughter of Horace Traubel were also active members.

The Foundation, which lacked legal status, made no attempts at fund raising, but in 1940 a board of trustees was formed, and incorporation was sought and achieved. The aim was to seek city, state, and federal, as well as private funds to clean up the immediate surroundings of the house and acquire additional property to establish a center for Whitman studies. Among the original board members were the Whitman scholars Sculley Bradley, Van Wyck Brooks, Henry Seidel Canby, and Oscar Lion, a well-known collector of Whitman materials.

The chairman of the Walt Whitman Foundation's board of trustees was Ralph W. Wescott, a Camden attorney. In October 1946, Wescott asked Cleveland Rodgers, of the New York City Planning Commission, for help in a project he hoped would "shame Camden into a realization of its unique opportunity to elevate itself." The fledgling foundation had received an offer from one of its trustees, described by Wescott as "the possessor of probably the most extensive and valuable collection of Whitmaniana, said by some critics to excel the collection in the Library of Congress." Though Wescott did not reveal the trustee's name, Foundation records show that Oscar Lion hinted broadly that he might place his collection in Camden, rather than in the New York Public Library (NYPL). Wescott hoped that if Whitman scholars put pressure on the city government, Camden might become the repository of this treasure. However, Lion's later stipulation that the house next door to the Whitman house would have to be purchased and a fireproof library built to house the collection could not be met, and in 1953 the collection went to the NYPL.[2]

Rodgers was included in Wescott's outreach to scholars on the strength of his and John Black's collection of editorials and essays by Whitman, written for the *Brooklyn Eagle* in 1846 and 1847. Rodgers, an admirer of Whitman's work for many years, had been on the *Eagle*'s staff from 1906 to 1933, achieving the position of editor before leaving to serve Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia on the newly-formed New York Planning Commission. Although his work in city planning led him into other areas of writing, including a book on the early New Deal and a biography of Robert Moses, Whitman exerted an unfailing influence on him; the salvation of the poet's birthplace thus became one of his life's overriding objectives.[3]

Rodgers was lauded by Emory Holloway, an original trustee of the Birthplace Association, for his heroic, successful effort to save the house, "not only for undertaking it in the first place, but for skillful and diplomatic handling of the forces which finally turned the trick." The history of the Whitman birthplace in the years after Walter Whitman, Sr. removed his family (including four-year-old Walter, Jr.) to Brooklyn is varied. Though the family returned to Long Island, they never again lived on the West Hills farm, which passed through a number of owners and tenants, among them the Jarvis family who lived there at the time of Walt's visit in 1881. For a time after the poet's death, a tea room was operated on the first floor of the small house; in 1917, title passed into the hands of a real estate operator. At that time, there was some rumbling about preservation among a few residents of the town of Huntington, but nothing came of it. The next owners, Mr. and Mrs. John Watson, were conscious of the importance of their house. They maintained it well, and, when they offered it for sale in 1936, asked the high price of $30,000 for house and land, an amount subsequently lowered to $10,000.[4]

Emory Holloway, then teaching English at Queens College of the City University of New York, learned of the offer and wrote to Jesse Merritt, the Nassau County Historian (Suffolk County, where the Whitman house is located, did not yet have an official historian), seeking his help in gaining access to Robert Moses. Moses, the head of both the New York City Planning Commission and the Long Island State Park Commission, was engaged in creating parkways providing city dwellers with access to the new state parks on the Island. In his letter, Holloway pointed out that had it earlier been known that the Whitman house would be offered for sale, Moses might have included it as part of the park system being developed along the Northern State Parkway, not far from the site of the Whitman farm. A 1949 letter to Cleveland Rodgers indicates that Holloway wrote to Moses about this, but that it was too late. Nevertheless, his idea was prophetic, for the house and its surrounding acreage is now a New York State Historic Site, under the custodial care of the New York State Department of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation, whose local authority is the Long Island State Park Commission.[5]

In all likelihood, it was through the appeal to Moses that Cleveland Rodgers became involved in the effort to purchase Whitman's birthplace; while Moses, no doubt, had little interest in the poet, Rodgers's interest was

keen. He joined the Walt Whitman Society of Huntington, a group formed to try to raise money to buy the house. When this organization's efforts seemed doomed he founded another, which ultimately became the Walt Whitman Birthplace Association, of which he was the first president.

When he received Wescott's letter from Camden about the offer of the Lion collection, Rodgers was willing to help but was more interested in the possibility of the Camden group's joining him in his own project, "to get possession of the Whitman birthplace at West Hills, L. I." Wescott's letter was "disillusioning," he claimed, because

> for years I have felt that the Camden group had done so much more than those of us in New York to widen interest in Whitman and I have used the fact that Camden has preserved the Whitman house in efforts to shame our community into doing something comparable about local landmarks.

Could they not "conspire" together to further both their objectives, Rodgers wondered; but nothing appears to have come of this until mid-1949, when a spate of letters passed between the two men.[6]

1949 was a crucial year in Rodgers's campaign to purchase the Whitman birthplace. By then, he had signed on some influential Long Islanders, among them Jesse Merritt. In an effort to jog New York State's awareness, Merritt wrote to State Historian Albert Corey, informing him that the Whitman house was "up." Corey replied, "When you refer to the Walt Whitman house being up...does it mean that the Walt Whitman house is up for sale? I certainly hope that is not the case." In a handwritten note next to this, Merritt commented that "He knows now." Merritt then wrote to Cleveland Rodgers, remarking that:

> The more I think about it, I believe the National government should acquire the birthplace. I will write to Mr. Stimson [former Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson who in retirement lived in Huntington] and see what kind of response we can get, then through [*sic*] Robert Sherwood, who knows this administration, a great Whitman lover, himself.

Rodgers responded on 19 May:

> I agree with you that the Federal government should take over the birthplace, but efforts were made over a long period to do something in Washington, without success. It would be a great relief to me if we could get help from that quarter.

Rodgers ends by expressing his hope that Merritt will be able to get the Long Island people to back the idea of buying the birthplace, something which his letters reveal Rodgers himself had difficulty doing.[7]

On the same day, the Whitman scholar Gay Wilson Allen, whom Rodgers also solicited for the cause, wrote to him that,

> Actually, I think it would be fine to get the State of New York to purchase the property and keep it up, as New Jersey has done for the

> Camden house. New Jersey is even hiring a custodian to live in the house and show it to visitors. A private group would, I think, find it a constant worry to do these things...But I agree that the place should be made into a shrine, whether by private or public funds.[8]

Another letter of 19 May, from the author and literary critic Bernard De Voto, squelched what must have been Rodgers's final hope for help from the Washington area:

> As a member of the Advisory Board of National Parks and of its committee on Historic Sites, I feel very strongly that acquiring and caring for such buildings as Whitman's birthplace are properly the duty of the community in which they exist. I should think that in this instance the obligation rests on Long Island and at the utmost should not extend beyond the state of New York. I do not think that efforts on a national scale are desirable.[9]

De Voto's letter was clearly negative, and nothing further was done to try to interest the federal government in the property. It is important, however, to place the feelings of Merritt and Rodgers in the context of the times, and of what was happening on Long Island with regard to federally subsidized housing. The federal government was encouraging, with bridge loans that supported construction, large-scale suburban housing projects which, when intended for veterans of World War II, carried mortgages funded by the Federal Housing Authority or guaranteed by the G.I. Bill of Rights. This was a new role for the government, the largest undertaking it had ever assumed in the field of housing.

By far the most sizable of these tract developments was Levittown, built on Long Island between 1947 and 1951, not far from the Whitman birthplace. A recent study of Levittown makes the point that during the postwar years the "concept of house and home" entered the realm of intellectual history at the time that the federal government was assuming a new historical stance relative to housing. The other important point of the study is that this governmental activity signaled a "shifting, or redefinition, of the weight of one particular status symbol—the privately owned single-family dwelling"[10] Home ownership, which had been the privilege of the upper class in America, became available to the middle class as a result of government subsidies. Such subsidies, therefore, were "in the air" at the time Rodgers and Merritt began their campaign for federal ownership of the Whitman birthplace.

As shall be seen, the acquisition by state governments of the two Whitman houses reflects the same kind of downward shift from the manor and mansion kinds of historic sites, and war-related monuments, to the homes of middle- to lower-class individuals such as Walt Whitman. Indeed, Whitman was a veteran of sorts; though he did not fight in the Civil War he gave fully of his time and labor throughout it, and in 1886 a bill was introduced in Congress seeking a pension of $25 a month in honor of his hospital work.[11] The bill

failed, but later state jurisdiction over his two houses may be interpreted as a belated "veteran's" pension.

Perhaps as a result of De Voto's letter, or perhaps simply because, as he often wrote, Rodgers believed Whitman's democratic philosophy an effective tool against all totalitarian forms, the city commissioner chose to honor Whitman's birthday in 1949 by publishing a piece in the *New York Herald Tribune* on "Whitman vs. Karl Marx." It was a shortened version of a long and tedious dialogue he had written to contrast the political philosophies of the two men. For the next few years he tried, unsuccessfully, to have the dialogue performed on radio or television, or published (both the *Reader's Digest* and *Saturday Review* turned it down, among others). Rodgers managed again to attract the attention of Ralph Wescott with the piece, however, and Wescott offered to publish it in the *Whitman Foundation Bulletin*—when he found the money to print another issue.[12]

Rodgers wrote to Wescott in June, expressing sympathy for the Foundation's financial troubles, after which he hurried on to lay out a new idea:

> It has been my thought that a new start might be made in stimulating interest by focusing on Whitman's democratic creed as a counter to both Communism and Fascism. In my judgment we have nothing better to use in combatting communism than the Whitman document...I was interested to notice in the *Times* of last Sunday that the Soviet newspapers had devoted most of their space for a full week of the celebrations in honor of Pushkin, not as a communist but as Russia's national poet. Why should we do less for Whitman?

Actually, Rodgers had no intention of emulating the Pushkin celebration, for he now perceived a use that could be made of Whitman's democratic principles, a way of gaining the funds he sought not by emphasizing Whitman's poetic genius but by enlisting the poet as a Cold Warrior: "If I am right," he explained to Wescott, "it should be easier to get support on that basis than to appeal to those who feel that Whitman and his poetry are merely cultural and unrelated to the hard realities of the present day."[13]

Evidently, such thinking was part of the *zeitgeist*, for Wescott responded at once that Rodgers's letter "expresses precisely what our little group has in mind," continuing:

> The essential standpoint to be derived from Whitman's published writings and personal history is the best standpoint to take in opposition to Russian propaganda. Everything needed both to explain the American way and expose the fallacies of the official Soviet "Line" can be found here. While I doubt if we need to create by propaganda a God-like figure to offset the Russian creation of Lenin, we can well afford to offer Whitman's ideas about American life and the destiny of our democratic ways in opposition to the Russian worship of the State (as personalized at the moment in Stalin).

Wescott referred to an article by Robert Magidoff in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, "Forty Million Books by Americans," which named forty American authors widely read in Russia, and ranks Whitman about twentieth in the number of copies of his works in circulation. He sees this as a source of ammunition for the State Department through the Voice of America, and proposes that native leaders in India, China, and Japan could have no better source from which to draw

> the essence of the American spirit. It is this idea we hold in common with quite a group of American scholars and writers which I am hoping to place before our educational foundations with a view to obtaining some financial support for its propagation.[14]

In the ideological climate of post-World War II America, this made good, practical sense to Rodgers, but he failed to reckon with old-line liberals who rebelled at seeing "their" Whitman put to such propagandizing use. Throughout the summer of 1949, Rodgers dispatched letters to literary people and others who might be willing to pledge support to his Birthplace Association if and when it gained corporate status—until then he could not solicit funds or offer the incentive of income tax deduction. These personal appeals brought pledges and offers of future help from such persons as Will Durant, Charles Ives, Clifford Odets, H. V. Kaltenborn, Helen Keller, and John Erskine, as well as from Whitman scholars and collectors. In Huntington, he had the staunch support of Mrs. Frederic E. Hall, an indefatigable researcher and officer of the Huntington Historical Society, and of C. H. MacLachlan, editor and publisher of the *Long Islander*, the newspaper Whitman started in that community in 1838.

With the *Long Islander*'s presses at his disposal, Rodgers wrote and had printed a pamphlet outlining the purposes of the Association. With energy typical of the man, he must have disseminated every one printed, for there is not even a file copy extant; one of its claims is known only because the playright Clifford Odets referred to it in a 1949 letter to Rodgers. Odets, the author of the 1935 one-act proletarian drama, *Waiting for Lefty*, who had become an enthusiastic sponsor a few months before, complained that:

> The little brochure sent out by the Committee contains a Red-baiting sentence which seems to me absolutely unnecessary and illiberal. Mention is made in the brochure that Whitman has increasing significance at a time when "one of the gravest problems facing the world is that of combatting Communism without destroying traditional liberalism." No matter what my sentiments in the matter (and I am for a socialized Europe and perhaps America, as Whitman absolutely would be if he lived today!), this partisan view has no place in a brochure of this sort.It seems to me that the line will arouse resentment in many places; and my suggestion is that it be removed. The Committee's problem is to find the money with which to buy the house, not more, in my opinion.

A chastened Rodgers responded with one line, "My dear Mr. Odets, The sentence in the Whitman Birthplace circular which you criticized will be eliminated in reprinting." The same phrase offended Aaron Kramer, a Long Island poet, who underlined it and tore the portion from the brochure, returning it with a penciled note: "No one who really knows Whitman could have written that! Count me out."[15] Kramer not only changed his mind, but in later years was a trustee of the Association.

