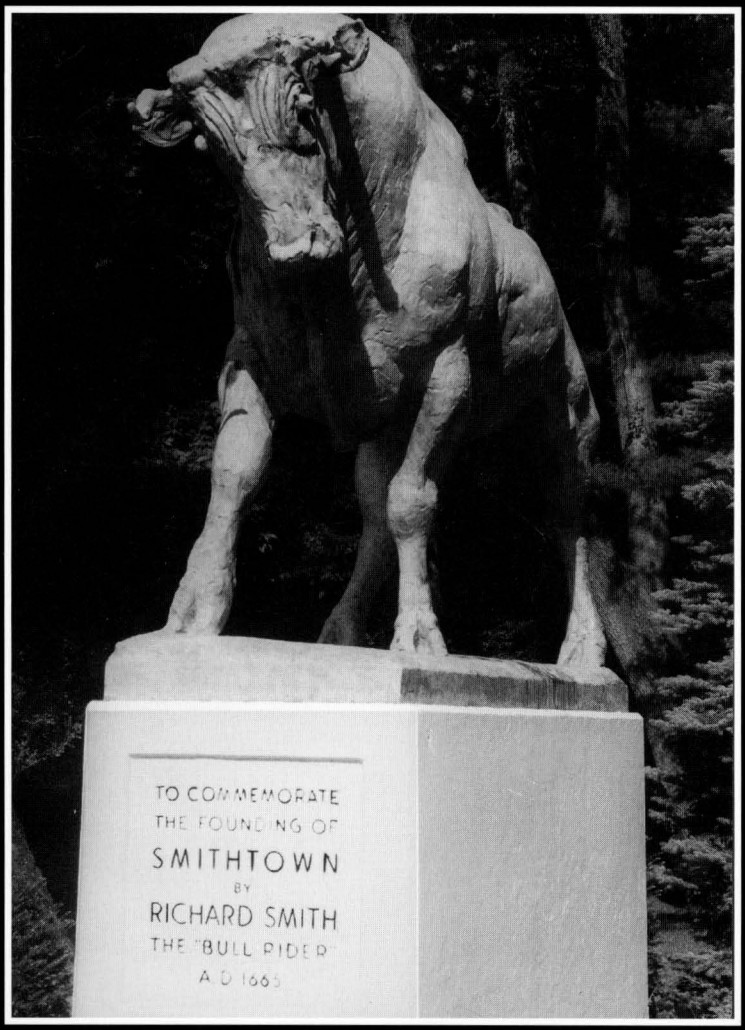
THE LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL JOURNAL



Fall 2000
Volume 13 • Number 1

"*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 8½" x 11" stock, double spaced, with generous margins, and written on only one side of each page. If possible, also submit an IBM-compatible disk. Notes should be numbered consecutively, assembled at the end of the text, and modeled on examples in the *Chicago Manual of Style.*

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Cover: *The Bull.* Bronze statue, Routes 25 and 25A, Smithtown, commemorating "the founding of Smithtown by Richard Smith the Bull Rider A..D. 1665." Photograph, courtesy Smithtown Historical Society.

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Contributors

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Richard P. Harmond, the associate editor of *LIHJ* and professor of history at St. John's University, is the author of many books and articles on the history of Long Island.

Elizabeth Shepherd is a retired teacher, the author of eight nonfiction children's books, and a dedicated Smithtown historian currently working on an ecological study of Richard Smith's domain.

Donald E. Simon, dean of institutional services at Monroe College, is a former editor of the *Long Island Journal of History*, a present member of the *Long Island Historical Journal*'s editorial board, and the author of numerous studies of Brooklyn.

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Secondary School Essay Contest Winners

At the time of writing, **Lauren Branche** was a junior at Amityville Memorial High School.

Jonathan Chavkin was a junior at Great Neck North Senior High School.

Perri Thaler was a senior at Lawrence High School.

Long Island Studies Council

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

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EDITORIAL COMMENT

This issue presents the first of a projected series of articles from the *Long Island Journal of History*, the distinguished periodical that provided analysis of our history for twenty-one years beginning in 1961. In 1982 the sponsoring organization discontinued its journal and, several years later, changed its name from Long Island to Brooklyn Historical Society. To fill the void and meet the demand for a scholarly organ of Long Island history, the semiannual *Long Island Historical Journal* (*LIHJ*) was created, commencing with the issue of Fall 1988. To clarify misunderstanding because of the similarity of the two names, we strive to maintain its high standard of research and authenticity but are neither an offshoot of nor a successor to the *Long Island Journal of History* (*LIJH*). Our purpose is to publish erudite but readable articles and reviews that contribute increased understanding of "Long Island as America," the happy phrase we borrowed from the title of James E. Bunce and Richard P. Harmond's documentary history (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1977).

It is our good fortune that Donald E. Simon, who served as editor of the *JLIH* in the late 1970s, is now a valued member of our own editorial board. Under Dr. Simon's supervision, we will reprint selected pieces from the *JLIH*, with the consent of our good friends at the Brooklyn Historical Society, whose priceless collection again will be available to scholars when its refurbished headquarters opens next year. We are doubly graced by the fact that the aforementioned Richard P. Harmond, a leading interpreter of the Island's history, has been our associate editor from the inception of the *LIHJ*. The article chosen to start the series is Dr. Harmond's probing introduction to and reproduction of "The Recollections of Nathaniel S. Prime," the memoirs of a latter-day Puritan which appeared in the winter 1981 issue of the *JLIH*. We hope readers will welcome these reprints, and we look forward to their presentation.

In addition, this issue offers a new cross-section of Long Island's past. Two pieces concerning agriculture include "Go East, Young Man," by Roger Wunderlich, which focuses on the diary of a nineteenth-century South Fork farmer, and "Long Island to the

Measure of Oxen," another of Elisabeth Shepherd's meticulous reconstructions of early times in Smithtown. Gaynell Stone explains the significance of "Long Island Gravestones, 1670-1800," just as David Sokol recalls the accomplishments of an artistic Shelter Island landscape architect. A more current problem is the subject of Arthur B. Dobrin's study of the depiction of race and identity on the part of *Newsday* and the *New York Times*. Rounding out the edition are three winning entries in our high school essay contest, selected reviews of current books, and an interesting communication concerning how New York became known as the Empire State.

Please keep your subscriptions coming, friends and readers. Your $15-per-annum journal is completely and solely reader-supported.

Professor Emeritus Natalie A. Naylor

We salute Professor Natalie A. Naylor upon her retirement from Hofstra University, while we applaud her decision to continue as co-president of the Long Island Studies Council and as editor of the *Nassau County Historical Society Journal*. Dr. Naylor deserves enormous credit for organizing so many conferences and editing so many books designed to illuminate the history of Long Island. The *LIHJ* especially remembers the two five-year indexes she compiled for us, along with many articles and reviews, and, we hope, the many more she will do in the future.

GO EAST, YOUNG MAN: NINETEENTH-CENTURY FARM LIFE ON THE SOUTH FORK OF LONG ISLAND

By Roger Wunderlich

Author's note: This is a revised version of a paper given at the conference on East Hampton History, organized by Sherill Foster, at the Southampton College campus of Long Island University, 6 June 1992.

Farm life was the only life for the colonists of Long Island. Long before Horace Greeley advised young men to "Go West and grow up with the country," the towns on the forks of the Island were founded by eastward moving pioneers well-versed in the arts of farming and animal husbandry. One such group, after spending a few years in Lynn, in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, decided to move to Long Island's wide open spaces in search of grazing lands for its cattle. In spring 1640, this band of restless Puritans sailed into Manhasset Bay, went ashore on the western side, and started building houses in this unsettled area. When the Dutch, who claimed sovereignty over the region, ejected this first wave of colonists they back to their ship and sailed east to Greater Peconic Bay, stepped ashore on Conscience Point, and founded the town of Southampton. That same year another green-thumbed congregation of English settlers crossed the Sound from New Haven and created Southold (the question of which group was first to arrive has never been resolved). Eight years later, a cluster of Southampton families pushed on to establish East Hampton, known as Maidstone during its first forty years because of the Kentish origins of many of the founders. This article honors the memory of Long Island's agrarian past, with emphasis on the features that distinguished the South Fork from other parts.[1]

The early towns of the Island found themselves beyond the orbit of domination, far distant from the centers of Dutch and British power in New Amsterdam and Boston. According to the Reverend Nathaniel S. Prime, the nineteenth-century Long Island historian whose "Recollections" are examined elsewhere in this issue, they existed "absolutely in a state of nature, possessing all the personal rights and privileges which the God of nature gave them, but without the semblance of authority one over

another." When they linked themselves with Connecticut, it was not from any doubt that they could manage their internal affairs, "but solely for defence from foreign aggression. And the nature of the union was rather that of an *alliance* than subjection." Their formation as independent little city-states set the tone for their enduring allegiance to freedom.[2]