A few days after making amends with Odets, Rodgers received a letter from Leonard D. Abbott, responding to a solicitation. Abbott, the editor for twenty years of *Current Literature* (later *Current Opinion*), had been a member of the Walt Whitman Fellowship, International, that died, with Traubel, in 1919. Along with a pledge of support, Abbott enclosed an article on the radical Ferrer School, commenting that, "Several of the friends of the school were friends & disciples of Walt Whitman. I first met Elizabeth Ferrer at a meeting of the Walt Whitman Fellowship." He suggested that Rodgers contact Mrs. Eva Ingersoll Wakefield, secretary of the Robert G. Ingersoll Memorial Association, in New York City. This group was attempting to restore as a museum the birthplace, in Dresden, New York, of the eloquent nineteenth-century freethinker. Contacts such as these were far too radical for Rodgers's purposes, however, and the article on the Ferrer School was simply filed. Mrs. Wakefield was not so easily dismissed. No doubt alerted by Abbott, she took the initiative and wrote to Rodgers, suggesting they meet to discuss combining their efforts because Whitman and Ingersoll had been good friends. Rodgers politely declined her suggestion; he acknowledged the close relations between Whitman and Ingersoll, but, "to avoid confusion and perhaps discussion," his group must stick to its single purpose. It is obvious that the "discussion" he wished to avoid might question Whitman's adherence to such facets of "the American way" as belief in a personal God.[16]

1950 brought the granting of a provisional charter to the Walt Whitman Birthplace Association, made permanent four years later by the New York State Board of Regents, with Cleveland Rodgers as president. The application for the charter included the Association's hope that after it purchased the house and property they might be turned over to a state or federal agency; indeed, this was in the minds of the originators from the very beginning. As the purchase money slowly accumulated, Rodgers began to plot the next move, in the direction of New York State. In June 1951, he wrote to Ralph Wescott seeking information on the "arrangement" between the Camden house and the state of New Jersey. Wescott replied it was simple, requiring no special legislation because the city of Camden held title to the property. The city gave a deed "in fee simple to the state of New Jersey, which was duly recorded in the office of the Register of Deeds of Camden County" (the fact that Wescott was the register of deeds for Camden County must have greatly simplified the matter, though he makes no reference to his dual role). Whitman's personal property still in the house was considered to be the possession of the Walt Whitman Foundation, but the State Department of

Conservation took this into custodial care, along with any future acquisitions of the Foundation, promising to return it should the state give up its title to the house and ground, or whenever the parties agreed to terminate the arrangement. Though simplicity itself, this arrangement was not the most desirable course, Wescott warned Rodgers. The best plan, he advised, was to acquire the house and property at West Hills through voluntary gifts, then seek an annual grant from the state while reserving ownership of the building and contents.[17]

Rodgers did not heed this advice, but kept on with his plans for state acquisition while still "desperately striving to get the money for the birthplace." He began to envision a great national observance of the centennial anniversary of the 1855 *Leaves of Grass*. Writing to Wescott of this event, he claimed, "My special interest is in using Whitman to combat totalitarianism, on all fronts."[18]

Rodgers acted not only on his own instincts, but on the advice of Randall J. LeBoeuf, Jr., the New York attorney who served as secretary to the Birthplace Association. In March 1950, LeBoeuf wrote to Rodgers of his belief that any printed matter sent out by the Association should incorporate Rodgers's contention that "a dissemination of Walt Whitman's concept of American democracy would be a useful means of combatting communism and other non-American doctrines."[19] This marked an early use of terminology which, under the influence of Senator Joseph McCarthy, and in slightly altered form, soon gained wide currency in national discourse.

In October 1951, the Association took over the Whitman birthplace, with dedication ceremonies held on Walt's next birthday, 31 May 1952. The principal speaker, Ralph Wescott of the Camden Whitman Foundation, offered two pieces of advice: get a state grant for maintenance of the house, and fight against transferring title to the state. Rodgers was not so easily dissuaded from seeking state ownership, however, and pursued his and the Association's goals. In 1951, the newly-elected New York City Mayor Vincent R. Impelliteri had removed Rodgers from the Planning Commission (a widely criticized act), which gave him more time for writing and other interests—especially the Birthplace Association. In 1953, he and his fellow trustees approached Governor Thomas E. Dewey on the subject of state acquisition. Dewey turned the matter over to the chairman of the Historic Sites Committee, Senator R. Graves, and a bill was introduced but failed to pass the legislature. Rodgers was disappointed, all the more so because, in 1951, his group was told by the state historian that its chances would be improved if it could buy the house through public subscription, in which case the state would repair and maintain it. But now another project afoot excited both him and Ralph Wescott—preparations for the 1955 centennial.[20]

Rodgers formed a national group, The Walt Whitman Society of America, and undertook the body of its work himself. Wescott helped, despite a heart attack in 1953 which slowed him down considerably; while still recuperating, the Camden attorney asked an old friend, Van Wyck Brooks, to lay out the

need for a "popular summing-up of the first hundred years of Walt Whitman's influence." Wescott registered disapproval of scholars who thus far had published studies of Whitman, claiming they were too apologetic: "The primitive boasting is of as scant importance as is the homo sexuality [*sic*] so overstressed and distorted by Malcolm Cowley in his recent introduction to...the complete writings." He suggested that Brooks discuss his request with Lewis Mumford, adding that "I watch how Senator McCarthy's following increases while Eisenhower says too little."[21]

Indeed, McCarthy's following was increasing, and by 1955, when the *Leaves of Grass* centennial brought Whitman to the foreground of national attention, there were some unpleasant repercussions. The Delaware River Port Authority had to defend its decision to rename the bridge from Camden to Philadelphia the Walt Whitman Bridge. Gay Wilson Allen was called upon by newspaper interviewers to explain his use of the word "homoerotic" with reference to Whitman, and the Birthplace Association's request to the town of Huntington for an annual stipend toward keeping the building open to the public raised some hackles. The town entered into an agreement as of 1 January 1956, but the following year an angry citizen wrote to the town attorney, complaining that "Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* is obscene, and, as is so often the case with obscene writings, it is also seditious and irreligious. His democracy is a political nuisance"[22]

There was reason for the Birthplace Association's concern with attacks on Whitman in 1955, for in May that year Oscar Lion asked Governor Averell Harriman to exert his influence toward the state's acceptance of the birthplace as a gift to be maintained "as a shrine." Lion was on solid ground in approaching Harriman, for not only was the governor a former New Dealer who promoted such public support, but some years earlier he commissioned the Jo Davidson bronze statue of Whitman that was exhibited at the 1939 World's Fair. Later, he presented it to Bear Mountain (now Harriman) State Park. It was no time for the Association to tolerate attacks on Whitman, and in September 1955 a trustee, C. H. MacLachlan, wrote a letter of protest to the radio commentator, Lowell Thomas, for what he considered an unseemly attack. Thomas had reported on Carl Sandburg's rejection of an invitation from China to visit that country in connection with an observance of the *Leaves of Grass* centenary. The commentator added his own impression, obtained from his father, that he was not surprised that Whitman should be a hero to the "Reds." MacLachlan quoted from "By Blue Ontario's Shores" to make the point that Whitman glorified the individual, and from Carl Sandburg to the effect that *Leaves of Grass* is "America's classic advertisement of itself." Thomas gracefully acknowledged his error and promised to follow MacLachlan's advice, which was to read *Leaves* for himself.[23]

After a time, a letter from the then-assistant to the governor's secretary, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, indicated the state could do nothing because of the reluctance of a majority of the Association to relinquish the house they had striven so hard to purchase. Things appeared to be at a standstill, but the

deaths of a number of the Association's most tireless workers, including Cleveland Rodgers on 22 May 1956, brought the realization that there were few laborers who could or would devote themselves as wholeheartedly as had the pioneers. Then, on 7 February 1957, Harriman proposed that the legislature establish a temporary state commission to survey historic sites in the state and make recommendations concerning their preservation by state and local government, private groups, and individuals. While this was being done, he proposed that action be taken without further delay on two sites of "eminently desirable character," the Walt Whitman house on Long Island and the John Brown farm in Essex County. On 26 April 1957, the Governor signed a bill for the state to acquire the Whitman house, to be operated by the Department of Education as part of the historic sites program. While making no reference to the significance of the shift downward in public sites to include the poet's birthplace and an early home of the radical abolitionist, the Governor noted that the Whitman house was the first state historic site on Long Island, marking the first time in more than a quarter-century that the state had acquired "a memorial associated not with military events and men of war, but with a man of peace; a poet who, when as it happened he went to war, went not to take lives, but to save them as a volunteer in the hospitals of the Union Army."[24]

Though now surrounded by postsuburban sprawl, the Whitman Birthplace is in a stable environment, and is well maintained by New York State. However, the Whitman house in Camden has fallen on harder times, a victim, along with the city itself, of the blight that has befallen many American cities. Located on a multilane major artery, opposite a prison, it attracted few visitors, and was closed in December 1990 because of state budgetary restrictions, its library moved two blocks away. More recently, money was allocated and a curator is on the premises on a regular basis. A design for a plaza that would encompass the house, a library, café, bookstore, and bed-and-breakfast lodging was introduced in the City Council in February 1992, and rejected. The project is under review by the architects while the state seeks funds to aid it, a source of conflict between state and city agencies. Meanwhile, the New Jersey State Aquarium, opened in Camden not far from the Whitman House in February 1992, has brought some tourist activity, which is a boon to the city. The Aquarium may prove a boon to the Whitman House, as well; one reason advanced for approving the plaza (to be known as Commonplace Park) is its inclusion of a café which would service visitors to the Aquarium and preclude a fast-food franchise in what the city, idealistically, continues to designate the area's "residential atmosphere."[25]

Cold Warrior or not, Walt Whitman was a believer in the democratic principle of public domain, at least as far as the intended audience for his poetry was concerned. Had he known to what extent government agencies would later be willing to support his memory, he might have saved himself (and Thomas Harned, who paid the greater share of the cost) the considerable expense of the mausoleum in Harleigh Cemetery, and spared admirers the

present difficulty of visiting his burial place. Such visitors to his gravesite might have been able to enhance their stay with a picnic lunch at a state park, or a snack at a cafe not shadowed by the looming golden arches that today symbolize capitalism, free enterprise, and democracy.

NOTES

1. Letters in the Walt Whitman Birthplace Association (WWBA) collection are cited by file name and date; the Walt Whitman Foundation files are not currently available to researchers; I am grateful to Douglas Winterich, curator, for information based on material still being catalogued.

2. WWBA, Rodgers, 26 October 1946.

3. Walt Whitman, *The Gathering of the Forces, by Walt Whitman: Editorials, Essays, Literary and Dramatic Reviews and Other Material Written by Walt Whitman as Editor of the Brooklyn Daily Eagle in 1846 and 1847,* Cleveland Rodgers and John Black, eds. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1952); Cleveland Rodgers, *The Roosevelt Program* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1933 [with an introduction by H. V. Kaltenborn]), and *Robert Moses, Builder for Democracy* (New York: Holt, 1952).

4. WWBA, Holloway, 21 Oct. 1951.

5. Ibid., 14 Mar. and 9 Apr. 1949; for Robert Moses, see Robert A. Caro, *The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York* (New York: Random House, 1975), and Joann P. Krieg, ed., *Robert Moses, Single-Minded Genius* (Interlaken, NY: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1989).

6. WWBA, Rodgers, 6 Nov. 1946.

7. WWBA, Merritt, 30 Apr. and 13 May 1949; the playwright Robert E. Sherwood, who was chief of the overseas branch of the Office of War Information in World War II, had published, the previous year, a massive history of the New Deal, *Roosevelt and Hopkins: An Intimate History* (New York: Harper, 1948, rev. ed. 1950); WWBA, Rodgers, 19 May 1949.

8. WWBA, Rodgers, 6 Nov. 1946.

9. Ibid.

10. Barbara M. Kelly, *Expanding the American Dream: Building and Rebuilding* Levittown (Albany: SUNY Press, 1993), 18, 16.

11. Justin Kaplan, *Walt Whitman, A Life* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1980), 24.

12. "Whitman vs. Marx," *New York Herald Tribune*, 31 May 1949 (the file clipping shows no page number).

13. WWBA, Rodgers, 17 June 1949.

14. Ibid., Emory Wescott to Cleveland Rodgers, 22 June 1949.

15. WWBA, Odets, 1 Sept. 1949; for Kramer quotation, see WWBA, Rodgers, n.d.

16. WWBA, Ingersoll, 10, 11, 14 Sept. 1949. The Ferrer School, on New York's East Side, was an institute for radical thought; Emma Goldman was a sponsor, and its faculty included Will Durant, Clarence Darrow, Robert Henri, and George Bellows. It was named for Francisco Ferrer, the Spanish philosophical anarchist and educational reformer, a sympathetic figure because of his execution in 1909 on unsubstantiated charges of complicity in insurrection.

17. WWBA, Rodgers, 19 and 15 June 1951; see also Rodgers to Gay Wilson Allen, 27 June 1950.

18. Ibid., 13 June 1951.

19. Ibid., 23 Mar. 1950. A fund-raising letter to prominent Long Islanders by Martha K. Hall, who was active in the Huntington Historical Society and on the founding board of WWBA, began, "The State Department is publishing the lives of famous Americans for distribution in foreign countries to spread the doctrine of Democracy. Some of these publications are in such obscure languages as Veit-Namese, Indonesian, etc. One of the eight Americans selected is Walt

Whitman, Poet of Democracy and international fame" (WWBA, Martha K. Hall, 1950, n.d.).

20. WWBA, Lion, Oscar Lion to Mrs. J. David Stern, 22 June 1951.

21. WWBA, Wescott, 6 June 1953.

22. *Long Islander*, 19 July 1990, 5 (reprint of letter of 14 March 1957).

23. WWBA, Lion, 19 May and MacLachlan, 21 Sept. 1955; the Soviet Union also made much of the centennial of the first *Leaves*, including a new translation and an extolling of Whitman's "Marxism" (see Gay Wilson Allen, *The New Walt Whitman Handbook* [New York, 1986], 309).

24. See Senate bills Introductory Numbers 2126 and 2234; for the approval, and copies of both bill jackets, see WWBA, Cleveland Rodgers.

25. For the plaza, see Thomas Hine, "A Revival with Rhyme and Reason," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 2 Sept. 1990, 1K, 6K.

In Her Wake: The Story of Alva Smith Vanderbilt Belmont

By Raymond E. Spinzia

Factors which, in the mid-1840s, encouraged the establishment of estates on the South Shore of Long Island included: the camaraderie afforded by the Southside Sportsmen's Club, whose members were among the wealthiest individuals in the nation; the flat terrain, which made it ideally suited to horsemanship; and the sea breezes, which make it even today a sailor's paradise. The South Shore Gold Coast eventually extended from Babylon to Sayville. By and large, these estates were originally perceived as rustic hideaways for the rapidly increasing number of Manhattan and Brooklyn millionaires. Indeed, by the 1880s, Long Island's South Shore was considered a chic place in which to vacation.[1] William Kissam Vanderbilt, Sr., was the most prominent of the South Shore millionaires and his wife Alva, without doubt, was the most ambitious. Indeed, it was Alva who propelled the Vanderbilt family into the rarefied air of society's famous "Four Hundred." This article is an introduction to Alva, who in the late 1800s and early 1900s was a dominant figure in New York and Long Island society.

She was born on 17 January 1853, in Mobile, Alabama, to Murray Forbes Smith, a successful cotton broker, and Phoebe Desha, the daughter of General and Tennessee Congressman Robert Desha. Her uncle was Kentucky's Governor Joseph Desha, from whom President Lyndon Baines Johnson could also trace his ancestry.[2]

A year or so before the outbreak of the Civil War, Alva's father moved his family to New York City. As conditions in New York became increasingly untenable for Southerners after the assassination of President Lincoln, Alva's father again decided to move, but this time circumstances forced the separation of the family. He went to England, where he continued as a cotton broker, while the rest of the family took up residence in Paris, where they remained for four years before returning to the United States. Unable to regain the family's wealth and social position in the South, Smith chose once again to settle with his family in New York City where he continued trading cotton while his wife established and ran a boarding house.[3]

Undaunted by the loss of social and economic status, Alva plotted to advance herself in New York's society. The instrument of her success was to be Consuelo Yznaga, a Cuban heiress and her childhood friend, whose brother would one day marry Alva's sister, Mary.[4] Consuelo, who socialized with the

Alva Smith Vanderbilt Belmont. Photograph, Brown Brothers, ca. 1919.

Vanderbilts, managed to introduce Alva to the young W. K. Vanderbilt. In 1875, a year after the date of their first meeting, Consuelo was a bridesmaid at the wedding of Willie K. and Alva. In one masterful maneuver, Alva managed to revive her family's social position and financial status.

Her father, who had by this time ruined his health worrying about the future of his family, was unable to attend the wedding and died ten days later, but not before thanking Alva for bringing him peace of mind, and encouraging her to care for the family. There can be little doubt that financial and social status considerations were major reasons for her marriage to Willie K., whose grandfather's $94-million fortune was reputed to be the largest in America.[5]

From the beginning, it was obvious that they were mismatched. Even as a child, Alva was strong-willed, arrogant, ill-tempered, opinionated, liberated, and tyrannical, traits that tended to intensify rather than moderate in later life. Willie K., on the other hand, was friendly, cultured, even-tempered, gentle, a loving father, and non-combative. Alva considered him to be a "weak nonentity," and marriage to be legalized prostitution.[6]

Willie K.'s first and only attempt to be free of Alva's domination may well have been on their honeymoon. Arriving in Saratoga aboard his grandfather's private railroad car, he signed the hotel register, "William Kissam Vanderbilt, wife, two maids, two dogs and fifteen horses."[7] As the years progressed, he tended more and more to allow Alva to have her way rather than be subjected to her tirades.

Alva's greatest pleasure in life was building and decorating mansions, a skill for which she was recognized when she was named the first woman member of the American Institute of Architects. Her first architectural adventure was their first vacation home, Idlehour, a large shingled Queen Anne-style mansion built in Oakdale, Long Island. Designed by Richard Morris Hunt, its construction was begun in 1878 and completed the following summer, at a cost of $150,000. The gardener's cottage, greenhouse, stable, entrance gate, and two gate houses were also designed by Richard Morris Hunt, and erected sometime after the completion of the mansion. In addition to the auxiliary buildings designed by R. M. Hunt, others were designed by the noted South Shore Beaux-Arts architect, Isaac Green. Several alterations were made to the mansion, including the addition of a massive bachelor quarters, before its destruction by fire in 1899. In later life Alva would remember fondly the bucolic days spent by the family at Idlehour, and sailing to Fire Island for picnics aboard a small paddle wheel boat, the *Mosquito*. Her reminiscences also conjure up pleasant afternoons at the children's playhouse on the estate where her daughter Consuelo would serve afternoon tea to Alva's friends.[8]

Not far from the Vanderbilt's Idlehour estate was Islip's rather dilapidated 1847 St. Mark's Episcopal Church, which Alva was determined to rebuild. Recounting in her memoirs the events of these years, she states, "It was not long after we became summer residents of Oakdale that, for the first and last time in my life, I built a church." Alva also records that she paid for the construction of the 1880 church, that she and R. M. Hunt designed the church

and the rectory together, and that she asked her friend Louis C. Tiffany to furnish the church with stained-glass windows.[9]

In 1879, Alva turned her attention to the creation of a new Manhattan residence. The architect again was Richard Morris Hunt, but this home was to be more lavish than their Oakdale residence. Located at 660 Fifth Avenue on the corner of Fifty-Second Street, the French Chateau-style mansion took one thousand workmen three years and cost $3 million to build.[10] Alva finally had a Manhattan residence that was larger and more ornate than that of Caroline Schermerhorn Astor, the acknowledged leader of New York's society.

While the Vanderbilts may have been, collectively, the wealthiest family in the nation, they had not been recognized by Mrs. Astor and hence were socially unacceptable. It was Mrs. Astor's contention that one's fortune had to be at least two generations old and one had to be unencumbered by work in trade.[11] Therefore, the Vanderbilts were scorned as *nouveau riche* and unacceptable for admission into New York's "Four Hundred."

Alva's childhood friend Consuelo Yznaga, then Viscountess Mandeville (later duchess of Manchester), was again to play a major role in Alva's life. Lady Mandeville was the guest of honor at a 1,200-guest housewarming party for Alva's new Manhattan mansion and, thereby, the instrument that would catapult the Vanderbilts into social acceptability. Receiving an invitation to the party, which was to be held on 26 March 1883, had become a major preoccupation among New York's socialites. Alva had planned her strategy well. Consuelo Vanderbilt, Alva's daughter and Consuelo Yznaga's namesake, was a friend of Carrie Astor. Alva knew that Carrie had her heart set on attending the party and had been practicing the quadrille for weeks. But society rules decreed that because the Astors had not recognized the Vanderbilts, an invitation to the party could not be extended. Carrie was crushed, and pleaded with her mother to do something. To restore peace in her home, Mrs. Astor had but one option, to recognize the Vanderbilts and thereby accept them into the ranks of elite society. What followed was the bizarre, and in many respects comical, scene in which Mrs. Astor was driven up Fifth Avenue to the Vanderbilt mansion where Mrs. Astor's footman, clad in the style of the servants of Windsor Castle, delivered her card to the maroon-clad footman of the Vanderbilts. The next day the process was reversed with Alva making the trip down Fifth Avenue to have her card presented by her footman. Alva had won! Correct social etiquette had been maintained. The Astors would receive an invitation to the party. But more importantly, the Vanderbilts had "arrived"; they were "socially acceptable." Shortly thereafter, Willie K. had been proposed for or had been accepted into virtually every significant social club. Invitations to the elite parties abounded.[12]

Alva still was not content. Her next hurdle was to marry her daughter Consuelo to a member of European nobility. It was of no consequence to Alva that Consuelo was in love with Winthrop Rutherfurd, the twenty-nine-year-old son of a prominent and wealthy Knickerbocker family, or that the couple wished to marry. Alva had decided that Consuelo was to marry Charles

Richard John Spencer-Churchill, the ninth duke of Marlborough, who, although land poor, was a member of one of Britain's most prominent families. No amount of pleading by Consuelo could dissuade Alva, who kept Consuelo under virtual house arrest and threatened to shoot Rutherfurd. During bursts of anger Alva claimed she had a heart attack and that, if Consuelo didn't marry the duke, she would be responsible for her mother's death.[13]

Willie K. was of no help to his daughter since he and Alva separated in 1894 and were divorced in March 1895, just eight months before Consuelo's November 6th wedding to the duke at St. Thomas Episcopal Church, Manhattan. It is doubtful that in the best of circumstances Willie K. would have interfered. Thus, Consuelo, young, impressionable, and without any protection from Alva's ambitions, was forced to yield to her mother's will. The marriage agreement reportedly cost Willie K. $10 million. Had he wished to prevent his daughter's marriage to the duke, Willie K. could have simply refused to pay the dowry. Unfortunately for Consuelo, Willie K. opted not to be on the receiving end of Alva's rage, thus, condemning Consuelo to eleven years of marriage to an arrogant man who hated everything that was not British.[14]

On 11 January 1896, Alva married Oliver Hazard Perry Belmont, who had deserted his first wife on their honeymoon to travel in Spain with a French dancer. It was of no consequence to Alva that Belmont was five years younger than she, that he was more interested in having a good time than attending to the family business, or that he had an inordinate love for his horses. Alva finally had married for love![15]

The couple summered at Belcourt, O. H. P. Belmont's Newport mansion, which was designed by Richard Morris Hunt and which was across Bellevue Avenue from Alva's own mansion, Marble House. Belcourt, with its stable located on the main floor of the mansion, must have truly seemed odd to Alva. Perhaps even more curious was the lavish treatment which Belmont heaped upon his horses. Stalls were paneled in teak and upholstered; blankets were made of pure Irish linen and embroidered with the Belmont coat-of-arms; and bedding was changed three times a day by English grooms. Belmont did not relegate his horses solely to the stables. Two of his favorites were stuffed and mounted by mannequins dressed as knights in full armor. They adorned the Belmont's five-hundred-guest ballroom. O. H. P.'s eccentricities were not limited to horses. Outside their bedrooms slept Azar, a six-and-one-half-foot-tall Egyptian servant. Dressed in an ornate military uniform topped by a red fez, he stationed himself there throughout the night with a knife between his teeth. (Azar would remain with Alva until her death in 1933.)[16]

As the new Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, Alva resumed entertaining on a lavish scale even surpassing the parties she had given when married to Willie K.[17] But her happiness was short-lived. In 1908 her beloved O. H. P., just fifty years old, died prematurely at Brookholt, their Uniondale, Long Island, estate, following an appendix operation.[18] Alva was now an extremely wealthy woman for, in addition to Marble House, which she owned since its completion in 1892, and

the annual alimony payment of $100,000, which she received as a divorce settlement from Willie K., she inherited O. H. P.'s entire fortune, which consisted of several mansions and $10 million.[19]

Alva quickly consoled herself by going on a building spree that dwarfed all her previous projects. The stables were removed from the first floor of Belcourt, a new master bedroom complex was built at Brookholt, a Chinese tea house was constructed at Marble House, a Georgian-style mansion was built in Manhattan, and Beacon Towers, a medieval-style castle, was erected on the shore of Long Island Sound in Sands Point.[20]

Ever restless, Alva unleashed her inexhaustible energy into philanthropic and political activities. Hempstead Hospital, of which Alva was the primary benefactor and board president, was completed in April 1910. In addition to providing the bulk of the funds for the construction of the hospital and for its redesign less than a year after its opening, she also donated her $16,000 limousine and paid the $1,600 necessary to convert the vehicle into an ambulance. Situated on the corner of Henry Street and Jerusalem Avenue in Hempstead, the two-story hospital, with its stucco annex and wide piazza, accommodated twenty-four of its fifty patients in private rooms.

Alva insisted on a policy of opening the hospital to all patients and doctors. After M. A. Morgan was appointed superintendent in September 1910, although still open to all doctors and their patients, all house doctors and professional staff were women.[21] (Alva's hospital no longer exists. The present Hempstead Hospital at 800 Front Street, started by a group of doctors in the 1950s, has no connection with that financed by Alva Belmont.)

In 1911 Alva established Brookholt School of Agriculture for Women at her Uniondale estate, and was determined that, within a year, the farm would become an "Adamless Eden." She intended to endow the 200-acre farm so that it could exist forever. However, within a year it was evident that the school's twenty-five "farmerettes" were not suited to farm life. Marilyn E. Weigold hypothesizes that such factors as the payment of four dollars per week, three meals a day, uniforms designed by Alva's personal dressmaker, and clean and spacious dormitories—all of which were decided improvements from their previous living conditions—may well have induced the "farmerettes" to remain at Brookholt rather than to establish their own farms, thus influencing Alva to terminate her farm experiment at the end of its first year.[22]

She then diverted her full attention to the woman suffrage movement, becoming a major supporter, campaigner, speaker, and writer for the movement. With Elsa Maxwell, she wrote a suffragist operetta entitled *Melinda and Her Sisters*. A mansion was purchased by her in Washington, D.C. Known as the Alva Belmont House, it was used as the National Woman's Party Headquarters. In 1920 she was elected the party's first president, and remained in that office until her death. She opened her Newport and New York City mansions to suffragist rallies.[23]

Alva's Sands Point estate also played an important role in the battle to win the vote. Beacon Towers virtually resonated with activity. Party delegations

were continually coming to the estate for meetings and lectures. For those delegates who could not afford the expense of travel, Alva paid their fare. It was from her Beacon Towers office that Alva directed the party, and it was to Beacon Towers that Alice Paul and other party leaders would come to rest and recuperate. In order to maintain privacy for herself and her guests, Alva purchased the lighthouse and its surrounding grounds on the property adjoining Beacon Towers.[24]

To raise money for the cause of woman suffrage, Alva even endorsed Pond's Cold Cream, Simmons's mattresses, and silverware in advertisements. As always, many of her positions were extreme. She advocated a national hunger strike and the boycott of all jobs by women. When women were finally given the franchise, Alva urged them not to vote until men relinquished their monopoly of political parties.[25]

Alva enjoyed setting goals that appeared unobtainable and then surmounting all obstacles to obtain these goals. She was, without question, a major trend-setter of her era, being the first of her social stratum to marry a Vanderbilt and the first society woman to demand and receive a divorce and still retain her social position.[26] She single-handedly propelled the Vanderbilts into high society and later married O. H. P. Belmont in a civil ceremony presided over by the mayor of New York City when clergy refused to marry them. She decreed that her daughter Consuelo would marry into nobility, and did not hesitate to place a guard at her child's bedroom door on the wedding eve to prevent her from running away to her true love. Years later, she would testify to this action in order that Consuelo might obtain an annulment.[27]

Alva Smith Vanderbilt Belmont became a major organizer and participant in the movement for woman suffrage.[28] Alva once said of herself, "I blaze the trail for the rest to walk in." What may be equally true of her is the sentiment expressed by a banner carried by suffragists in 1933 at her funeral service in St. Thomas (Episcopal) Church, in New York City:

"FAILURE IS IMPOSSIBLE."[29]

NOTES

1. John Forman and Robbe Pierce Stimson, *The Vanderbilts and the Gilded Age: Architectural Aspirations 1879-1901* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), 174. See also Harry W . Havemeyer, "The Story of Saxton Avenue," *Long Island Forum* 53 (Winter 1990): 11-12.