Although they restricted first-class citizenship to Puritan co-religionists, these self-governing Bible commonwealths endowed future generations with two of the building blocks of liberty —the town meeting and the independent church, wholly owned and managed by its congregation. As the historian Silas Wood described them, "each town of the first settlement was a pure democracy: the people of each town exercised the sovereign power. All questions were determined by the voice of the major part of the people, assembled in town meeting."[3]

Geography also shaped them. Because no part was far distant from bay or sea, the soil was basically sandy. Away from the beaches, however, the earth was a sandy loam that responded well to fertilizer and was capable of producing, over the generations, bumper crops of wheat, corn, oats, hay, buckwheat, turnips, potatoes, cauliflower, and strawberries. The beaches provided seaweed to augment yard manure, and, providentially, the surrounding waters teemed with menhaden, a source of fertilizer that stank to high heaven but did wonders for the soil. Small members of the shad family, the menhaden were also known as bony fish, whitefish, or mossbunkers. Their catching became a cooperative enterprise conducted from May to November by farmer-fishermen working in teams. In his *Gazetteer of the State of New York, 1860,* H. R. French mentioned single hauls of as many as 1.4 million menhaden, which sold for $1 a thousand:

> They are usually strewn upon the surface as a top dressing, or plowed under, but are sometimes rotted with earth, seaweed, and other articles in compost heaps. The stench of these decaying fish is extremely unpleasant and almost overpowering to strangers.[4]

An added harvest of the shore was the frequent beaching of dead whales, whose oil and bone created an unforeseen source of income. Drift whaling led to off-shore whaling and later, during the glory years in the decades before the Civil War, the pursuit of whales in the seven seas. The fortunes of many South Fork farmers were based on their investments in the lucrative whale-fishery, in which only New Bedford, Nantucket, and New London surpassed the number of ships that sailed from the deep-water port of Sag Harbor. Both in catching menhaden and handling beached

whales, the colonists received invaluable instruction from the Montaukett and Shinnecock people, who, together with African American whalers, went on to play leading roles in deep-sea whaling as boatsteerers and harpooners.[5]

The beaches also served as ports for the area's two leading cash crops, sold in New York City and other markets: cordwood, the fuel of choice for heating houses before the onset of anthracite coal, and hay, the "gasoline" of the horse-drawn system of transportation. Exposed landings enabled farmers to drive wagon loads onto the beaches for ships to pick up. As late as 1860, cordwood was plentiful in the Hamptons, with more than half of the acreage still unimproved.[6]

Another unusual factor was Gardiners Island, the private estate of the soldier-statesman, Lion Gardiner, who arrived with his family and a few retainers in 1639. This most abundant of South Fork domains was described in the East Hampton history written in 1798 by its seventh-generation proprietor, John Lyon Gardiner:

> The soil...is good & is very natural for Wheat and White clover. The timber is of various kinds, mostly large White oak...The land is well watered with brooks, springs & ponds...Beef, Cheese, Wheat, and Wool are the staple articles...Fish of various kinds may be procured at almost any time. For fertility of soil & for various advantages it is not perhaps exceeded by many farms in the United States.[7]

Gardiners Island exemplified the English manorial system, under which the lord of the manor exercised total dominion. Elsewhere in the Hamptons, most freeholders owned their land in fee simple, a custom that budded in Kent and blossomed in America, where ordinary people lived in liberty on their own homesteads as only the gentry could in England.

To his everlasting credit, Lion Gardiner, the autocrat of his island, functioned equally well as a citizen of the commonwealth of East Hampton after he moved there in 1653. Gardiner learned the language and gained the trust and friendship of his Native American neighbors. Largely through his diplomacy, the interracial warfare that plagued the mainland was not repeated on eastern Long Island. Notice should also be taken that by inducing sachems like Wyandanch, the Montaukett leader, to "sell" large tracts in exchange for trinkets, and by having these "purchases" confirmed by deeds from the English governor, Lion Gardiner blazed a path for himself and other colonists legally to acquire the lands of the native

people.[8]

By 1675, most farms on the Island maintained horses, neat cattle, sheep, swine, and chickens. Neat cattle, incidentally, are not necessarily tidy but merely belong to the bovine genus of bulls, oxen, and cows. As important to farm life as raising crops was the art of animal husbandry, a skill that South Fork farmers shared with those of Manhasset and Hempstead. "Home on the Range" may not be a Long Island song, yet America's first prairies were the grassy meadows of Plandome, the Hempstead Plains, and Montauk. After the Dutch agreed to issue land grants to English farmers in 1643, the Manhasset-Plandome-Port Washington-Sands Point peninsula became known as Cow Neck (and the bay as Cow Bay) because of its use as a pasture for cattle and sheep. From 1650 on, herds of livestock grazed on the Hempstead Plain, depicted in 1670 as "sixteen miles long and four miles broad, upon which...grows very fine grass, that makes exceedingly good Hay, and is very good pasture for sheep and Cattel."[9]

The tip of the South Fork was famous for its six thousand acres of grassy, rolling hills called the Montauk Downs, which were "similar in aspect and plant type to the coastal Downs of Sussex, in England, and [which] undoubtedly result from the same causal factor of violent winds exposure. According to Weather Bureau records, Montauk Point is the windiest spot...on the North Atlantic cost."[10]

Approximately one hundred fifty cattle and sheep owners, known as proprietors, used the downs for summer pasturage, one generation after the next, until the land was sold at auction to Arthur Benson, a real estate magnate from Brooklyn, in 1879. Ten years earlier, the Hempstead Plains, long the common grazing lands of that town, were sold to A. T. Stewart as the site for Garden City. At the century's end, the Plandome range gave way to estates and suburban developments.

The "violent" winds that blew on Montauk were not the winds of change; the essentials of nineteenth-century farm life were not far removed from what they had been for the Puritan pioneers. A modern novelist, George Frederick Hummel, reflected this view in the opening pages of *Heritage*, a novel he set in 1846. His depiction of his native Southold applied equally to the Hamptons. The first English farmers were "hard-headed pioneers" who, observed Hummel, "laboriously cleared and diligently tilled the land...cut the salt hay from its marginal meadows...fished and clammed and gathered soil-enriching seaweed in its creeks and coves and bays. And they prospered." Two hundred years later their descendants, whose physical looks and outlook on life were very close to those of the first-comers, "lived, for the most part, on their ancestral acres, worshiped their ancestral God and jealously guarded their ancestral

tradition." East Hampton farmland, for example, passed down through generations named " Baker, Barnes, Bennett, Conkling, Dayton, Edwards, Fithian, Gardiner, Hedges, Huntting, Miller, Mulford, Osborn, Parsons, Ranger, Strong, and Sherrill." As Hummel observed, many houses built by original settlers still stood along the village street:

> The families which made up the households were, with few exceptions, the families which had founded the village in the sixteen-forties. Everybody, except by accident or intrusion, was everybody else's uncle, cousin, a'nt, gramper, gramma, heir-apparent. Everybody knew everybody else's family history for at least four generations back.[11]

A convenient line between old and new ways is 1865, the watershed year that witnessed the end of the Civil War and the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. The Thirteenth Amendment was ratified and the Freedman's Bureau organized, but the four million former slave were far from free. The new president, Andrew Johnson, embarked on a long and bitter struggle with Congress over the terms of Reconstruction.

In the North, within a generation, the economy of small-scale, independent producers was augmented by a rising system of goods mass-produced in factories for burgeoning national and international markets. Innovations in agriculture paralleled the development of the railroad and the telegraph. The reapers, threshers, and steel-bladed plows invented before the war began to fulfill their promise. The Mid-western corn and wheat belt expanded, but, according to Richard A. Wines, a modern scholar of nineteenth-century East End farming, "even though canals and railroads were bringing large quantities of western wheat to the New York markets, local production was not adversely affected." Hay was still the fuel of choice for New York City's transportation system, and potatoes were in increasing demand. However, the heyday of whaling was over, and coal was taking cordwood's place for heating the city's houses, reducing demand for one of the Island's most important sources of cash. Unmistakably, change was now in the air. Higher yields of hay, noted Wines, encouraged the keeping of larger numbers of animals, "which, in turn, provided more manure, which in turn would increase soil fertility, and so on in a sustained self-reinforcing cycle." The shift from oxen to horses was virtually completed, with greater use of threshers and horserakes, and hand tools such as the cradle. The Suffolk County Agricultural Society, revived from dormancy in 1865, launched annual fairs at Riverhead that

gave local farmers a chance to inspect the latest techniques and equipment.[12]

Soil depletion over the years spurred more scientific crop rotation, and new fertilizers like ground bone, hardwood ash, and guano, or "fish manure," the waste product provided by the ten or more East End factories making oil from menhaden. "By the 1860s," remarked Wines, "guano and fish scrap had replaced local fishing as a source of fertilizer." The Hamptons' historian, William S. Pelletreau, reported that the desolate, uninhabited beach ironically known as "Promised Land" had, in 1878, become a village of "fish factories," employing hundreds of men, and supplying markets far beyond the South Fork. "Here millions of fish," wrote Pelletreau, "are yearly bought and rendered into oil, and the solid part, under the name of fish guano, is sent as a fertilizer to enrich the vineyards of Italy and the cotton fields of the south." By 1882, "ten companies [were] in full operation, with an assessed valuation of $104,000." The next year, a total of 154 million menhaden was caught in Peconic and Gardiners Bays.[13]

A window through which to peer into life on a mid-nineteenth-century farm is the diary of Stephen Sherrill, a young man who jotted down an entry or two for each day of 1865. This year in the life of an East Hampton bachelor who lived and worked on his father's farm is revealing as any history book; a vote of thanks is owed to Sherrill Foster, the architectural historian and Sherrill family member, for donating this precious document to the East Hampton Free Library.[14]

In addition to farming, the most common occupation, the state census of 1865 recorded bakers, merchants, and carpenters, shoemakers, teachers, and seamstresses. However, Stephen Sherrill's diary proves that designated trades on the census did not reflect the versatility of people who, whatever they said they did for a living, knew how to raise crops, keep livestock, hunt game, and handle a boat. Those whose stated profession was farming did more than raise wheat, corn, barley, oats, and rye; handle horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, and poultry; produce milk, butter, and cheese; make hay, and cut wood. Living between the bay and the sea, they were expert sailors, baymen, and fishermen, as at home on the water as in the fields.

His diary, a terse but vivid record, shows that Stephen was a jack of all trades and apparently master of most. He led a vigorous, busy life, working outdoors most of the time, and, when forced to stay home by snow or rain, keeping busy repairing equipment. He filled his days with plowing, planting, and threshing; harrowing, mowing, and husking; butchering hogs and steers; buying, selling, and trading horses, cows, and pigs; an

occasional surveying job; cutting ice on the pond; making fences; carting guano, manure, and seaweed; cutting and cording wood and then loading it on shipboard; clamming and fishing; meeting with the menhaden company to which he belonged; repairing the boat and the mile-long net used for catching the fish; and, almost every Sunday, going to church and carefully noting the minister's text.

His lead item was always the weather. Pleasant or "Plesant" (like many of his contemporaries, Stephen was a stranger to Noah Webster; all quotations from the diary preserve his own spelling and punctuation), cold, foggy, damp, rainy, windy, "qualey," snowed all day, whatever, this matter-of-fact reductionist took life in stride and never blinked, condensing large and small events in his succinct, unemotional style.

Saturday, April 15: "Plesant Wend to the Harbor Lincoln was shot last night Seward was stabed &c Got a new pare of boots of Muroey gase[?] $9.50."

Wednesday, April 19: "Pleasant. Commenced planting corn. Went to Prayer meeting in Church. From 12 till 1 on account of the funeral of the late Precedent Lincoln."

Wednesday, October 11: "Wind N.W. Helped Lew Miller thrash Calves came from Montauk."

Tuesday November 7: "Wind West. Election This district went 2 to 1 Republican majority."

He paid little attention to holidays. Tuesday, July 4. "Pleasant. Went to the Harbor had a lousy time Nat [his brother] finished mowing." Monday, December 25, one of the few days without a weather report: "Christmas Butchered 5 hogs Weight 1924 lb Went to Stowels in the evening." On his twenty-fifth birthday, Friday, December 29: "Wind S.W. Very pleasant. Corded wood on the bank."

Death was a frequent visitor, reported briefly, as always. Saturday, January 7: "Wet day. Stayed about home. Mr. Lewis Edwards died"; the next Tuesday: "Rained Schooner Gen Marion came ashore. And a Brig to Montauk one frozen to death." Monday, May 1: "Pleasant. Went to the bank and piled wood had 50 1/4 cords. Mary conklin died." Thursday, September 21. "Wind S.W. Helped George Strong drill 5 3/4 achers Wheat behind the pond for John Strong Maj Hary Babcock died last night." Two days layer: "Wind East Husked corn to the Clost find it the best piece of corn I ever went into Domineys baby about 7 months old died last night." Monday, November 13: "Wind S.W. Carted Sea Weed & Wood. Mrs. Havens died (the Ice Cream Woman)."

After short illnesses, both Stephen's mother, Jerusha Hedges Sherrill,

and his brother, Egbert Conkling Sherrill, died of consumption. Tuesday, March 21. "Pleasant. Mother Died this morning about half past six Egbert about the same. Mrs. Phebe Bushernal sat up last night." Wednesday April 5: "Plesant. Carted Manure and Plowed to the Clost Egbert Died about 1/4 of eleven."

Stephen was healthy most of the time but late in the year he suffered bouts of diarrhea and jaundice; on November 30wind N.E., he "hauled off for repairs! taking powders and Blue pills for the Jaundis," to cure which he also chewed "rubarbroot" and "got sum Cider and barberry bark."

The diary's few social items refer both to his friends and himself. June 9: pleasant Joseph and Elisha "went to the ice-cream shop with a couple of young Ladies," while he, Stephen, "loaded the sloop *Helen Smith* with wood at Northwest crick." A potentially romantic entry (not followed up) was for the next day: it rained when he "finished loadng sloop put 43 ½ cords on board. Had an introduction of a Miss McDonald." On 30 August, "plesant," Stephen "cut up corn" while his brother "Nat and family went to...a Watermelon party." His most enthusiastically punctuated notation was for 20 October, "wind west! south west"; when he "finished thrashing oats had 280 bush Grand party to Charles Dayton." His wittiest was for Sunday, 29 January: "Plsant Stayed at Home Mr. Mershon [Stephen L. Mershon, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church] preached a dancing sarmon he said those that danced are either intoxicated [*sic*] or fools."

Like Tom Sawyer, Stephen hated to whitewash. Thursday, May 11: "Damp day. Wind South and East. White washed. Set two hens. Swore I would NT white wash agana." But he did, twenty days later: "Pleasant, white washed the kitchen and Cultivating barn." Although the family farm was practically self-sufficient, Stephen earned money on his own as a workman or trader. He cut ice for Abraham Dayton "for $2 per day"; sold the "old white cow" to Jeremiah Dayton for $70; put up wheat for the same J. Dayton at $2.35 per bushel; bought a cow for $48 in March and butchered her in May for a profit of $28.44; sold a six-year-old Canadian mare for $150; sold a load of hay for $80. As an active dealer in hogs and their by-products, he kept his eye on business, noting on 2 December, "wind west, jaundis no better. Pork has taken a fall in the market from 17^{cts} to 12cts a pound."

On 23 May, rained, six weeks after Egbert's death, Stephen "had a taulk with Father about dividing his property he wished nat [Stephen's older brother] and I to divide to suit ourselves. I am to have 1 Eigth of Montauk & 2,500 dollars against the Homsted and things in the House." But, apparently, this was not enough to keep Stephen on the family farm. He

moved to Winsted, Connecticut, fifteen years later, married Miss Ida Henderson (there was no further mention of Miss McDonald), and stayed there the rest of his life. Although Stephen moved away from Long Island, like many other sons of farmers in search of opportunity he deserves to be remembered for his "this is the way it was" portrait of mid-nineteenth-century life in East Hampton.

During the 1880s and 1890s, states Wines, the competition of western wheat cut East End output in half. At the same time, however, the growth of urban markets led to a five-fold increase in the production of potatoes, and the introduction of cauliflower, cabbage, and strawberries created new sources of profit. Chemical insecticides like Paris Green helped to turn back the onslaught of the Colorado potato beetle.

As Everett T. Rattray pointed out in his book about the South Fork, "Eastern Long Island's society was agrarian long after the United States became a major industrial nation." But, by the end the nineteenth century, farm life was still important but no longer the only way of life. From the 1870s on, the coming of artists and writers acquainted "people from away," the local term for the outside world, with the beauty and charm of the Hamptons. From boarding houses to summer retreats and sites for estates and second homes, the vacation industry raised the demand for architects, builders, carpenters, plumbers, stores, and services of every description.[15] The Long Island Railroad, which in 1869 opened a line to Sag Harbor by way of Bridgehampton, at last extended its track to East Hampton and on to Montauk in 1895. In September 1900, East Hampton's first telephone pay station was installed, followed by electric lights three years later. By this time, remarked Jeanette Edwards Rattray, the business of summer resorts had become the principal occupation.[16]

On Sunday, 1 June 1865, Stephen Sherrill wrote in his diary, "Fast day. Put wood in Wood House and went to church. Text Ecleseatsices 7th Chapt 1 verse a good name [is] better than precious ointment." This may be the most enduring legacy left by the South Fork's blunt and sturdy farmers during what the folk historian, Jared van Wagenen Jr., called "the golden age of homespun."[17]

NOTES

1. In 1643, New Netherland reversed its policy and allowed English people to settle in Hempstead; in 1650, the dividing line between Dutch and English Long Island was set at the western border of Oyster Bay; in 1664, the issue of sovereignty became moot when the British ousted the Dutch and included all of Long Island within the Province of New York. For the origins of East End towns, see William S. Pelletreau, "East Hampton," "Southampton," and "Southold," in *History of Suffolk County* (New York: W. W. Munsell., 1882).