2. Alva Vanderbilt Belmont ["Alva Vanderbilt Belmont Memoir"] in Matilda Young Papers (hereafter cited as "Belmont Memoir"), Special Collections, William R. Perkins Library, Duke Univ., Durham, NC, 5-6; while the manuscript is incomplete and unpublished, it does reveal how Alva perceived her role as a prominent socialite; see also Louis Auchincloss, *The Vanderbilt Era: Profiles of a Gilded Age* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1989), 46. The Vanderbilts are also related to the Roosevelts through their Kissam relationship: Cornelia Roosevelt, the daughter of Isaac, President Theodore Roosevelt's great-great-grandfather, married Benjamin Kissam in 1786; see also Consuelo Vanderbilt Balsan, *The Glitter and the Gold* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952), 4.

3. "Belmont Memoir," 19, 48; see also Arthur T. Vanderbilt II, *Fortune's Children: The Fall of the House of Vanderbilt* (New York: William Morrow, 1989), 86.

4. "Parish Records of St. Mark's Episcopal Church, Islip, New York, 1847-1914," 256. Alva's

sister, Mary Virginia Smith, was married to Consuelo Yznaga's brother, Fernando Yznaga, at Idlehour, the Vanderbilt's Oakdale estate on 22 Sept. 1880, with Alva and her husband as witnesses. Dr. Haight and St. Mark's rector, Rev. Reuben Riley, were the officiating clergy (ibid.); see also *The Old Oakdale History* (Oakdale: William K. Vanderbilt Historical Society of Dowling College, 1983) 1:57-58.

5. Vanderbilt, *Fortune's Children*, 87, 88, 429; see also W. A. Swanberg, *Whitney Father, Whitney Heiress* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1980), 58.

6. Balsan, *Glitter*, 5-6; Vanderbilt, *Fortune's Children*, 429, 446.

7. Vanderbilt, ibid., 84.

8. Balsan, *Glitter*, 238; *Dictionary of American Biography* (hereafter cited as *D.A.B.*) s.v., "Belmont, Alva Ertskin [*sic*] Vanderbilt"; Forman and Stimson, *The Vanderbilts*, 175; Susan R. Stein, *The Architecture of Richard Morris Hunt* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1986), 6; Paul Baker, *Richard Morris Hunt* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1980), 271; Robert B. King, *The Vanderbilt Homes* (New York: Rizzoli International, 1989), 69-70; "Belmont Memoir," 94-95.

9. "Belmont Memoir," 98-100. None of Alva's claims pertaining to St. Mark's can be confirmed, as all communications found in the church records concerning the building of the church and its rectory refer only to Mr. Vanderbilt. For detailed descriptions of ecclesiastical commissions on Long Island completed under Tiffany's direction, and information on his life, see Judith A. Spinzia, "Artistry in Glass: The Queens Ecclesiastical Windows of Louis Comfort Tiffany," *Newsletter of the Queens Historical Society*, July/August 1989:8-10; Judith A. Spinzia, "Artistry in Glass: Louis Comfort Tiffany's Legacy in Nassau County," *Nassau County Historical Society Journal* 46 (1991):9-17; Raymond E. Spinzia, Judith A. Spinzia, and Kathryn E. Spinzia, *Long Island: A Guide to New York's Suffolk and Nassau Counties*, rev. ed. (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1991), passim.

10. Vanderbilt, *Fortune's Children*, 89; see also Swanberg, *Whitney Father*, 57.

11. Terrence Gavan, *The Newport Barons* (Newport: Pineapple Publications, 1988), 13.

12. Balsan, Glitter, 6; Lucy Kavaler, *The Astors: A Family Chronicle of Pomp and Power* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1966), 126; Vanderbilt, *Fortune's Children*, 106; Forman and Stimson, *The Vanderbilts*, 177.

13. Jerry E. Patterson, *The Vanderbilts* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1989), 150; see also Balsan, ibid., 46-48.

14. George E. DeMille, *Saint Thomas Church in the City and County of New York 1823-1954* (Austin, TX: Church Historical Society, 1958), 120; see also Kit Konolige and Frederica Konolige, *The Power of Their Glory. America's Ruling Class: The Episcopalians* (New York: Wyden Books, 1978), 189, 190, and Balsan, ibid., 187.

15. Patterson, *The Vanderbilts*, 146, 153; see also Balsan, ibid., 54.

16. Lucius Beebe, *The Big Spenders* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1966), 171; see also Vanderbilt, *Fortune's Children*, 249, 252, 289, and Gavan, *Newport Barons*, 16.

17. Vanderbilt, ibid., 251-52.

18. "Belmont Memoir," 167. Alva again commissioned Hunt, this time to build an imposing medieval chapel-styled mausoleum, resplendent with gargoyles, stained-glass windows, and a magnificent stone carving of St. Hubert's vision of the stag with a crucifix between its antlers. Patterned after St. Hubert's Chapel at the Chateau of Ambrose, in France, Alva and O. H. P.'s final resting place is in Woodlawn Cemetery, The Bronx (see also Vanderbilt, ibid., 294). Located in the south transept of St. Mark's Episcopal Church, Islip, Long Island, the modified *stavkirke* financed by William Kissam Vanderbilt, Sr., in 1880, is the (ca. 1924) Henry Rieman Duval Memorial stained-glass window by John Hardman Co., England, which depicts the story of the patron saint of the hunter, St. Hubert. When the wainscotting in the church had to be removed after the devastating arson fire of 5 Dec. 1989, the notation identifying "Mrs. Vanderbilt's stall" was found, written in pencil, on the back of the wainscotting next to the representation of St. Hubert. A further irony places this window precisely opposite one created

by Heaton, Butler, Bayne, and Co., of London, dedicated to W. K. Vanderbilt, Sr., by his children after his death in 1920. The latter window, in the north transept, is next to the pew traditionally referred to as Mr. Vanderbilt's pew by the church (Judith A. Spinzia, former parish historian of St. Mark's, 12 Mar. 1990).

19. *D.A.B.*, s.v., "Belmont, Alva"; see also Vanderbilt, *Fortune's Children*, 252.

20. Vanderbilt, ibid. Because of her terror of ghosts, Alva had never been able to sleep in a room in which someone had died. After O. H. P.'s death at Brookholt, she had a new master bedroom added to the mansion. Unfortunately, on the very date of its completion, a mason fell off a ladder and died in the new bedroom, causing Alva to lament, "It really does seem as though Fate had decided I am never to sleep peacefully at night." See also Elizabeth Drexel Lehr, *"King Lehr" and the Gilded Age* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1935), 175-76.

21. "Alva Belmont Scrapbook: Hempstead Hospital 1910-1911/Brookholt School of Agriculture 1911-1912," in National Woman's Party Headquarters, Sewall-Belmont House, Washington, D.C.

22. Marilyn E. Weigold, "1911 Crop of Female Farmers," *Long Island Forum* 43 (June 1980): 116-24; see also Elsa Maxwell, *R.S.V.P: Elsa Maxwell's Own Story* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1954), 107. William Kissam Vanderbilt, Sr., and Alva Smith Vanderbilt Belmont made substantial contributions to Long Island philanthropic causes. Vanderbilt, Sr.'s contributions to St. Mark's Episcopal Church, in Islip, included: $15,892 which represented the entire cost of building the *stavkirke* designed by R. M. Hunt; $1,000 toward the $11,800 construction cost of the Parish House designed by Isaac Green; the total cost of enlarging the church in 1890; and a bequest at his death in 1920 of $50,000 to the church's endowment fund. See the Reverend William H. Garth, *Historical Sketch of St. Mark's Islip, Long Island* (New York: privately published, 1928), 26, 32, 37, Appendix II—Endowments, n.p..

As Mrs. Vanderbilt, Alva built and helped to maintain the Sea Side Hospital for Sick Children (Trinity Sea Side Home), a 200-bed hospital which was located on Timber Point Road, Great River, across the Connetquot River from her Idlehour estate (see also Vanderbilt, *Fortune's Children*, 288, and "Belmont Memoir," 94). She also donated $100,000 to Nassau Hospital (now Winthrop University Hospital), which at the time of its inception was the first voluntary non-profit hospital east of New York City (see also Robert B. MacKay, *Between Ocean and Empire: An Illustrated History of Long Island* (Northridge, CA: Windsor Publications, 1985), 125-26, and *D.A.B.*, s.v., "Belmont, Alva."

23. *D.A.B.*, ibid.

24. Clarice Stasz, *The Vanderbilt Women: Dynasty of Wealth, Glamour, and Tragedy* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), 216, 234.

25. Vanderbilt, *Fortune's Children*, 257-58; see also Auchincloss, *The Vanderbilt Era*, 51.

26. Vanderbilt, ibid., 49; Patterson, *The Vanderbilts*, 153.

27. Vanderbilt, ibid., 250; see also Balsan, *The Glitter and the Gold*, 53, 242.

28. Doris Stevens, *Jailed For Freedom* (New York: Liveright, 1920), 30-31. Katherine Duer Mackay, whose Harbor Hill estate was in Roslyn, had earlier tried unsuccessfully to interest Alva in the suffrage movement. Ironically, years later Mrs. Mackay was to fail in her attempt to challenge Alva for leadership of the suffrage movement (see also "Belmont Memoir," 149-50, and Aileen S. Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement 1890-1920* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1965), 153. Other prominent Long Island socialites involved in the woman suffrage movement were: Louisine Waldron Havemeyer, of Bay Shore; Marjorie Merriweather Post Hutton, of Bay Shore and Brookville; Florence Guggenheim, of Sands Point; Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney, of Old Westbury; Clare Boothe Brokaw (Luce), of Brookville; Maude Kahn (Otto Kahn's daughter), of Cold Spring Harbor; Florence Pratt, of Glen Cove; Cornelia Bryce [Pinchot] (Lloyd Bryce's daughter), of Roslyn Harbor; Gertrude Brown, of Bellport; M. Hopeton Drake Dyer, of St. James, Southampton, and Stony Brook; Margaret Olivia Slocum Sage, of Sag Harbor and Lawrence; Eleanor Alexander Roosevelt (Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr.), of Oyster Bay; and Katrina Ely Tiffany (Mrs. Charles Lewis Tiffany II), of Cold Spring Harbor.

See also Frances Weitzenhoffer, *The Havemeyers: Impressionism Comes to America* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1986), 234-38; Nettie Leitch Major, *C. W. Post, the Hour and the Man: A Biography with Genealogical Supplement* (Washington, DC: Press of Judd and Detweiler, 1963), 171; Stasz, *Vanderbilt Women*, 232, 236, 258; National Woman's Party Papers, in Frank Melville, Jr., Memorial Library, SUNY at Stony Brook; John W. Furlow, Jr., "TR and the Pinchots: Conservation and Feminism in Modern America," in *Theodore Roosevelt: Many-Sided American*, ed. Natalie A. Naylor et al. (Interlaken, NY: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1992), 460-61; Stephanie Bigelow, *Bellport and Brookhaven* (Bellport: Bellport Historical Society, 1968;) Mallory Leoniak and Jane S. Gombieski, *To Get the Vote: Woman Suffrage Leaders in Suffolk County* (Town of Brookhaven, 1992); Ida Husted Harper, The History of Woman Suffrage (New York: Source Book Press, 1970) 5:183, 442, 560, 732.

29. Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr., *Queen of the Golden Age: The Fabulous Story of Grace Wilson Vanderbilt* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1956), 40; Auchincloss, *The Vanderbilt Era*, 51. Alva had instructed in her will that a woman preacher deliver the funeral oration at St. Thomas, but her final request was denied (see also Lehr, "*King Lehr*," 290).

Recent Articles on Long Island History

By Natalie A. Naylor

Editor's note: Articles in the Long Island Historical Journal *are indexed and abstracted in* Historical Abstracts *and* America: History and Life, *but no index has been included in any of our past issues. On behalf of all who cherish the study of Long Island as America, we thank Professor Natalie A. Naylor for this meticulous listing of articles published in our first five volumes, as well as those from selected years of the* Nassau County Historical Society Journal, *the* Long Island Forum, *and the publications of the Long Island Studies Institute.*

The *Long Island Historical Journal* begins its sixth year with this issue. To facilitate locating specific articles in this and other publications dealing with Long Island history, the following listing has been compiled. It includes articles from: the *Long Island Historical Journal* (*LIHJ*) from its inception in Fall 1988 through Spring 1993; the annual issues of the *Nassau County Historical Society Journal (NCHSJ)* since its last index (1989-1992); the *Long Island Forum (LIF)* from 1991 through Spring 1993; and Long Island Studies Institute (LISI) conference volumes, which include essays on various topics. Pertinent recent articles from other publications and collections are included, as well as Institute monographs. Full bibliographic information is provided for LISI conference volumes under the editors' entry. A brief subject index to all the entries is at the end.

Time and space considerations limit the number of years of articles from the *Long Island Forum* included here. There are annual indexes to the *Forum*, and five-year indexes for the earlier years; a cumulative index for this publication's more than fifty years would be useful. Other periodicals currently offering Long Island history (and not included herein) are *Preservation Notes*, published by the Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities (SPLIA), and the quarterly *Register*, published by the Suffolk County Historical Society, which emphasizes genealogy and family history. The Spring 1993 *Register* has a useful listing of contents for the eighteen years of its publication (18:99-114). *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* frequently presents articles on Long Island families. A number of other historical societies issue newsletters, which sometimes include articles focusing on the history of their own locality. The

"Cumulative Index, 1937-1957" and "Cumulative Index, 1958-1988" are helpful guides to the *Nassau County Historical Society Journal* (available from the Nassau County Historical Society and the Long Island Studies Institute, respectively).