2. Nathaniel S. Prime, *A History of Long Island, from Its First Settlement by Europeans, to the Year 1845, with Special Reference to Its Ecclesiastical Concerns* Part I (New York: Robert Carter, 1845)) 77-78; for Prime's memoirs, see Richard P. Harmond, "The Recollections of Nathaniel S. Prime," in this issue of the *LIHJ*.

3. Silas Wood, *A Sketch of the First Settlement of the Several Towns of Long Island, with their Political Condition, to the End of the American Revolution* (1824; reprint, *Historical Chronicles of New Amsterdam, Colonial New York and Early Long Island*, Cornell Jaray, ed. 1865, reprint, Port Washington: Ira J. Friedman, 1968), 19.

4. J. H. French, *Gazetteer of the State of New York, 1860* (Syracuse: R. Pearsall Smith, 1860), 631 n7.

5. See John A. Strong, "Shinnecock and Montauk Whalemen," *LIHJ* 2 (Fall 1989): 29-40; Floris Cash, "African American Whalers: Images and Reality," ibid., 41-51.

6. French, 6.

7. John Lyon (most Gardiners with this name spelled it Lion) Gardiner, "Notes and Memorandums Concerning Gardiners Island, Written in May 1798 by John Lyon Gardiner the Present Proprietor of That Island," *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1859* (New York, 1970): 270-71)

8. For Gardiner, see Roger Wunderlich, "Lion Gardiner: Long Island's Founding Father," *LIHJ* 10 (Spring 1998): 172-85.

9. Daniel Denton, "A Brief Description of New-York: Formerly Called New Netherlands" (London, 1670), in *Historical Chronicles of New Amsterdam, Colonial New York and Early Long Island*, Cornell Jaray, ed. (1865; reprint, Port Washington: Ira J. Friedman, 1968), 6.

10. George G. Peters, "The Flora of Long Island," in Paul Bailey, ed. *Long Island: A History of Two Great Counties, Nassau and Suffolk*. 3 vols. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing, 1949), 2:144.

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13. Ibid., 58; Pelletreau, "East Hampton," 23; Henry P. Hedges, "Development of Agriculture in Suffolk County," in *Bi-Centennial. A History of Suffolk County* (Babylon: Budget Steam Print, 1885: reprint, Suffolk County Tercentenary Commission, 1983), 102-3.

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15. Everett T. Rattray, *The South Fork: The Land and the People of Eastern Long Island* (New York: Random House, 1979), 213; Connie Koppelman, "Back to Nature: The Tile Club in the Country," *LIHJ* 3 (Fall 1990):85.

16. Jeanette Edwards Rattray, *East Hampton History, Including Genealogies of Early Families* (East Hampton, 1953), 155.

17. Jared van Wagenen Jr., *The Golden Age of Homespun* (1953; reprint, New York: Hill and Wang, 1963).

LONG ISLAND TO THE MEASURE OF OXEN

By Elizabeth Shepherd

At the beginning of a new millennium, the sight of an ox team plowing a Long Island corn field would be startling indeed. The sounds and smells of the neutered bulls as they paced the Island's country roads and dusty farm fields have been gone since Civil War times. However, aerial photographs reveal their spoor, metaphorically speaking, in the form of the old colonial roadways meandering through elongated patches of farm fields and trees, past rectangular subdivisions studded with houses and, here and there, rectangular parking lots of malls and industrial sites. The patterns of land use visible from the air respond not to some lordly master plan but to the capabilities and limitations of the animals used to create them. The internal combustion engine has not obliterated these patterns so much as moved into and expanded them.[1]

The only oxen on Long Island are at the Old Beth Page Restoration, whose farmer, Martin Jancheson, keeps an aged pair in comfortable retirement, a luxury no eighteenth-century farmers could have afforded. Worked to exhaustion, their beasts became corned beef and shoe leather by the time they were ten years old. Jancheson's two oxen weigh about twelve hundred pounds each. For a good team, "You look for animals that are closely related," he said, "ideally sired by the same bull, and from cows about the same size and weight."According to Jancheson, seventeenth- and eighteenth- century farmers had few calves to chose from and their oxen would have weighed less and been less well-matched. The teamster at Colonial Williamsburg, Richard Linger, agreed. Colonial farmers lacked time to train their teams properly, which made them more dangerous. "Oxen are not pets," he warned, stroking his near ox's horns. "They test out humans. You have to let them know who's in charge."[2]

Training usually starts when the calves are a month or so old. They are neutered four or five months later, but trained to the yoke well before that. A trainer starts by harnessing the animals one at a time, leading each one around so that it becomes used to the halter. Then he yokes two calves and leads them around together. Sometimes he has to pull hard to get them started, or one moves but not the other. Wooden yokes hang on the barn wall at Old Beth Page, two of them adult size—about four feet long—the others much smaller. The yoke rests on the shoulders, Jancheson explained, with the bow, a bent sapling, looped down around the neck and secured in

the frame. "If you try to teach them too much or for too long a time, they get confused or become balky," he said. "Once they know 'Come' then you teach 'Gee' or 'Haw,' for right or left turns, but not both commands in the same lesson." Richard Linger defended his team, Ezekiel and Zacharias: "An ox is as intelligent as a horse, but calmer and quieter. Of course you never know what will spook them." But after all, as Jancheson pointed out, horses will bolt. Over all, though, oxen are steadier.[3]

To reconstruct how the needs of oxen shaped land use on Long Island, it is necessary to travel to northern New England where they are still worked. At the Annual Blue Hill Fair in Maine, oxen of all ages and stages of training compete in various events. A six-year-old boy led his two-month old team around the ring without so much as a halter. He held a nipple of milk in one hand and a stick in the other."Whoa," he called whenever they stopped. He gave one calf or the other a taste of the nipple and enticed them to start moving again. "Come," he said. The animals did not always move together under the yoke, but he did not use his switch. "It's more to get their attention than anything," his father explained. "You can whip them, but it won't help much." A slightly older boy rhythmically tapped his stick against the yoke on his Holsteins, holding a lead from the near ox's halter with his other hand. The animals walked quietly beside him. "How well broke they are," the judge said with evident pleasure. When they mature, these oxen, as most shown at the fair, will be used primarily for logging—especially where landowners want some selective cutting. "An ox team can get under trees and into places where machines cannot go, and the animals do not make such a mess of the woods," one of the fair's organizers, Bill Haynes, explained. "It is surprising how efficient the old drags are." A teamster can haul out rocks or a big load of timber under almost any conditions. With their cloven hooves, oxen get good traction in deep snow or swampy ground. The sled, or "drag," which is equipped with squat wooden runners like those on the sled at Old Beth Page, can be pulled across snow or mud without sinking in as a cart would do. "Hills are no problem for an ox," Haynes said. "Steers —oxen — have strong legs and a low center of gravity. That helps. Then coming down...you just wrap a chain around the runners to keep the sled from going down hill too fast. That keeps the load from slamming into their hind legs." If the teamster is using a cart, he fits a "shoe," a sort of cradle with a metal bottom, onto the wheels to similar effect.[4]

A major event at the fair is the thirty-six hundred pound ox pull, in which a yoke of these enormous beasts compete to pull a 5,680 pound load the length of a field (about seventy feet and back) with a three-minute time limit. Concrete weights are set on a stone "boat," a slab of wood without

runners about half as wide as the yoke and perhaps twice as long, designed originally for hauling stones. "The boat is easy to load, it's so close to the ground," Bill Haynes noted. At the fair the weights are put on by machine. A metal pole, attached to the boat, is connected to a long chain that runs between the animals to an eye on the yoke. When the animals move forward the chain pulls taut, well clear of their hind legs. Normally, a load would be no more than half the animals' combined weight, and no eighteenth-century team could have pulled a load as heavy as a ton. Animals exhibited at the fair are better bred, nourished, and trained than oxen in colonial Long Island, though in time their knees give out, too. To drag heavy loads when logging these days, teamsters often use several teams linked yoke to yoke. "Four teams is about what one man can handle," Haynes said. "Sometimes for an extremely heavy load you might need as many as eight," with several teamsters to keep balky beasts in line. For example, one competing team at a recent fair refused to be harnessed to the drag, bolted to the far end of the field, and began cropping the grass. It took the teamster much time just to get them hooked to the boat. The winning oxen were calm, however. Leaning forward, knees slightly bent, muscles rippling under their glossy coats, they started up almost at a run, then stopped abruptly. At the teamster's urging, they surged forward again, the heavy boat throwing up dust behind them. "Oxen can put on great bursts of speed, but give out quickly," another teamster observed. Of course farmers in colonial times, as now, sought qualities of docility and endurance rather than speed.[5]

Such were the animals, then, that laid out Long Island as we know it. As soon as towns were organized, their clerks began to record the apportionment of land to the settlers. Each proprietor started with a home lot, the size of which was based on his share of the cost of the land (negligible for Native Americans, greater for white patentees), a share paid in money, services to the community, or both. Homesteads were built on small parcels, usually near water: navigable water; potable water for man and beasts; or marshes for cattle food. Clusters of old houses on the main streets of Setauket, East Hampton, or Orient afford glimpses of those early domestic landscapes. Next, crop land previously cleared by Indian settlers was divided, based again on each proprietor's contribution to the community. As will be shown, the actual layouts of those parcels were determined by capabilities of oxen —the animals that powered the plows and dragged home the timber, that cleared the roads and moved goods from place to place. (An acre was the area one ox team could plow in a single day.) The value of each parcel was assessed by its access to water and its potential use, whether for field crops, pasture, timber, or hay (salt and

fresh water meadows).

As towns acquired more land, that too was subdivided until, as Silas Wood put it, "all lands of any value were taken up." Town clerks recorded not only apportionment of land but also regulations regarding control of livestock, maintenance of fences and roadways, and care of timber lands and marsh lands. Dealing with everyday situations, these regulations give a fragmentary picture not only of daily life but of the use of land. After all, no farmer recorded his day's work, how and when he plowed or harrowed or harvested his fields, or even what he planted where. No one noted the behavior of his oxen on the roads or in the woods. There were no farm fairs for another hundred years. To get a sense of what the oxen did, it helps to focus on a specific piece of land, for example the land around one's own house or some locally significant feature. For this writer, this was some raggedly land in the Stony Brook Harbor watershed, where the third eldest grandson of Richard Smith, founder of Smithtown, settled in about 1710.[6]

Joseph Smith (1685-1754/5) was a typical farmer for his time, though he amassed his land holdings more through inheritance than purchase. He started with about one hundred acres at the southernmost end of Stony Brook Harbor where a freshwater swamp met tidal waters. There he built a small house (about twenty by thirty feet, judging from its foundations), and raised nine children with his wife who is thought to have been Mary Aldrich of Southold. No doubt he used oxen to clear the ground, haul away stumps, remove spoil from the foundation hole, and drag in stones for the foundation. However, Joseph apparently had owned few, if any, cattle, for until 1730 he did not officially register the earmark that would identify his livestock —"a crop on ye left ear, with a hapenny on ye fore side, and a slit on ye right ear"—among the steers that traditionally roamed at large through the common undivided land. Like other farmers, he might have penned his few cows with their calves, if any, in the barnyard, or pastured them in the woods near the homestead, perhaps even inside a rail fence. Certainly the hilly land above and south of the house was more appropriate for pasture and orchards than for wheat, corn, or table crops. As old deeds indicate, two locally important paths passed the Smiths' "door": the shore road, which led from his grandfather's settlement in Nissequogue to the grist mill on Stony Brook Creek; and the road leading from the harbor up to the top of the harbor hill moraine, where it joined roads leading inland and to the east and west. These roads were vital to Joseph, for he was to own shares in the family thatch beds along Porpoise Channel; land on the eastern shore of the Nissequogue River; a parcel near the Smithtown-Huntington boundary; another on the "Roconkemy Plains" (from the Islip Town line to Middle Country Road); and some land on or near Stony Brook

Creek. The holdings of Long Island farmers were often widely scattered, with croplands and woodlots at some remove from their homesteads, depending on which parcels town officials had divided and when they sold them. At first, roads more or less "happened" for the convenience of farmers; others came to be laid out more deliberately, but always to the measure of oxen working.[7]

When Joseph Smith was thirty, his father and his five uncles (the patentee's sons) divided up six hundred acres of the town patent on the relatively flat land north of the country road. These lots, like those in other Long Island towns, were commonly six, but up to ten times longer than they were wide. Such long narrow lots were the ones intended as plow lands. No mystery about that, explained DuBois Tangier Smith, who has farmed hereabouts for many years, though with tractors—not oxen. The wooden plows of colonial times were heavy and awkward to turn, he said, and oxen were hard to turn as well. Naturally, farmers tried to continue in one furrow as long as they could. Recognizing that need, Long Island towns parceled out land suited for crops to practical ox dimensions, the very shapes to which modern developments conform. For example, the Smiths laid out twelve fifty-acre lots whose boundaries have confined the layouts of new subdivisions in Smithtown over the past fifty years. The long, narrow lots ran north to south (as did those in a subsequent partition in 1732, which added two hundred fifty acres to each of the original lots). Each heir took two noncontiguous lots, one in the so-called east division, one in the west. With each man's holdings separated in this ancient Saxon way, each was assured a share in the best cropland, a share in the not-so--good, and a share in the inconvenience of cultivating widely separated fields. Joseph's father, Job Smith, divided his two fifty-acre lots among his four older sons (the fifth had moved to the South Shore). Subsequently (in 1735 and again in the 1750s), as in other towns, specially appointed commissioners were to divide among the patentee's descendants all the remaining Smithtown lands, with individual parcels averaging about one hundred acres each. The Smiths, as did other farmers, frequently bought or exchanged parcels of land with one another presumably to improve their holdings, making them easier to cultivate, harvest, or otherwise use.[8]

Throughout the eighteenth century numerous deeds mention "gates," thus conveniently labeling the acreage destined for, or already under, cultivation. This was because, as a rule, it was impractical to think of fencing in cattle, except for the animals whose owners wanted "to keep from ranging at a distance." In Brookhaven, for example, there was at least one ox pasture in which cattle were kept *inside* a fence, their owners responsible for a length of fence proportional to the number of their steers.

Generally, cattle were driven from the fields and the crops were cultivated inside a common enclosure, with one man's field bounded by another's. The opening onto each lot became known as a "gate." The fields were often laid out north to south; the gate in the narrow end fronted the access road, which enabled the oxen to enter and start work straight away. Gates also were erected across roads to keep livestock from grazing on marshes, beaches, or boat landings. However, individual property owners had to make sure they were "good swinging gates," and of course it was the responsibility of those who used the gates to close them securely behind them. The owners of the gates to the plow lands were expected to keep the common fence as well as their own gates in good repair. Of course, free-ranging cattle and hogs regularly knocked down fences to sample the corn and tender green oats beyond. A steer stretching its neck over the top rail could knock a fence down in no time, while hogs squeezed between the rails or between gate and fence posts. To prevent this, the Duke's Laws had required that hogs be yoked, a practice that town laws also encouraged. After 1747 in Smithtown, their noses had to be ringed to prevent their rooting about on the common grazing lands. Cattle found in someone's field could be impounded and slaughtered, while horses might be sold if not quickly reclaimed.

However, the laws were difficult to enforce and, as herds grew, fences were knocked down repeatedly and gates forced open. This led to much damage and aggravation, which town clerks could not entirely edit out of the minutes of town meetings. In Joseph's time, and after, cattle were rounded up in late October, with anyone not participating on the set day fined for each of his animals brought into the local pound. Joseph's brother, known for some reason as "Saint" Richard, maintained one of the Smithtown pounds on his land at the eastern end of the shore road. In the winter, animals that had not been slaughtered were corralled in the barnyard to be fed on hay-salt (marsh hay supplemented, on some farms, with red clover and, later, timothy grass, grown for that purpose). With marshes lining the inner harbor just north of Joseph's house, he no doubt relied mainly on salt hay.[9]

The casual treatment of livestock disturbed foreign visitors like the Swedish botanist, Pedr Kalm, who observed that cattle were often left "to live upon the young shoots and branches of trees, which sometimes have no leaves; therefore the cows give very little milk...Their cattle grow poorer daily in quality and size because of hunger." The teamster at Colonial Williamsburg noted the great efficiency of oxen (as compared to horses) in extracting every nutrient possible from their food, thanks to their digestive anatomy. This makes Kalm's report all the more damning. Nor

were outside observers impressed by the Long Island farmers as stewards of the land, for "misled" by the seemingly endless supply of land and "the depth and richness of the soil," they saw no need for what would today be termed "sustainable agriculture. In a word," wrote Kalm,

> the grain fields, the meadows, the forests, the cattle, etc., are treated with equal carelessness. Their eyes are fixed upon the present gain, and they are blind to the future. After the inhabitants convert a tract of land into a tillable field, which has been a forest for many centuries, and which consequently has a very fine soil, the colonists use it as such as long as it will bear any crops; and when it ceases to bear any, they turn it into pastures for the cattle, and take new grain fields in another place, where a rich black soil can be found and where it has never been made use of. This kind of agriculture may do for a time; but it will afterwards have bad consequences, as everyone may clearly see.[10]

Things were no better fifty years later when the Reverend Timothy Dwight, former president of Yale College, visited Long Island for three days. "[O]wing to the plenty of land," he observed, "the farmers, instead of keeping all their grounds in good order, and a due succession of valuable crops, depend on new land for every thing, and are regardless of such management as would make their old fields equal the value of the new ones." As one field became exhausted, farmers like Joseph Smith opened another. Oxen greatly facilitated the process, as New England teams do today, by dragging away felled timber and hauling out stumps and sometimes large stones otherwise difficult to move. "The general system," Dwight continued,

> is to crop their fields with corn, till they are absolutely exhausted then [the farmers] leave them, what they call fallow, that is, to run to weeds for several years, till they think the soil has recovered somewhat of its fertility, when they begin again with corn, in succession [with oats, some wheat, and more rye] as long as it will bear any, leaving it afterwards to a fallow of weeds.