ABBREVIATIONS and INCLUSIVE DATES

LISI = Long Island Studies Institute, 1986-1992
LIHJ = *Long Island Historical Journal*, 1988-Spring 1993
NCHSJ = *Nassau County Historical Society Journal*, 1989-1992
LIF = *Long Island Forum*, 1991-Spring 1993

Allen, David Y. "Dutch and English Mapping of Seventeenth-Century Long Island." *LIHJ* 4 (Fall 1991):45-62.

Amato, Dennis J. "America's First Women's Open Golf Championship." *LIF* 53 (Winter 1991):15-18.

_____. "Court Tennis on Long Island." *LIF* 53 (Spring-Summer [Fall] 1991):43-49.

_____. "Long Island Polo: Past and Present." *LIF* 54 (Summer 1992): 20-33.

_____"Croquet on Long Island." *LIF* 55 (Spring 1993):17-21.

Baker, Mills P. "Breezy Hill—The Baker Farm in Great Neck, New York." *LIF* 54 (Summer 1992):35-41.

Balmer, Randall H. "Schism on Long Island: The Dutch Reformed Church, Lord Cornbury, and the Politics of Anglicization." In *Authority and Resistance in Early New York*, ed. William Pencak and Conrad Edick Wright. New York: New York Historical Society, 1988, 95-113.

Baldwin, Richard P. "An Unrecognized Revolutionary War Veteran." *LIF* 54 (Spring 1992):16-20.

_____. "The Islip Rebus." *LIF* 55 (Spring 1993):28-31.

Barbuto, Domenica M. "Walter Restored Jones, Long Island Merchant Capitalist." *NCHSJ* 46 (1991):19-26.

Baxandall, Rosalyn and Elizabeth Ewen. "Picture Windows: The Changing Role of Women in the Suburbs, 1945-2000." *LIHJ* 3 (Fall 1990):89-108.

Becker, Lloyd. "Scenes of the Familiar, Emblems of the Eternal: Cultural Contexts of Shepard Alonzo Mount." *LIHJ* 3 (Fall 1990): 58-74.

Bentel, Maria and Frederick Bentel. "Building for the Community." In *Long Island Architecture*, ed. Joann P. Krieg. LISI, 1991, 41-50.

Bentel, Paul L. "The Regional Plan of New York and its Environs, 1922-1931: Implications for the Long Island Suburb." In *Long Island Architecture*, ed. Joann P. Krieg. LISI, 1991, 13-32.

Black, John A. "Robert Moses and the Ocean Parkway: An Environmental Retrospective." In *Evoking a Sense of Place*, ed. Joann P. Krieg. LISI, 1988, 97-105.

Boorstein, Margaret F. "Growth in the Outer Fringe and the Suburban Ideal: Three Approaches." In *Long Island: The Suburban Experience*, ed.

Barbara M. Kelly. LISI, 1990, 79-89.
Booth, Antonia. "Lost and Found: George Frederick Hummel of Southhold: The Novelist as Social Historian." *LIHJ* 4 (Spring 1992):242-51.
Boulton, Alexander O. "The Buy of the Century." *American Heritage* 44 (July/August 1993):62-69 (on Levittown houses).
Braid, Bernice. "The Brooklyn Bridge in Literary and Popular Imagination." LIHJ 2 (Fall 1989):90-103.
_____. "Public Spaces, Private Places: Images of Brooklyn." *LIHJ* 3 (Fall 1990):109-20.
Brustmann, Susan. "Architectural Features of College Point's Landmark Popenhusen Institute." *LIF* 54 (Winter 1992):6-11.
Buhr, Jennie. "Levittown as A Utopian Community." In *Long Island: The Suburban Experience*, ed. Barbara M. Kelly. LISI, 1990, 67-78.
Burke, Jeanne M. *Cumulative Index, Nassau County Historical Society Journal*, 1958-1988. Hempstead: LISI, Hofstra University, 1989.
Cahn, Geoffrey S. "Rebirth, Struggle, and Revival: The Brooklyn Academy of Music, 1908-Present." *LIHJ* 2 (Spring 1990):251-64.
Capozzoli, Mary Jane. "The Role of Italian Americans in Nassau County, 1900-1945." In *Evoking a Sense of Place*, ed. Joann P. Krieg. LISI, 1988, 153-63.
Cash, Floris Barnett. "African American Whalers: Images and Reality." *LIHJ* 2 (Fall 1989):41-51.
_____. "Radicals or Realists: African American Women and the Settlement House Spirit in New York City." *Afro-Americans in New York State Life and History*, 15 (January 1991):7-17.
_____. "Long Island's African-American Women." In *Exploring African-American History*, ed. Natalie A. Naylor. LISI, 1991, 25-29; also "Bibliography," 60-61.
Cavaioli, Frank J. "The Ku Klux Klan Memorial Day Riot." *LIF* 54 (Winter 1992):35-37.
_____. "George L. Thompson and the College at Farmingdale." LIF 55 (Spring 1993):4-6.
Chapin, the Rev. Richard. "The Runabout." *LIF* 55 (Spring 1992):29-31.
Christman, David. "Architecture as History on the Hofstra Campus." In *Long Island Architecture*, ed. Joann P. Krieg. LISI, 1991, 139-53.
Clark, Julia C. "Peter Townsend, M.D., Family Historian." *LIF* 54 (Fall 1992):17-26.
Clemente, Vincent L. "William Sidney Mount: 'In The Morning I Wrote In Frost.'" *LIHJ* 1 (Fall, 1988):55-70.
Coleman, Steven R. "Political Journalism in the 1790s: Frothingham's *Long Island Herald*." *LIHJ* 4 (Fall 1991):92-104.
"Cortelyou's Brooklyn: Images of a Vanishing Culture." *de Halve Maen* 63 (December 1990):7-10.
Cray, Robert E., Jr. "Forging a Majority: The Methodist Experience on Eastern Long Island, 1789-1845." *New York History* 67 (July 1986):

285-303.

_____. "Poverty and Poor Relief: New York City and Its Rural Environs, 1700-1790. In *Authority and Resistance in Early New York*, ed. William Pencak and Conrad Edick Wright. New York: New York Historical Society, 1988, 173-201. See also Cray, *Paupers and Poor Relief in New York City and Its Rural Environs, 1700-1830*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988.

_____. "Anglicans in the Puritan Domain: Clergy and Laity in Eastern Long Island, 1693-1776." *LIHJ* 2 (Spring 1990):189-200.

_____. "More Light on a New Light: James Davenport's Religious Legacy, Eastern Long Island, 1740-1840." *New York History* 73 (January 1992):5-27.

Crease, Robert P. "The History of Brookhaven National Laboratory: Part One: The Graphite Reactor and the Cosmotron." *LIHJ* 3 (Spring 1991):167-88.

_____. "The History of Brookhaven National Laboratory: Part Two: The Haworth Years." *LIHJ* 4 (Spring 1992):138-61.

Cucchiara, Anthony and Sandra Roff. "The Pratt Experiment: The Early Years of the Library School." *LIHJ* 3 (Spring 1991):245-52.

Darby, Wendy Joy. "A Reading of Edward Lange's Landscapes: Text and Context." *LIHJ* 4 (Spring 1992):185-99.

Davies, Carolyn L'Hommedieu. "Creating a Landmark—Hatching the Big Duck." *LIF* 55 (Winter 1993):30-35.

Day, Lynda. "Selected Bibliography of African Americans on Long Island." In *Exploring African-American History*, ed. Natalie A. Naylor. LISI, 1991, 57-59.

Densmore, Christopher. "The Samuel Bownas Case: Religious Toleration and the Independence of Juries in Colonial New York, 1703-1704." *LIHJ* 2 (Spring 1990):177-88.

_____. ed. "Indian Religious Beliefs on Long Island: A Quaker Account." *New York History* 73 (October 1992):431-41.

Dorinson, Joseph. "Brooklyn: The Elusive Image." *LIHJ* 1 (Spring 1989): 128-35.

_____. "The Suburbanization of Brooklyn: Persistence without Plan." *Suburban Experience*, ed. Barbara M. Kelly. LISI, 1990, 15-23.

Douglas, Roy. "Babylon's First Bay Island Bungalow." LIF 54 (Winter 1992):18-24.

Dunbaugh, Edwin L. "New York to Boston via the Long Island Railroad." In *Evoking a Sense of Place*, ed. Joann P. Krieg. LISI, 1988, 75-84.

_____. "The Montauk Steamboat Company." *LIHJ* 2 (Fall 1989):52-63.

Dunne, W. M. P. "'The Inglorious First of June': Commodore Stephen Decatur on Long Island Sound, 1813." *LIHJ* 2 (Spring 1990):201-20.

Dvoskin, Norm. "A Weathercaster's Survey of Long Island's Climate and Historic Storms." *LIHJ* 5 (Fall 1992):67-80.

Elkind, Charlotte Woods. "One Brooklyn Block: Population Characteristics

and Change, 1880-1910." *LIHJ* 5 (Spring 1993): 229-47.
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Natural History: Harmond, 1991; Reichman (2); Smith; Stock; B. Ward; Welch (2); Wheat

Political: Baldwin; Coleman; Cray, 1988; Foreman; Gerson; Harmond, 1991; Krieg, 1989; W. Miller; Naylor, 1992; Osborn; Postal; Smits, 1989; C. Taylor, 1989; Tiedemann

Queens: Kachur; Kroessler (4); Seyfried (2); Swanson, 1992; Tiedemann

Recreation/Leisure: Amato (4); Kachue; Kavanagh; Kroessler, 1993; McKune; Ropp; Stryker; Swanson, 1992; P. Ward

Religion: Balmer; Cray (3); Densmore; Greene; Hitz; Kassel; Starace; C. Taylor (2)

Revolutionary War: Baldwin, 1992; Kuehhas; Lockwood

Science and Technology: Crease (2); Dvoskin; Grossman; Hession/Scheidt; Hiltzik; L. Koppelman; Watson

Suburbs: Baxandall; P. Bentel; Boorstein; Boulton: Buhr; Kassner; Kelly (4); Wilson

Transportation: Chapin; Futterman; R. Miller; Reichman, 1993; Rossano, 1991; Seyfried, 1989

Twentieth Century: P. Bentel; LoGrande; Van Liew; Winsche; Zenk

Women: Baxandall; Cash, 1991; Mathews; Postal; Ross; Stone, 1992; L. Strong; Winter

"Lost and Found"

High-Living on the Great South Bay:
Untold Friendships by Schuyler Livingston Parsons

Editor's note: "Lost and Found" is an ongoing series of reviews of worthwhile but all-but-forgotten novels, memoirs, and other books about Long Island and Long Islanders.

By Richard P. Harmond

When mention is made of Long Island's Great Estates, one assumes, normally, that the reference is to the estates on the North Shore. And it is true that a majority of the estates were on, or at least not far removed from Long Island Sound. But it is equally true that as late as the 1920s there were scores of estates, of varying size, strung along the Great South Bay.[1]

Less is known about the South Shore properties, and their owners, than the estates on the opposite shore.[2] And the South Shore ambience never inspired a piece of fiction comparable to *The Great Gatsby*. Still, after reading *Untold Friendships*, the candid and charming memoir by Schuyler Livingston Parsons, it is not all that difficult to picture Gatsby and friends spending a pleasure-filled summer on the Great South Bay.

As the name suggests, Schuyler Livingston Parsons, or SLP as we shall call him, was linked to one of New York's most distinguished families. His grandfather, William Barclay Parsons, married Elizabeth Livingston, a descendant of the lord of the manor of Livingston. Among SLP's forebears were Philip Livingston, a signer of the Declaration of Independence; Edward Livingston, a distinguished jurist, and Chancellor Robert R. Livingston, who administered the oath of office to George Washington at the first presidential inauguration, in 1789. In all, eleven Livingstons are listed in the Dictionary of American Biography.[3] Little wonder that SLP was able to move easily within elite social circles on Long Island, and elsewhere.

His family's connection to Long Island apparently stretched back many years. SLP's grandfather, William Barclay Parsons, visited the South Shore as a boy, and later found it natural to take his wife and children to Bay Shore for their summer vacations. "At that time," writes SLP,

> the South Shore of Long Island was considered much cooler than the North Shore. Then, too, that newfangled invention, the railroad, it was rumored, would follow the South Shore, so property buying was brisk in the eighteen-forties and fifties. In these early days, moreover,

> Montauk was thought of as a future port for the City of New York, so prominent families of the day started buying large waterfront estates from Babylon eastward along the South Country Road or "Main Road" as it was called locally. Starting at Babylon, there were settled on estates of some hundred acres each the Nicholases, Remsens, Wagstaffs, Wilmerdings, Knapps, Gardiners, Hydes, Johnsons and Lawrances. Their sons and daughters married but came home to roost and so the nucleus of what it was vainly hoped would be a "landed gentry" was formed.[4]

SLP's father, also named Schuyler Livingston Parsons, was among those who came home to roost. In 1877, he married the daughter of Bradish Johnson, a wealthy businessman who owned homes in New Orleans, New York City, and Bay Shore. SLP's parents soon had their own forty-acre "place" in Islip (on St. Mark's Avenue now called St. Mark's Lane), and here SLP was born on 28 May 1892. The Parsons's homestead, called Whileaway, was, as SLP recalls, "about five miles down the road" from Idlehour, the impressive residence of William K. Vanderbilt, a close friend of SLP's father.

"In those days," the author recalls,

> Islip was populated by young couples whose places, with few exceptions, ran from five to forty acres and were clustered along the lanes leading south from the Main Road to the Great South Bay—a country all veined with small rivers or creeks emptying into the Bay. Among the landowners of this close community I remember particularly Samuel Peters, his brother-in-law, H.O. Havemeyer, Benjamin Welles, various families of Knapps, my uncle, Bradish Johnson, H. H. Hollister, W.F. Wharton, Colonel H. Reiman Duval, Courtland D. Moss, and H. B. Hollins. Near at hand, also, were two of my father's cousins, Robert and Harry Livingston, George Taylor, Julien Davies, Lucius Wilmerding and many other friends. Farther to the east were the larger places of William Breese, Bayard Cutting, W.K. Vanderbilt and Commodore Frederick G. Bourne.[5]

"This was the community," SLP goes on, "into which I was born." As he grew up, this same community provided him with many pleasant experiences. During the spring and summer months, for example, he enjoyed hayrides, sailing, tennis, and the local horse shows. And when his father, who worked in New York during the week, was at Whileaway on Sundays, SLP joined him for a hearty breakfast, followed by a tour of inspection of the gardens, stables and barns. With that done, he informs us, "we set sail for a day on the bay in the family's cat boat, some thirty-two feet long and very broad of beam."