While land was plentiful, labor was not. As a result, there was "want of a good rotation of crops and slovenliness in cleaning the ground," Dwight added, as well as "insufficient manuring... and pulveriz[ing]" of the soil.[11]

Because cattle wandered virtually at will, there were few piles of manure to be used on the croplands and too few laborers to spare for spreading whatever there was. True, the noted English reformer, William

Cobbett, who farmed in Queens County shortly after the Revolution, claimed that two men and two oxen could handle a farm of one hundred acres and adequately husband the soil. With three brothers nearby and five sons coming along, Joseph Smith might have managed reasonably well by guiding the plow while with his six-year-old son led the ox team. However, he needed another man to ride the moldboard of the plow, a man heavy enough to force the stout oak board into the soil and, if the ground were wet or heavy clay, another person to follow along scraping soil off the board. Although many poorer Long Island farmers owned a slave or two, Joseph Smith and his brothers had none, except Saint Richard who owned one. The Smiths would have helped one another and possibly rented slaves from other relatives. No doubt, they shared tools and oxen as well as labor. The men with the best blacksmith's skills might have repaired tools and sharpened blades for all.[12]

Similarly, work on the roads was a team effort. In 1719, Joseph Smith and Jonas Platt were elected highway surveyors, Smith for the eastern part of the town, Platt for the western. Like all highway surveyors of the period, Smith and Platt were expected to lay out new roads, inspect the condition of all roads, and keep them repaired, but nowhere were their tasks explicitly defined. Presumably they, like subsequent highway commissioners, laid out new roads as "meet and convenient." Roads were widened by popular request or "stopped up"—with the approval of the court of sessions—such as one stretch of the Brookhaven-Smithtown replaced by another. Some roads were abandoned through lack of use or petition of neighboring landowners. Other roads were reconfigured to meet changing needs, but always to the scale of ox sleds. By way of compensation for any loss of land, the property owners retained the right to the timber growing "where such roads are laid through, except so much as is for clearing and repairing the roads." Landowners were responsible for maintaining the road across or alongside their property, just as the owners of gates helped maintain common fences as well as their gates. The town fence viewer came around regularly to remind delinquent owners. In Huntington, the four highway surveyors were also the fence viewers, who appointed the day and hours for doing the work with a one-week advance notice. Each man provided his own tools: pickaxes, shovels, and rakes for roads; rails, posts, and post diggers for fences, and any who failed to appear was fined. In Brookhaven, every freeholder and inhabitant had to contribute two days a year to clearing the commons and highways or pay five shillings fine. George Kerr, who helped his son George, the deputy highway commissioner and highway superintendent in the village of Head-of-the Harbor in the 1960s and again in the 1970s when some village roads

were still unpaved, believed that three men would have had to spend an entire day two or three times a year to keep a half-mile of road passable. This especially applied to hillier roads, where rain and melting snow repeatedly scoured out sand and clay, exposing rocks and carving gulleys. His estimate assumed that the road crews used oxen to haul out the larger rocks and fill in holes with smaller ones. Kerr remembered that in his boyhood horses honed local roads by dragging a heavy plank behind them. Oxen would have leveled roads the same way—and assisted in clearing new ones.[13]

In colonial times the highway of choice was the sea. Joseph Smith and his wife presumably made family visits to Southold by water. However, in 1741, when the Sound froze over, people reportedly rode across the "three leagues" between the island and the mainland "every day!" A person could sail or row across to Connecticut and return home within twenty-four hours. When tide and wind favored the passage, a sloop could reach New York City or Newport almost as quickly, carrying local products and returning with goods from New England and more distant places. Of the Smiths' sons, Gilbert was a mariner, sailing ocean-going vessels, while two others apparently sailed on coastal ships. At least five grandsons continued the seafaring tradition, and several granddaughters married sea captains. (Of any children by Joseph's and Mary's daughters nothing is known.)[14]

Travel by land in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was far slower than by sea. Most local roads were little more than cow paths, winding among the hills of the North Shore, and around and about the creeks on the South Shore. They were opened and widened through constant use, by people riding horses, herding cows to pasture or home for milking, herding sheep, and walking oxen to and from fields and boat landings. In Joseph Smith's lifetime, there were few carts or wagons and almost no buggies or carriages; goods were moved primarily by ox sled, people on the backs of horses. Roads often became impassable, for inevitably sleds slewed from side to side and hooves tore up the road bed. There were fallen branches, pot holes, loose sand, and mud puddles to contend with, hazards for farmers walking beside their teams as well as for the oxen themselves, not to mention passing horses and their riders. A major improvement in road conditions must have come about when, to minimize ruts, the New York Provincial Assembly set the distance between the runners of an ox sled at four feet two inches, a unit that became standard for carts and wagons—and the first automobiles.

In laying out new roads or bringing old ones up to standard, surveyors used the traditional English measure for a "carriage way" of one rod

(sixteen and one-half feet). This allowed two carriages to pass or, as happened on Long Island, two ox teams, assuming neither was dragging logs, stacked hay, or other wide loads. The more traffic the wider the roadway needed for safe passage. The highway between Brookhaven and Smithtown, for example, was laid out to a width of six rods—nearly one hundred feet. The shore road past Joseph's house was about two rods wide (modern tax maps indicate its width as variable), while the hitherbrook landing road was three to give farmers room to load and unload goods, back and turn their oxen without interfering with one another, and bring half-trained beasts under control. The last road ended up some eight feet wider than planned, because it had to accommodate cattle drives, sheep and shepherds walking, piles of goods waiting to be shipped, ox sleds laden with salt hay, and often several activities at the same time. Huntington's busier harbor needed a wider landing place of four rods, "for the convenience of coming at the crick thatch," the tall saltmarsh grass harvested for roofing material and animal bedding. Another road along a swamp was also four rods wide, perhaps to allow for flood tides.[15]

In 1703/4, the New York Provincial Assembly passed what has been called the first highway legislation: "Laying out, Regulateing, Clearing and Preserving Publick Comon highways thro'out this Colony." The new system looked to travel from one end of the island to the other, to allow "for the better & easier Transportation of goods and the Commodious passing of Travellers as Direct and Convenient as the Circumstances of Place will admit." These travelers included, of course, tax collectors, British troops, and the local militia, whose members met for training once or twice a year. North Country Road allowed Smithtown people, for example, to reach either end of the island in about ten hours.

The south and middle country roads more or less paralleled the north. The arterial highways linked landing places in each settlement, directly or indirectly through local landing roads: Cow Neck in Northport, the head of the Nissequogue River, the head of Stony Brook harbor, Port Jefferson harbor, and Wading River, among others. Then as now, such roads encouraged development on or near them, as happened, for example, in Smithtown along Middle Country Road. The commissioners in each county and, in turn, each town, selected which roads and rights of way were incorporated within the system. In Smithtown, enabling legislation was adopted in 1727 when nineteen roads were designated as parts of the system; there is no record of the discussions or surveying work that preceded those designations. Joseph Smith's house stood within a mile of several important paths which became part of the system, the most important one being the hitherbrook landing place. As new subdivisions

opened, town surveyors laid out new roads to provide access to the new fields, and made improvements to older roads as well. The highway legislation changed land transportation as dramatically, relatively speaking, as the federal highway legislation of the 1950s.[16]

Paved and often widened, their curves and hills flattened to meet modern engineering standards, many Long island roads nevertheless recall the "foot and horse ways" of colonial settlers. They are often explicitly recorded in the old surveyors' unit, or if in feet, the distances across them often prove to be multiples of rods: one, one and a-half, two, three, and so on. Thus, most roads from the provincial system subtly persist in their former bovine dimensions, shadowy traces of the lumbering beasts used almost three hundred years ago to link the island's east and west ends and north and south shores. The long furrows carved in the land remain, however recontoured by the mechanized oxen of our times. Like paved-over brooks, they have a way of emerging when least expected.

NOTES

1. See aerial photographs, map room, Melville Library, SUNY at Stony Brook; USDA Agricultural Adjustment Administration, Northeast Division, Suffolk County 10 August 1938, Aerial Explorations, Inc., NY; Lockwood, Kessler & Bartlett, Inc., Syosset, March-April 1988.

2. Author's interviews with Martin Jancheson and Richard Linger, 21 March 1995 and 6 October 1995, respectively. In the first half of the twentieth century, Charles Stewart Butler, a descendant of Smithtown's patentee, worked oxen on his dairy farm; his brother, Lawrence Smith Butler, contributed the statue of the bull to the town of Smithtown (author's interview with Madge Huntington Cooper, 1 November 1990).

3. Ibid.

4. Author's conversations with Bill Haynes and the wife of Russell Hines, a winning teamster, Blue Hill (Maine) Fair, 1 September 1994.