In the fall and winter months SLP followed a different routine. He lived in Manhattan, and attended a private school there with, among other young

scholars, Sumner Welles, Morgan Belmont, and Hall Roosevelt. By the age of twelve, though, he was sent away to St. Mark's, in Southborough, Massachusetts, to continue his education. During the years at St. Mark's, SLP continued to spend his summers in Islip. But, as much as he loved the South Shore—his youth more-or-less revolved around Islip and New York City—other interests and concerns began to intrude. After graduating from St. Mark's in 1910, he passed a summer in Europe and, in the fall, joined the freshman class at Harvard. He graduated in three years—having spent each summer in Europe— and entered Columbia Law School in 1913, from which eye trouble forced him to quit after the first year.

Over the next half-decade, SLP did some travelling (visiting Russia in summer 1914), but managed to spend a part of each summer in Islip. During World War I he served in the Red Cross, and after the war tried his hand, unsuccessfully, in the family chemical business. He had little more success in a different sort of venture, when, in 1920 he got married; within two years the union dissolved, because, as SLP admits, of his own failings.

Meanwhile, SLP was drawn into the Manhattan social whirl. He (and a cousin) had a small house on Thirty-ninth Street, near Third Avenue, where he entertained frequently. "When enough people dropped in," he recalls, "it was a party." At heart a self-described "bohemian," his guests included a considerable number of theater people, like Cole Porter, Helen Hayes, Fanny Brice, and Noel Coward. He also attended other people's festive occasions, among them shindigs thrown by his friend, Gertrude Lawrence.[6] One is hardly surprised when SLP admits drinking "too much bootleg liquor and bathtub gin." (Years later he confronted his problem by joining Alcoholics Anonymous.)

SLP had not forgotten Islip. In fact, he decided to build a ranch-style house on a low-lying island in Champlain Creek, near the family "cottage" on St. Mark's Avenue. He called the place Pleasure Island. The house, with three bedrooms (one a servant's room), was finished in 1924, and SLP lived there off-and-on for the next four years.

These were years of easy money and free spending for SLP and his friends. "Islip was very prosperous at this time, owing to the stock market boom," he informs us,

> and we were all feeling our oats and our pants were getting too tight for us. The Commuter Train had to have a new private car; the little tennis club which had sufficed for many years no longer seemed adequate, and the Westbrook Golf Club which had always satisfied us all...and where one of the first national championships had been played, suddenly seemed totally inadequate. So we bought the old Davies place at Great River and at great expense built a superb course and clubhouse [Timber Point Country Club]. Then, not content with the haphazard sailing of our youth, we built a fleet of one-class boats. We were really flying high, but money seemed so easy to make that no one cared.[8]

"Parties were the order of the day (and of the night)," he continues, and

"'Pleasure Island' teemed with guests," among them the entertainers, Beatrice Lillie and Gertrude Lawrence; Prince Dmitri of Russia, son of the Grand Duke Alexander; Jimmy Walker, the mayor of New York City; and the composer, George Gershwin. Another famous visitor was Rudolph Valentino, who turned up regularly at Pleasure Island in the summer of 1926. Unfortunately, it was his last summer, as the screen idol died on 23 August in New York City.

At least once, SLP and his merrymaking friends were involved in a socially beneficial activity. In the summer of 1927, George Gershwin, Gertrude Lawrence, and Charlie Chaplin, among others, participated as judges in a Suffolk County Beauty Pageant, to raise money for South Side Hospital. "Chaplin spent the night at Pleasure Island, and the next morning," reports SLP, he wrote this little verse:

When pleasures run high
You know you're with Schuy
And we all know Why?
Cause, Schuy's a great guy
Aloha to you but not goodbye.
Charlie Chaplin, July 15, 1927[9]

The following year, SLP basically severed his ties with Islip. Apparently heavy gambling losses played a part in his decision to dispose of Pleasure Island. Ever on the move, he subsequently lived in Charleston and Aiken, South Carolina, Palm Beach, Florida, and, eventually, Cornwall, Connecticut.

One feels grateful that this restless man took the time to recount what he considered the high, and low points, of his life —including, of course, the part spent in Islip. For the Long Island historian, there is no other volume quite like *Untold Friendships*.[10] The book offers a rare view of Islip, and SLP's party-going circle in the 1920s. He captures convincingly the glamour and excitement, the high living and heavy drinking of the Jazz Age set on the South Shore.

Actually, these were probably SLP's best years. Financial reverses (he seems to have squandered his inheritance), health problems, and the death of family members marred his later years. But, with the help of family and friends, he persevered. And as he reminds us on the last page of *Untold Friendships,* "the memories of the happy days can never be taken away."

Perhaps one day this informative and entertaining memoir will be returned to print so that others might share those "memories."

NOTES

1. Carol Traynor, of SPLIA, estimates that some ninety-five estates were established on the South Shore, and that the bulk of them were intact in the 1920s. It will add considerably to our knowledge of the Long Island estates when Robert B. MacKay [the director of SPLIA], "Long Island Country Houses and Their Architecture, 1860-1940" is published by W. W. Norton.

2. I am indebted to H. Ward Ackerson for sharing his knowledge of South Shore estates.

3. For the Livingstons, see Clare Brandt, *An American Aristocracy: The Livingstons* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1986).

4. *Untold Friendships* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1955), 3.

5 Ibid, 8-9.

6. Gertrude Lawrence, *A Star Danced* (Garden City: Doubleday, Duran, 1945), 132-33.

7. *Untold Friendships*, 235.

8. Ibid., 102-3.

9. Ibid., 131.

10. At the time of its publication, the social historian Allen Churchill remarked that "future historians...will be glad" about the appearance of *Untold Friendships*, because it provides a valuable picture of the era SLP lived through (Allen Churchill, "High-Jinks in Gilded Bohemia," *Saturday Review* 38 (17 September 1955), 31.

* * * * *

Charles Hanson Towne. *Loafing Down Long Island.* New York: Century, 1921.

By Raymond Plank

At first glance, *Loafing Down Long Island* might be considered a dated traveler's guide to Long Island. The book was written in 1921, and long gone are the rambling farms just across the East River. I'm not saying, however. that the book is no longer of use, for in it lies the soul of a writer who loves the Island. Charles Hanson Towne travels the Island, savoring its beauty as a connoisseur would admire the bouquet and thoughtfully sip a fine wine. Following Towne on this journey will undoubtedly make us all realize why we stay here on Long Island and put up with its many imperfections.

Towne's journey takes place in late July. Many of his friends caution him that a trip at that time of year could well be unpleasant, taking into account the heat, and undoubtedly, the mosquitoes (although the latter were never really addressed). In addition, his friends are mortified to find out that he intends to take the trip on foot, allowing for rides only when the terrain or scenery is not suited for a leisurely walk. Most of his friends are not willing to take on such an endeavor, but he is able to find a companion, actually four in all, to take part at one point or another. The book takes place in the early 1920s, just after World War W I and during Prohibition.

The book is separated into three parts. The first part is Towne's travels along the South Shore, which he enjoys most. He apparently spent much time there previously, and during this trip he lingers along this shore the longest. The second part is a rambling account of Coney Island, and the last part is about the North Shore.

Towne describes many landmarks that still are with us, such as the Queensborough Bridge, where the journey begins. His description of the

sunset while sitting peacefully on the bridge immediately brings the reader to another time, but thankfully not another place. He positions himself directly above Blackwell's Island, all the while wondering why anyone would put a windowless prison in line with one of the Island's most beautiful assets, its sunsets. I will not cross that bridge again in the late afternoon without wishfully glancing in hopes of catching a glimpse of the beautiful sunset. On the first day they journey to Long Island City, not to visit but just to formalize their journey by literally walking off Manhattan Island.

Long Island City is clearly not one of the author's favorite spots, but a quick trolley car ride lands the pair in beautiful Flushing, with its Main Street, and park. They end the day at Whitestone Landing Inn, where after a hearty meal they fall into bed for the night. The cost of the meal and room was a dollar apiece and a bargain, we are assured, even in those times.

The following day two episodes bring them from their idyllic journey fresh into the 1920s. First, as they near Bayside, they find that they had wandered into Fort Totten, then an army prison. They have the opportunity to meet a soldier, with one arm amputated, who had failed to return from a leave. The account of the prison is probably the saddest part of the book. Next, they are mistaken for federal agents and have a terrible time hitching a ride to Douglaston. If Prohibition were, indeed, the order of the day, it seems the people of Douglaston were having no part of it. A quick wagon ride, with a friendly farmer to Lynbrook, sets the pair up for the night. Lynbrook is described as an ugly village with a beautiful Inn.

The trip from Lynbrook to Bayport was but a means to an end, that end being to relish what the author feels is the beginning of the frontier, an area not yet destroyed by wealthy people's desire for summer places on the Island. However, he does justice to Merrick, describing the splendid estates of the rich along Merrick Road, and the dwellings of the *nouveau-riche*, reminiscent of the Brooklyn Renaissance mansard roofs everywhere! The pair hitch a ride on a truck to find themselves in Bayport enjoying a stroll along its lovely Main Street, and later for a swim in the beautiful bay waters at Blue Point.

Finally, Towne finds himself in an area he feels has just the right mixture of beauty, culture, and rustic charm. He is in the village of Bellport, walking along the lanes and admiring the neatly kept cottages, which long since have become substantial summer homes of the Manhattan elite. At this point, however, Bellport was still a quaint village, the home of the artists, William T. Glackens (credited with the most beautiful painting of the bay) and James and May Wilson Presten, who made their summer homes there. In Bellport village, formal wear was frowned upon and only the most informal of frocks was admired. Walking from Bellport to Brookhaven, the pair take time to watch a ball game. In Brookhaven, we share the wooded beauty of nature. Between Brookhaven and the Moriches lie the Mastics.

> You are aware, as you pass, that even though no one is visible, there are eyes watching you, and people with little else to do are wondering who you ate and where you are going...It's so different in New York. There

no one pays the slightest attention to anybody else (97).

The pair stop for the night at Eastport, a quaint little village. After Eastport, one gets the feeling that we are about to re-enter civilization, and, from the author's point of view, these areas were a necessary evil although very beautiful. We fly past Speonk, Qougue, and Remsenburg, determined to get to Shinnecock, where the author has been before and is saving the beautiful sight for his companion to stumble upon, as he must have once done himself:

> It is a magical change, and for a moment you feel as if you are living in a dream or a fairy-tale. Greener grass I have seldom seen; and then the scrub bay-trees, like gorse, blueberry-bushes, and goldenrod! A wonderland opens before you for several miles, with clean, curving roads running through it like devious highways of a king. Windmills extend their arms, and architects have wisely only placed here the type of dwelling that sinks naturally into the landscape. Shinnecock Bay is as blue as the Mediterranean, and at one point to your right a graceful, white lighthouse stands. I could look forever at this scene (109).

After Shinnecock, we quickly see Southampton and Watermill with their beautiful gardens, after which it is off to the next stop, East Hampton, which has one of the most beautiful Main Streets in America. It was here that John Howard Payne wrote "Home Sweet Home," and the house is still standing! Past East Hampton, the terrain gets a little rugged, but onward they go past Amagansett and Promised Land, off to Montauk, and, of course, Montauk Point Light House.

At Montauk, the author digresses and talks about times remembered at Coney Island. Having no interest in leaving the blessed solitude, I zipped through those pages and re-entered the journey on a ferry to Shelter Island, where Towne stops at the Grand Hotel, on Shelter Island Heights. The second leg of the Sag Harbor-Greenport ferry takes us to Greenport, on the North Fork. The pair travel east to East Marion, to the end of the Island, Orient Point, where the author describes the Hallocks' progressive model farm, with an overhead system of irrigation. Also mentioned are Plum Island and its Fort Terry, the site of the federal animal-testing area.

The long trip back to the city is considerably shortened by motor rides. I suspect that Towne preferred the South Shore, but he spent some time on the East End's North Fork. In East Marion, they visit St. Thomas's Home for City Children (enabling these youngsters to spend a few weeks enjoying the Island). Southhold, 225 years old at the time, is described as a nice village, as well as the first established town on Long Island [the towns of Southampton and Southold both were founded in 1640, but it is uncertain which was first]:

> I came to this miniature Cliff Walk, surrounding a lake at the river's head, with a dam flowing toward the village, and flowers blooming in rich profusion all about. The backs of several charming homes looked out upon this enchanting enclosure, and along the narrow way moved

> young lovers in happy pairs. Riverhead itself is nothing but a stereotyped, dull town, with a big jail, a monument or two, and several conventional hotels; but this spot lies like a jewel on its breast (187).

After a brief visit to deserted Camp Upton, in Yaphank [now the site of Brookhaven National Laboratory], Peb (a new companion) and the author find themselves somewhat inland on a new road, which, I assume, would be the present Route 25. They pass Artist Lake, Coram, Selden, and New Village, ending up in Smithtown, then just a smattering of houses. Here, Towne describes the revolutionary Motor Parkway, a road built to allow the rich and famous a clear, smooth passage from Floral Park to Lake Ronkonkoma, then a flourishing resort. The thought of whizzing past the beautiful land is foreign, both to the author and me. Next stop is Huntington, the early childhood home of Walt Whitman, and a necessary stop. From there it is the train to Brooklyn, for a final celebration before entering Manhattan. Towne chose a path that reflected the peaceful and natural qualities of Long Island, traversing areas that have long since given way to development. He also chose not to share with us the North Shore Gold Coast. His book captures Paumanok's natural beauty, presenting a cogent argument for the preservation of its dwindling open and undeveloped areas. All who are interested in the Island, or simply enjoy driving around on a Sunday afternoon, will enjoy Loafing down Long Island.

Reviews

Barbara M. Kelly. *Expanding the American Dream: Building and Rebuilding Levittown.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993. Illustrations, bibliography, notes, index. Pp. 284. $49.50, $16.95 (paper).