5. Ibid.

6. For land apportionment among Long Island freeholders see Charles R. Street, ed., *Huntington Town Records, Including Babylon, Long Island, New York 1653-1688* (Towns of Huntington and Babylon, 1887), passim, and for sales by the £100 valuation especially 1, n19; *Records of the Town of Brookhaven up to 1 August 1800*, transcription by Harry D. Sleight and Osborn Shaw (New York: Derrydale Press, 1932), Books B (1679-1756) and C (1687-1789), passim: for "last divisions" in 1720 and divisions along the Country Road in the 1730s, see *Records, Town of Brookhaven* (Patchogue Advance, 1880), 110-11, 122-32; Silas Wood, A *Sketch of the Town of Huntington, L.I. from Its First Settlement to the End of the American Revolution*, William S. Pelletreau, ed. (New York: Harpers, 1898), 25-27.

7. Frederick Kinsman Smith, *The Family of Richard Smith of Smithtown, Long Island* (Smithtown: Smithtown Historical Society, 1967), 88-89; Henry B. Hoff to the author, 10 July

1999; interview and site inspection, March 1985, with Barbara Ferris Van Liew, village historian and author, *Fifty Years 1928-1978 Head of the Harbor, Suffolk County, Long Island* (Inc. Village of Head-of-the-Harbor, 1978); the house was occupied continuously by Joseph and Mary's descendants until it burned down in 1912 (*Fifty Years*, 55, 67-69); William S. Pelletreau, *Records of the Town of Smithtown, LI, N.Y., with Other Ancient Documents of Historic Value* (Smithtown: 1898), 83, xiv-xv, 57, 59, 272-75.

8. Pelletreau, 242; *Brookhaven Records* (1932), Books B: 2, 20-21, C: 110; *Huntington Records*, I: 311-12, 295-98, where lots on east Neck Meadow were defined by breadth only, most being five to ten rods wide, a few twenty to fifty; author's interview with DuBois Tangier Smith, 20 August 1989; the East Hampton town surveyor was paid by "land off of the Town Common" as trustees and surveyor should agree (*Records of the Town of East Hampton* (Sag Harbor,1889):1:701,734, 111, 6); for typical land swaps, see *Huntington Records*, 11:299.

9. Wood, 22; *Brookhaven Records* (1932) B, 472, mentions need for "good swinging gates"; for cattle, hogs, and sheep see *Smithtown Records*, 81, 85, 92-94, 99-103, 83.

10. Pedr Kalm, *The America of 1750: Travels in North America*, English version of 1770, revised from original Swedish and edited by Adolph B. Benson (1770; reprint, New York: Dover, 1966), 307-8; during his visit (1747-1751), Kalm found the forests "so pestered" with wood lice "it is impossible to pass through a bush or to sit down, though the place be ever so pleasant, without having a whole swarm of them on your clothes" (Kalm, 306); Linger interview.

11. Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New England and New York*, 4 vols. (1822 [posthumous]; reprint, Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1969) 1: 76, 126, 53, 171.

12. William Cobbett, A *Year's Re sidence in the United States of America*, Part 1, "A Description of the Situation...of Long Island," (1818; reprint, Carbondale, Ill: South Illinois Univ. Press, 1964), passim; F. K. Smith, 88-89; the Joseph Smith family had a larger than average labor force with a remarkable survival rate: "there were 2.2 children per white female older than 16 years of age" (New York Censuses of 1703 and 1712); in this branch of the Smith family only Joseph's nephew, Job 3^{d} (1719-1780) relied on slave labor, owning three (N.Y. Census of 1755)..

13. Well before Joseph's time (1677), Governor Andros had put Richard Smythe on notice to "mend the ill way...within [his] bounds" (B. Fernow, *Documents Relating to the History of the Early Colonial Settlements Principally on Long Island* (Albany: Weed, Parsons, 1883), 3:729); the width of the hitherbrook landing road was resurveyed as traffic demanded (County Record Book A: 143, cited in *Smithtown Records* , 2:331); *Brookhaven Records* (1932), B:466, 493, 329, 493, C:45, 61-2, 448, 498, 51, 448, 468; *Huntington Records*, 339; 11, 350-52; *Smithtown Records*, 87-88, 89, 115, 11. *Huntington Records*, 1: 30, 279, 296; 11, 193, 350-52.

14. Henry Onderdonk, *Journal of Long Island History* 4 (Fall 1965): 24: F. K. Smith, 139-42, 206-16.

15. Frank Turano, "History and the Long Island Environment to 1940," lecture, SUNY at Stony Brook, 20 March 1986; a pole was equal to a rod; the shore road around Stony Brook Harbor caused problems over the years from flooding and other natural causes (*Smithtown Records*, 74, 89); *Huntington Records*, 2:328.

16. *Smithtown Records*, 87-89, 231-34.

HISTORY VISITED AND REVISITED

By Donald E. Simon

With this issue the *Long Island Historical Journal* (*LIHJ*) begins reprinting articles that originally appeared in the *Journal of Long Island History* (*JLIH*), a publication of Long Island Historical Society, predecessor to the current Brooklyn Historical Society.

As a former editor of the *Journal of Long Island History* (and present member of the *LIHJ* editorial board), I knew firsthand the wealth of historical material contained in those volumes. Indeed, one of the greatest strengths of the enterprise was that it attracted the interest of researchers who were working in the society's world-renowned library. Articles were developed from projects then underway. In addition, a knowledgeable staff would occasionally bring to someone's attention a gem, long hidden in the collection.

Such is the origin of the article by Richard P. Harmond, associate editor of the *LIHJ*, "The Recollections of Nathaniel S. Prime," which appeared in the winter 1981 issue of the *Journal*. Dr. Harmond learned of the existence of the Prime manuscript from James P. Hurley who, at the time, was the society's executive director. As is said, the rest is history.

Happily for contemporary readers, Professor Harmond's article is again available. We all are indebted to the directors and senior staff of the Brooklyn Historical Society for agreeing to the republication of material that first appeared in the *Journal of Long Island History*. Additional articles will be reprinted in future issues of the *LIHJ*.

"THE RECOLLECTIONS OF THE REVEREND NATHANIEL S. PRIME"

By Richard P. Harmond

Author's note: This article first appeared in the Journal of Long Island History 17 (Winter 1981): 30-47. I wish to express my gratitude to James P. Hurley who, as director of the Long Island (now Brooklyn) Historical Society, introduced me to and allowed me to transcribe the only extant copy of this rare historical document.

Nathaniel Scudder Prime (1785-1856) is hardly a household name, but those familiar with the historiography of Long Island will recognize it. His

History of Long Island, published in 1845, was among the earliest of the histories of the region. But his claim on the attention and respect of his contemporaries was less as a historian than as a clergyman. As the *New York Times* observed in its 28 March 1856 obituary, Prime was "well-known as a Presbyterian minister of great ability."[1]

This was high praise, and surely would have pleased Prime. But one immediately grows curious. What, after all, was involved in being a "Presbyterian minister" in early nineteenth century America? To read Prime's "Recollections" is to discover at least a partial answer to this question, and, incidentally, to learn something about the times in which he lived. The "Recollections" recounts Prime's adventures and trials, as well as his heartaches and gratifications. He gives us a description of a student rebellion he witnessed at Princeton; he informs us of the difficulties he had with his congregations, and the problems he faced in raising a large family on a minister's salary; he writes of religious revivals he helped to inspire; we learn too of the often itinerant nature of his calling; and he tells of the coming of the temperance movement to Long Island.

Above all, the "Recollections" is concerned with the state of Prime's soul. To understand this concern—this seemingly incessant introspective probing into his relationship with God—we must be clear about Prime's religious beliefs. Prime was a follower of the great eighteenth-century New England Calvinist, Jonathan Edwards. He also had been influenced by Samuel Hopkins, and even more by Joseph Bellamy, both of whom were disciples and interpreters of Edwards. Prime, then, may be called a neo-Edwardsian. As such, the bedrock of his faith were the three decrees of election, selfless love of the Almighty, and divine sovereignty. Men and women, totally unworthy in the sight of God, it was held, could never *earn* salvation, although by praying, fasting, and listening to sermons they might predispose their souls for the reception of God's saving grace. It followed, for the neo-Edwardsian, that a person must be prepared: first, to love God completely for his own sake, since for one to love the Almighty because God loved him was a selfish, unworthy kind of love; and secondly, to accept God's absolute sovereignty—to the point where, as Hopkins phrased it, the individual must be "willing to be damned for the glory of God." God, in other words, was sovereign; He did as he pleased, and man must abide by, even rejoice in, his decisions.[2]

This was a hard and demanding creed. Particularly was this so for someone like Prime, who had occasional doubts about the notion of divine sovereignty, and who lacked the final sense of assurance that he had indeed been numbered among the elect. A few years before his death, Prime wrote:

> I have endeavored this day to take a retrospect of my life, and to seek the renewed evidence of reconciliation to God; and though I do not enjoy that evidence which seems desirable, as my days are speeding their flight it is my earnest prayer for "grace to live with, and grace to die with" when it shall come.[3]

Yet, despite intense sieges of religious self-doubt, Prime lived a full, productive life. He married, raised and educated a good-sized family of five sons and two daughters, faithfully performed his various ministerial duties, established a school, and even found time to compose a history of Long Island. Indeed, as he wrote toward the end of his "Recollections," "in reviewing my past life thus far, I am inclined to think few pass through the world more happy and prosperously than I hitherto have done."[4]

The "Recollections" does not really tell us how this deeply religious man was able to balance his inner and outer lives (though the reader will find a few clues scattered about). But that he was able to do so seems plain enough. In that fact lies a good part of the fascination of "The Recollections of Nathaniel S. Prime."