Since it sprang forth apparently fully grown from the mind of Bill Levitt in 1947, Levittown has been a muse for social scientists, architects, journalists, novelists, and curmudgeonly critics, most of whom have seen social pathology, esthetic abominations, alienation, Babbittry, and pretty much the collapse of Western civilization in its winding lanes. Now, in *Building the American Dream*, Barbara Kelly approaches this sprawling subdivision, whose very name has come to mean a particular kind of suburb, and claims it for Clio.

But Kelly has not written your standard local history, the kind of community study that progresses from creation myth to local heroes—although there is some of that in her book. Nor has she produced a comprehensive chronology of Levittown's development—although there is some of that, too. Trained in a fragmented historical profession, Kelly takes an eclectic tack. Drawing upon the methods and debates of political, social, architectural, intellectual, cultural, women's, and family history, she explores the meanings of the Levitt house and development to their producers (Levitt and federal housing programs), their consumers (the residents), and their observers.

Kelly's watchwords are context and change. She sets the story of the building of Levittown against the panorama of post-World War II America, drawing the reader's attention to the nation's struggles with excess industrial capacity, the terrors of the Cold War, and the celebrated housing shortage for G.I. Joe and his bride, while she explains how the Federal Housing Authority and the Levitts intended to address those problems with home mortgages and the houses to buy with them. Kelly gives equal attention to Levittown's design and planning context. She shows how this mass-produced housing, which so appalled architectural critics, had honorable and distinguished ancestors in the workingmen's cottages of Alexander Jackson Downing, the open house plans of Frank Lloyd Wright, and the garden cities of Ebenezer Howard. Levitt's references to these ideas gave Levittown the appearance of a well-planned community.

Kelly is skeptical of appearances, however. She sees Levittown not as a planned community in the traditional architectural-social-economic sense (it was no Radburn, by any means), but as an intentional one with a definite

political agenda. The houses, lanes, and village greens were designed to foster certain patterns of domestic and communal life. Using contemporary television shows, magazine articles, and popular songs to establish a cultural norm which centered on the image of the little woman cleaning the house and crocheting tablecloths while her husband mows the lawn and fixes things, Kelly compares the ideal and the real. She finds that because it was hard to live up to those standards in the four-room house Levitt built, the Levittowners remade their houses. In the most confident chapters of the book, Kelly shows how three Levittown families rebuilt their homes so that they could continue to enjoy suburban living, despite the changes that time brought to their circumstances.

The initiative shown by these families in altering rather then leaving their environment leads Kelly to the essence of the Levittown experience. The Levitt house was a passport to the middle class, and therefore to full-fledged citizenship in the United States. It was a piece of the American pie for the children of landless, city-dwelling immigrants, people who had figured that the only suburban life they would ever know would be on the silver screen. The residents' pride in their possession, in the achievement of home-ownership, and in the knowledge that they could call the shots instead of relying on a landlord, forged the bonds of a vigorous, democratic community. The young families who learned how to take care of Kentile floors and apple trees learned how to take care of school budgets at the same time. As Kelly notes in her conclusion, unintended results like these are things that should be considered by those charged with promulgating housing policies for twenty-first-century America.

Kelly is to be congratulated and commended for her work. She is clearly aware of the current concerns in the historical profession, and gives them more than lip service. This particular crown, unfortunately, often becomes her cross; she makes several arguments at once, and one is not always sure which is the most important one to follow. More troubling than this lack of focus is the presentist cast of several of her assertions. For example, is it fair to criticize the Levittown houses because they provided no specifically "male" spaces like workshops, or because their design made it hard for women to work outside the home? Were these real concerns of the Levitts or their market? Or are they the concerns of post-feminist historians?

As a historian of postwar suburbanization, and as one who grew up in a Levitt ranch house that my mother is still remodeling, I am intrigued but still unconvinced by the notion that either the building or the rebuilding of Levittown was a conscious political act. I am grateful to Barbara Kelly, however, for making the important (and often overlooked) point that Levittown is a process, not a product. It is not a remote "suburb on a hill," frozen in time and space, memory and understanding. It is, instead, the creation of a particular time and particular circumstances that from day to day and year to year became the creation of other times and circumstances. It is a place where the residents feel free to say "Thanks, but I'd rather do it

myself," and rebuild their community in their own image. *Building the American Dream* documents how Levittown is becoming itself. In doing so, it suggests that the best model for housing and engaging a diverse population with more will than cash is one that gives people control over their domestic environments.

MOLLY KELLER
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Philip F. Palmedo and Edward Beltrami. *The Wines of Long Island: Birth of A Region.* Photographs by Sara Matthews. Great Falls, VA: Waterline Books, 1993. Illustrations, bibliography, index. Pp. x, 149. $16.95 (paper).

DE VINO VERITAS

Some books are informative, some enjoyable. Some teach you something you ought to know, and some pass the time pleasurably. Philip Palmedo and Edward Beltrami's *The Wines of Long Island: Birth of a Region* does all of these. As thorough as it is readable, the book canvasses its subject from every relevant perspective: historical, geographical, agricultural, commercial, and—not the least important—individual and artistic. It is the indispensable book on its subject, covering everything from the earliest grape plantings on Long Island to the current visiting hours of the working wineries and how to get to them. History, oral history, evaluation, and guide, *The Wines of Long Island* constitutes a complete *vademecum* of Long Island wine.

It begins with the most fundamental of facts about winemaking on the Island (or anywhere, for that matter): the soil and climate, and the grape varieties themselves. French winemakers and critics sum up the peculiar combination of characteristics of earth and weather that distinguish one wine region from another in one usually reverentially intoned word, *terroir*. On the subject of Long Island's *terroir* and its resemblance to or difference from that of the prized Bordeaux region, home to some of the world's finest red wines, Palmedo and Beltrami are realistic and hopeful rather than reverential, which is as it should be in any serious history and evaluation of so young an enterprise. For the nonprofessional, the key distinction to bear in mind is that between the two recognized Long Island appellations, "North Fork" and "The Hamptons." The former is ostensibly the preferable from the winemaking point of view: the soils generally have better drainage, and the sites a longer growing season than those of the South Fork.

If the climate and soil of Long Island dictate an analogy with Bordeaux and—consequently?—with a "French style" of winemaking (elegance and balance rather than intensity and power), the diversity of grapes that have been or currently are being planted on Long Island indicates the strong influence of California experimentalism on this region's viticultural model. As the authors list them, the key grapes in order of importance are

Chardonnay, Sauvignon Blanc, Gewurztraminer, Riesling, Pinot Blanc, and Chenin Blanc among the whites, and Merlot, Cabernet Sauvignon, Pinot Noir, and Cabernet Franc among the reds. Bordeaux viticulture is largely dominated by four grape varieties: Sauvignon Blanc and Semillon for white wines, and Cabernet Sauvignon and Merlot for reds. You will not find anywhere in Bordeaux a whiff of Chardonnay or Pinot Noir, the great white and red grapes of Burgundy, nor any Gewurztraminer, Riesling, or Pinot Blanc, which have their stronghold in Alsace and neighboring Germany (especially Riesling). Chenin Blanc and Cabernet Franc are important in the Loire valley, in the areas of Tours and Anjou.

Those ten grape varieties have achieved greatness (and some mediocrity, too) in a widely varying range of what winespeak calls microclimates and *terroirs*, not all or even many of which are replicable on Long Island. As Palmedo and Beltrami stress, each great wine region—and they are surely right in their assessment that Long Island is *potentially* a great wine region—is unique, and the Island still is searching for its own special character. The analogy with Bordeaux can only serve as a starting point as the winemakers search for the grape varieties particularly suited to their soils and exposures. Right now, Chardonnay and Merlot lead the pack, but these are early days in the winemaking scheme of things: who is to say that the next fifty years will not see Viognier and Mourvedre, nor even Malvasia and Sangiovese, move into prominence on Long Island as they are doing in California?

This survey of the history of Long Island winemaking covers the years before World War II quickly. Indeed, except for a provocative mention of nineteenth-century "Black Zinfardel," which may cast some light on the origins of California's mystery grape, the prehistory of Long Island winemaking is largely a chronicle of discouragement—so much so that one wonders at the foolhardiness of the pioneers, the winegrape enthusiasts such as R. Christian Anderson and John Wickham and Alex and Louisa Hargrave, with whom the real history of Long island winemaking begins. [Editorial note: see Louisa Hargrave, "A History of Wine Grapes On Long Island," *LIHJ* 3 (Fall 1990): 3-16)].

Wines of Long Island properly devotes the bulk of its pages to profiles of the wineries, winemakers, grape growers, and technical experts who are creating Long Island wine. For casual winebibbers as well as for collectors of local lore, for wine professionals as well as historians, these profiles form the fascinating heart of the book. They amount to an oral history of the fledgling craft, caught at an early and formative moment in its evolution. Absorbing reading now, these sketches will be prized by present and future wine lovers and economic historians as a valuable record of a unique time and place.

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Natalie A. Naylor, Patricia Snyder, and Melissa Patton. *Long Island's History and Cultural Heritage: An Integrative Curriculum Resource for Educators.* Southampton: Parrish Art Museum, 1993.Illustrations, bibliography, appendixes. Pp. 70. $6.95 (8 1/2" x 11," spiral bound).

During the last decade, many school districts relegated the teaching of Long Island history to the fourth grade only. While the state Education Department does want local study introduced at that level, the next dictum is too often overlooked—grades seven and eight are to be taught a two-year American history course, with state and local history interspersed "where possible." Of course, a large part of what is called American history is the history of New York State, so its inclusion is unavoidable.

Long Island's History and Cultural Heritage is a marvelous reminder of the many ways Long Island should be brought into the middle or junior high school. The book is "a guide for teachers interested in augmenting the study [of the Social Studies in grades seven and eight] with an investigation of the cultural life of their area" (6). This was the goal of the Parrish Art Museum and the Bridgehampton School. Now, before you dismiss this book with one of these thoughts: I am not a teacher; I barely have time to cover all the state requirements; or my students have no interest in art; read on.

First, more than half this book contains background material of interest to any Long Island history buff. For teachers and museum personnel (whether staff or volunteers), here is both the inspiration and the practical guidance for a wonderful collaboration. The activities went far beyond art or history.

The Parrish-Bridgehampton curriculum was limited to two units in grade seven and three in grade eight. Art museums are centrally located in Kings, Queens, and Nassau counties, as well as western, central, and eastern Suffolk. Additionally, Long Island's many historical museums and historical societies can be good partners with a school. The field trips and activities listed can be replicated by any school district. Every community on the Island, no matter how young or young, fits into some aspect of American history.

Bridgehampton's entire seventh and eighth grades, numbering only thirty students, participated in the curriculum with the cooperation of all their teachers and the school's administrators. Because teachers taught both grades, five units was too great a burden. Middle schools which are teamed and have enough students for group work should achieve great satisfaction starting with one unit in the school year. Such a unit could also be exciting project for a Yorker Club, the state-sponsored historical association for students.

As a seventh-grade teacher with a deep interest in Long Island history, here is my vote of thanks to the people who worked so hard on this integrative project and survived to share it with us.

JOHN A. HEWLETT
Half-Hollow Hills School District

David McCullough. *The Great Bridge*. 1972. Reprint. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982. Illustrations, bibliography, notes, index. Pp. 637. $16.00 (paper).

Declaring that projects like the Brooklyn Bridge inaugurated America's shift into a new age, Walt Whitman wrote, "The earth be spanned, connected by net-work...the distant brought near, The lands to be welded together." The bridge, for Whitman, was symbolic of technology's capacity to recast America's largest city into a modern metropolis. Fashioned of coarse material and meticulously designed as a bold expression of man's power to mold and transform nature, John A. Roebling's most important engineering feat was a composition around which New York's city-scape organized. Rising from the waters of the East River, this Gothic gateway of stone, wire and steel remains Gotham's most prominent cultural symbol. Opened in 1883, the bridge is a monument of timeless beauty, but one that functions as a constant reminder of and link to the city's past.

Following the popular acclaim of David McCullough's biography of Harry S. Truman, Simon and Schuster has reprinted his 1972 work, *The Great Bridge*. Now in its eighth printing, McCullough's chronicle tells the "epic story" of the bridge's construction. The first pages captivate the reader with an interpretation of how the bridge emerged in the mind of the "liberal idealist" John A. Roebling. The narrative then progresses from a biography of the Roebling family to a survey of the engineering, planning, politics, and "people" involved, and concludes with a discussion of the bridge as the most enduring monument of the nineteenth century. Promising a treatment in the "context of the age from which it sprang," McCullough asserts a "new" perspective on the world's most famous bridge and a time not "appreciated for what it was" (11,12).

McCullough divides his book into three parts. Part one sheds light on the life of John A. Roebling, the man who had the will to imagine a compelling piece of architecture and an engineering wonder. Born in Muhlhausen, Germany, Roebling was a promising student of architecture, bridge construction, and philosophy (as Hegel's favorite pupil). Searching for a liberal society, Roebling migrated to Pennsylvania, found farm work physically and mentally oppressive, and sought escape first as a land surveyor, and later as a bridge builder.

Sadly, Roebling's dream of a bridge spanning the East River—a project he first envisioned while on an icebound ferry—was but in the early stages of construction when, in 1869, he died of tetanus after an accident at the site. The burden of building the bridge passed to his son, Washington A. Roebling, a graduate of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute who received his practical training as a Union Army engineer. While working alongside his father, according to McCullough, Washington embraced his father's philosophy that no man was great by imitation. McCullough takes the reader on a panoramic tour through the cities of New York and Brooklyn, at the same time weaving into the bridge's story a wealth of background

information on the social, economic, and (in the last chapters of part two) political events of this era.

Part two outlines McCullough's perspective on the painstaking work that went into the building of the continent's tallest structure. Although such a bridge had long been imagined, few believed that what John Roebling termed "the greatest engineering work of the age" would ever be completed (170).

Complicating its construction, the bridge's design itself was an experiment that, at each stage, required Roebling to develop methods to put everything together. The most difficult task was constructing a bedrock foundation for the towers supporting the roadway. After a research trip to Europe, Washington was convinced that only a caisson foundation would support the massive structure. Shipbuilders constructed the enormous wooden boxes that acted as the caisson's shell. In eight-hour shifts from 1869 to 1876, Irish, German, and Italian workmen labored beneath the river in the caisson's air chamber for $2.25 a day. While stone masons built the towers on top, day-laborers toiled in the caisson's one-hundred-degree heat. The compressed air, often double that of normal atmospheric pressure, debilitated some workers with a mysterious illness commonly called caisson's disease—now referred to as the bends. Voices sounded unnatural and multiplied the confusion created by the constant din of hammers, drills, and shovels removing tons of sand and rock so the chamber, once on bedrock, could be filled with concrete. McCullough's heroes are the engineers, but his portrayal of the day-to-day experience of the workers assembling the bridge is limited. Part two also highlights the era's corruption, profiling the fall of the infamous Tweed Ring and the rise of reform-minded politicians.

Part three outlines the final stages of construction and the celebration of 24 May 1883, the opening day of the bridge. The stone towers were finished in 1876, but the cables and roadway were not. Weak and suffering from caisson's disease, Washington Roebling observed the site from his bedside window, and relayed directions through his wife and indispensable colleague, Emily Warner Roebling, to whom the author devotes a chapter. Emily Roebling, who supervised the stretching of the cables across the river, was the first to ride over the completed roadway, accompanied by a live rooster as a symbol of victory. When at last the work was finished, President Chester A. Arthur, accompanied by New York Governor Grover Cleveland, led a grand procession over the bridge.

The final two chapters focus on the bridge as monument and symbol, with an insufficiently interpretive epilogue calling for deeper analysis of the bridge as an urban artifact. In the 1880s, the towers were a new perch from which photographers, painters and writers viewed New York's urbanization. While mirroring the city's shifting context, Brooklyn Bridge has a unique power to rebuild itself into a compelling canvas for each generation, affecting, for example, how writers and artists from Whitman and Henry James to Hart Crane, Louis Mumford, Walker Evans, Georgia O'Keefe, Alfred Steiglitz, and Edward Steichen have "read" New York City. As they

independently struggled to interpret the monument's image, they collectively gave it a capacity to float in the space between myth and reality. However, speculating as to how and why these forces interacted to produce a timeless cultural symbol is not part of McCullough's story.

To McCullough's credit, he ably pulls together a comprehensive group of sources, frequently citing from the Roeblings' notebooks, ledgers, diaries, preliminary drawings, and sketches, some of them for the first time. This material, along with the author's balanced prose, make the work a valuable contribution, enhanced by more than thirty illustrations and an appendix of pertinent data. In a period when historians are most concerned with "interpretation," this study provides useful background material on the period, and remains a valuable tool for those interested in the bridge that once dominated Gotham's skyline. As New York City's most visually captivating icon to the "modern," the Brooklyn Bridge remains, as McCullough adeptly illustrates, **The Great Bridge.**

Thomas D. Beal
SUNY at Stony Brook

[Editors's note: For the history and cultural influence of the Brooklyn Bridge, see Bernice Braid, "The Brooklyn Bridge in Literary and Popular Imagination," LIHJ *2 (Fall 1989):90-103, and "Public Spaces, Private Places: Images of Brooklyn,"* LIHJ *3 (Fall 1990): 109-20.]*

William T. Lauder. *Amityville History Revisited.* Amityville: Amityville Historical Society, 1992. Illustrations, bibliography. Pp. 48. $5.00 (paper).

On Long Island's South Shore, straddling the western boundary of Suffolk County, is the "Friendly Bay Village" of Amityville. Most readers are probably more familiar with the community's recent past: the sensationalized "Amityville Horror" story. Yet the Amityville community, ethnically diverse and scenically picturesque, boasts a rich historical tradition. From the grand old hotels that once dotted its shoreline to the oldest African American Church on the Island, Amityville's "backwater attitude toward change" has created "its charm which distinguishes it from the surrounding big shopping mall syndrome" (iv). This has been a community that claims as either full-time or summer residents the likes of Lawrence Sperry, inventor of the rocket; entertainers Frank Buck, Annie Oakley, Fred Stone, and Will Rogers; Walter O'Malley, the owner of the Brooklyn Dodgers who took his team to Los Angeles; the politician, Perry Dyurea, Sr.; the historian, newspaper publisher, and creator of the *Long Island Forum,* Paul H. Bailey; and Suffolk's most famous football coach and former presiding officer of the county legislature, Lou Howard, Sr. Amityville is also home to Brunswick Hospital, one of the nation's largest private hospitals.

Amityville History Revisited is a sketchbook tour of the community's evolution from colonial times to the present. The author, William Lauder, a

lifelong resident, practiced law and served as the town of Babylon's supervisor. Although not a historian by trade, Lauder brings to light some of his own childhood memories as he weaves his narrative through twentieth-century Amityville. He is well-qualified to address this transformation, with an admirable commitment to the preservation of local history. In the late 1960s, while still practicing law, he helped create the Amityville Historical Society, which now has the largest membership of any of the Island's historical societies. So instrumental have been his efforts that the Society's museum was named in his honor.

Updating his earlier *Brief History of Amityville*, Lauder's revised edition is intended for a local audience. Historical analysis is not the objective. Indeed, the local chamber of commerce could use this work for promotional purposes. Included are nine chapters ranging from the "Geology and Natural Beginnings" of Long Island to Amityville's "Houses of Worship." Despite some pedantic observations and typographical errors (an erratum sheet correcting some of the errors is included), the author brings to light his rich knowledge of community developments. His well-written chapters on the transformation of the village over time, landmarks, old structures no longer existing, entertainment and social activity, and boating and bay life are thoughtfully constructed. His understanding of how the community was shaped by the Great South Bay—the beaches, boat yards, ferries, barrier-beach communities, yacht clubs—is most comprehensive.

Most enjoyable to read is his closeness to time and place. Having lived in Amityville for well over seventy years he has much to tell. For example, when discussing the barrier beaches he relates that:

> I can remember as a small boy in the '20s, two rows of sand dunes, and it hasn't been like that around here for a long time. Also, the shipping lanes were much closer to shore. My mother, who had excellent eyesight, could read the names of the ocean liners occasionally (36).

Another anecdote dealt with Old Broadway, the village's main thoroughfare. Because of harsh winters the road would crack in numerous places. When spring arrived the cracks would be filled with tar. In hot weather the tar would melt, presenting a problem for marchers in Decoration Day and Fourth of July parades:

> Those days were always hot then, and on hot days tar is soft and sticky. The parades started in the village and went all the way to the cemetery on Harrison Avenue and I always came home with a generous supply on my shoes. This did not cheer mother (16).

His sense of humor is entertaining:

> The March blizzard of 1888 [he writes] caused 25-to-30-foot snow drifts and death and disaster in New York City. So far I have not found any reports of adverse effects locally, except for an inordinate number of births the following December (10).

While residents will appreciate this brief historical sketch, there are some concerns. The cursory section on colonial times needs further development and analysis, as does the shallow treatment of local Native American history; the author could benefit from Ellis et al's text on New York State history (David M. Ellis, James A. Frost, Howard C. Syrett, and Henry J. Carman, *A History of New York State* [Ithaca, NY; Cornell Uuiv. Press, 1967]). In addition, Lauder offers scant analysis of the African American community of North Amityville. He seems content to focus on the history of the village, rather than of the entire community. Discrimination against African American prompted the local NAACP chapter to activism in the 1960s, particularly to the Princeton Plan for desegregation of public schools. Chronological errors include the date of final emancipation of slaves in New York State (1827); the cease fire in the Korean War (1953); and the year when official hostilities started between the United States and North Vietnam (1964—Gulf of Tonkin Resolution).

One might also hope for discussion of environmental factors affecting the growth of this quaint, idyllic, bay community. Lastly, readers would appreciate historical integration of the chronology in chapter four, which easily could be incorporated with the larger themes that Lauder analyzes expertly in the body of his narrative.

These criticisms aside, *Amityville History Revisited* is a pleasant trip down memory lane, all the more useful for demonstrating one Long Island community's determination to preserve its past. Such testimony speaks volumes about the author. His love for history and the community where he has spent his life illuminate his worthwhile narrative.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT
Amityville Public Schools

EXHIBITION REVIEW

"Woven History: The Technology and Innovation of Long Island Coverlets, 1800-1850." Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities (SPLIA), The Gallery, Main Street, Cold Spring Harbor. Through 31 October 1993, Tuesday through Sunday from 11 a.m. until 4 p.m. Admission $2, $1.50 for seniors and children.

"Woven History" features some sixty cotton and woolen coverlets, mostly in familiar blue-and-white geometric patterns, attractively displayed in the former Cold Spring Harbor Library building which SPLIA ingeniously has converted into its exhibition hall. These textiles have histories of ownership in a number of Long Island communities. Indeed, the Island seems to have produced the earliest known named and dated double-woven coverlets in the country. Each coverlet typically bears the name of a woman and an early nineteenth-century date. This conjures up a romantic image of an elderly grandmother, seated before the fireside of her humble cottage, toiling on yet

another original, homemade, textile project, and celebrating the completion of her painstaking work by signing and dating it. However, this picture could not be more inaccurate. As the well-prepared exhibition text and accompanying publication point out, these coverlets typically were made by male professional weavers working on mechanical looms in small mills, using specialized machinery and designs based on European models; furthermore, the name on each coverlet was that of its owner, not of its maker. Such mills, producing both carpets and coverlets, are known to have existed in Cold Spring Harbor and Patchogue, and a majority of the coverlets on display are documented or attributed to the Mott mill in Westbury and the Van Riper mill in Riverhead.

Coverlets could be bought by mail; in 1828, for example, a weaver-entrepreneur, Daniel Haff, solicited orders in the Sag Harbor Corrector "with written directions from different parts of the island," fulfilled and "sent by stage or other conveyance to the purchaser." The process of manufacture and distribution illustrates the early impact of the industrial revolution on a primarily agrarian society and economy.

The exhibition includes period illustrations of weaving techniques, samples of devices used to accomplish them, and a survey of social and economic conditions on antebellum Long Island. Of particular interest is an operational, full-size, ingrain-carpet-type loom of the sort that probably produced most of the coverlets in the show. In addition, the modern weaving equipment displayed on the gallery's lower level enhances a visitor's understanding of the achievement of various efforts and techniques. Finally, a display of current computer programs for weaving patterns shows that the electronic revolution—the twentieth century's version of the industrial revolution—may be applied to textile design and production.

These textiles are beautiful in themselves, but to Susan Rabbit Goody, the curator of "Woven History" and the author of the accompanying eighty-six-page catalog, they are even more valuable for their historical context. As she asks in her introduction,

> What forces—economic, social, technological—were involved? Why would this phenomenon have begun on Long Island? How many coverlets survived on Long Island? What could they tell us about the weavers who produced them and the consumers who ordered them?

Her approach to answering these questions is thoughtful, incisive, and convincing. Her picture of nineteenth-century Long Island society is anything but romantic, but no less fascinating for that. This significant exhibition, an excellent example of firmly grounded material culture scholarship, can well serve as a model for larger and farther-reaching undertakings.

WILLIAM AYRES
The Museums at Stony Brook

BOOK NOTES (To be reviewed in Spring 1994)

Robert Cushman Murphy. *Fish-Shape Paumanok: Nature and Man on Long Island.* 1964: reprint, Great Falls, VA: Waterline Books, 1991. Bibliography, index. Pp. 67. $9.95 (paper).

Dennis Puleston. *A Nature Journal: A Naturalist's Year on Long Island.* New York: W. W. Norton, 1992. Illustrations, index. Pp. 127. $25.

SCOPE (Suffolk County Organization for the Promotion of Education), *Where to Go and What to Do on Long Island.* Mimeola: Dover Publications, 1993. Illustrations, index. Pp. 208. #3.95 (paper).

Communications

Dear Readers,
We regret several inadvertent errors made by us and not the authors of two fine articles in our recent Spring 1993 issue.

In paragraph three, page 246, of Charlotte Woods Elkind, "One Brooklyn Block: Population Characteristics and Change," Emily Roebling should have been described as the widow of Washington Roebling, not John A. Roebling. Our error is hard to explain because of our admiration for and frequent references to Emily Roebling and her outstanding role in the building of Brooklyn Bridge. On page 195 of John M. Kochiss, "When Great South Bay Froze Over: Gleanings from the Baymen's Oral History Group—Part Two," the one- to four-inch-thick piece of wood in paragraph three was eighteen, not 187-feet long (a number that makes no sense).

We apologize to the authors, and promise to make every effort to keep such mistakes from happening again.

The Editors, *LIHJ*

Dear Editors,
I note one factual error in Michael Barnhart's review of our book, *Theodore Roosevelt: Many-Sided American* (*LIHJ* 5:[Spring 1993]: 252). Brigadier General Theodore Roosevelt, Junior, was not "forced from the service [or] judged too physically drained" for active duty, after D-Day. As clearly stated on page 103 of our book, Ted died of a heart attack on active duty on 11 July 1944 while taking part in the continuing advance into Normandy; and he was about to be made commander of the Nineteenth Division by General Eisenhower. In other words, Ted was very much still in the war when he died.

I enjoyed reading the review, and thank you for reviewing the volume in your fine journal.

John A. Gable
Executive Director, Theodore Roosevelt Association

Dear Editors:
I thought I'd send you some clippings from Alaska about *Northern Exposure* [the television program set in the mythical town of Ciceley, Alaska]. Then I broadened it to include some articles on the Univ. of Alaska-Fairbanks. After that, I figured you might like some Nome clippings for perspective. Finally, I

decided it was foolish of me to try and guess your taste. I threw in two different newspapers...Notice there isn't any obituary section. When somebody dies in Nome, it's news. Small towns are nice that way, everyone is important.

I got frustrated over last winter and started writing weekly letters to the editor on a revolutionary theme. The stories are real, I just changed the names 'cause I have a lot of windows in my house I don't want broken in mid-winter. One paper is all about Hope '93—the Transcontinental Dog Race. After the Iditarod this may become the biggest thing in Nome's history as viewed from thirty years in the future. The U.S. is fairly Atlantic Ocean myopic. For instance, even most geography students are stumped when asked what three countries border the US. We share borders with Russia in two or three places, at the closest of which only three miles separate the two countries. The Russian mother country has maintained control of all her frontier colonies throughout the turmoil as well.

Somewhere in the middle of the papers I hope you find my renewal notice and check. I enjoy your Journal. Keep up the good work.

Lew Tobin
Nome, Alaska

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We welcome comments, proposals for articles or book reviews, or offers to help in whatever phase of our work you select.

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