"The Recollections of Nathaniel S. Prime"

Judging from my own feelings, I presume it will be a source of gratification to my children to be able to recur to the most important incidents in the life of a beloved parent, who has made it his highest earthly aim to qualify them for usefulness in this world, and for a blessed immortality beyond the grave.

With this object in view, I have undertaken to collect, in the following pages, from recollection, and from minutes occasionally made during my past life, such facts and incidents as may be interesting and useful for my dear children to know...

I was born, as I have learned from the family record, at Huntington, Long Island, N.Y., April 21st, 1785 at 11 o'clock p.m. My parents were Benjamin Young Prime, M.D.[5] and Mary Greaton (1745-1835), the widow of the Rev. James Greaton, Rector of the Episcopal Church in that place. My mother's maiden name was Wheelwright. She was the only child of John Wheelwright of Boston. Her father died in early life and she was brought up by her grandfather John Wheelwright. She was married to Mr. Greaton when quite young and removed to Huntington, and had two sons by her first husband, John Wheelwright (Greaton) and James Greaton.

My father was the only son (who arrived at manhood) of the Rev.

Ebenezer Prime who was born at Milford, Conn...and ordained pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Huntington June 5th, 1723. The ancestors of the family, as near as I have been able to ascertain, emigrated from England, and...settled at Bowley, Massachusetts. in which part of the country, I understood some years ago the name had become almost extinct. I saw a man of the name in Salem, Massachusetts in 1815 who informed me that he was the last that he knew of, in that region who bore the name; and that all the rest had either removed to other parts of the country or died; and he particularly remarked, that all who have the name had died at an early age.[6]

This remark would not apply to the branch of the family from which I have descended. As far as I have been able to ascertain, many of the family at Old and New Milford lived to a good old age. My grandfather lived till he was in his 80th year...and my father though taken off by apoplexy lived to his 58th year...

I have been singularly situated in regard to relatives. My mother was an only child; and my father had but one brother and one sister who lived to adult years. This brother died when about 18 years of age. His sister lived to be married, and bear ...a daughter who was the only cousin I ever had. An uncle or an aunt I never saw.

I was bereaved of my father at an early period. He died suddenly Oct. 31st 1791 when I was only 6 and a half years old. The whole care of the family from that time revolved on my mother, who by her own management and a small patrimony, preserved my father's property and brought up the whole family, though oftentimes under circumstances of peculiar embarrassment. Though my dear mother was a woman of strong feelings, and on that account liable, as I have judged, since I have become acquainted with the world, to err in many particulars, yet I am constrained deliberately to say, that in my opinion, few mothers have brought up a family of children in a manner better calculated to form their characters right. For myself, I am convinced, that her early instructions and discipline have had an abiding influence on my heart and life from my earliest recollections; and if I have been in any measure successful in training my own children, and the children of many others committed to my charge, even this, I think is to be imputed to what I learned from my mother. I am perfectly aware, there have been many defects in my system, and I have doubtless erred in many particulars; but I do believe that the manner in which I was brought up, and in which I have endeavoured to bring up my children has been calculated to form correct characters, and has been influential in some essential particulars, wehre [*sic*] many persons of more ardent piety have sometimes failed.

It pleased the Lord to bestow upon me a good natural constitution and I was blessed with excellent health from my infancy. I had the small-pox by inoculation when about 3 or 4 years of age, and the measles at 10 or 12. The whooping cough, if I had it, was so light as scarcely to be recognized.

I was brought up from my earliest recollections with the expectation of following my father's profession. Indeed, so firmly settled was this calculation in the family, that I was familiarly called Doctor. and my mother disposed of my grandfather's library, and retained my father's for my use.

Feb. 18th 1795, the Academy in my native town, which had been erected the preceding year, was opened, and I commenced the Latin grammar, with the view of fitting for college. I pursued a classical course of study for four or five years, and then by embarrassments in our family concern, I was obliged to leave school and give up the idea of obtaining a publick education.

At this period my brother who had been from home several years, returned and took charge of the farm and I laboured with him between one and two years; not knowing or calculating what might be the ultimate course of my life.

From my earliest childhood, I had often been the subject of deep religious impressions, and sometimes I was induced to read the bible with interest, and to pray with earnestness, but these seasons were usually of short duration. But in the spring of 1800 a settled, constant uneasiness took possession of my mind. There was something (of) more than usual seriousness, at that time, in the congregation, which was succeeded in the summer, by a very considerable revival; but at the time my own mind became anxious, I had not attended any special religious exercises. The first recollections that I have of any special attentions on my own part was, finding myself on sabbath looking the minister in the face, and listening with deep interest to his sermon. For several days or weeks, I had no distinct views of sin, and I could not tell what it was that troubled me. All I could say was, that everything looked gloomy around me, the world failed to afford satisfaction, and a constant sense of want brooded over my mind.

As this uneasiness increased, the occasion of my trouble became more distinct. I was deeply conscious of possessing a wicked heart, that was constantly filled with the most profane and blasphemous thoughts. My anxiety and trouble arising from this source daily increased. At first my heart arose against God for permitting sin to enter the world, and I constantly felt disposed to accuse him of injustice for suspending the character and condition of our whole race on the conduct of their first parents. One day, when working in the fields, I attempted to state this

subject to my brother, as a matter of mere speculation, but my emotion betrayed the real state of my mind, and this gave him a favourable opportunity which he endeavoured to improve.

From about this time which was in the month of June, I became very anxious to attend every means of religious instruction, which now began to be greatly multiplied as the publick attention to the things of religion was evidently increased. But the troubles of my mind were daily multiplied, and the horrid blasphemy of my thoughts was such, that I have, many a time when alone in the field, fallen down on my knees at the plough, to pray that they might be forgiven. I have never felt it lawful to suggest even to a Christian the thoughts which were constantly starting up in my mind. They were of such a horrid character, as the most of them were directed against the Holy Ghost, I was often led to conclude that I had committed the unpardonable sin.

This state of mind continued with little alteration through the whole summer, till sometime in the autumn as I was attending a prayer meeting on sabbath evening, at a private house, my heart was filled with joy and peace. I do not know that at the time, I thought of any particular change in my state, but as this became in some good degree abiding, I recalled I began to indulge the hope that I had passed from death to life; and I entertained serious thoughts of making a profession; but upon conversing with my mother and brother, I was by their advice induced to delay it.

During the following winter (1800 and 1801) I again went to school at the Academy and resumed the study of the languages, during which time my religious affections were very much chilled, and the duties of devotion ceased to yield me that satisfaction which I thought, I had previously enjoyed.

In April 1801 I was induced to go to a small neighbourhood in my native town (West Neck) to teach a small school. I make mention of this event, because of its connexion with some of the most interesting parts of my religious experience. When I was about to commence my school, being in the daily practice of secret devotion, my mind was very much tried on the subject of praying in my school. But as I was very young, and not one of my employers was pious (for in fact there was but one professor of religion and that an old lady, within 2 miles) I endeavoured to satisfy my conscience with opening and closing the school by reading a chapter in the bible and by occasional religious instructions to my pupils who were all small. For several weeks I took no little comfort in my new situation and employment. My bible and Dodridge's Rise and Progress "were my daily companions, and I had a great deal of time for secret devotion in which I thought I experienced increasing delight. About this time ...I secretly

entered into a written covenant with God as recommended by Dodridge, and for some time I went on my way rejoicing in hope, though I must confess my mind was never entirely at ease, for not praying in my school.[7]

On June 3rd 1801, having spent the previous night at home, as I was preparing to return to my school early in the morning, as I was riding a horse which I went to catch in the field, in as comfortable a state of mind as I had been for several weeks, in an instant, a cloud of darkness overspread my mind and I sunk into a state of absolute despair. At first thought I said to myself, this is the work of the adversary; and with this reflection, a momentary relief was experienced. But in another moment, the cloud returned and every vestige of hope vanished. Though I returned to my mother's house for a few minutes, yet I did not make known my situation, but hurried away to my school. I have often attempted to describe the condition I was involved in by saying, that if the sun, which had just arisen in all its splendour, had been struck from the system, my natural eyes would not have experienced greater darkness than that which occupied my mind. On some subjects my views were indeed vivid. For instance, the fitness and fulness of the gospel atonement never appeared plainer to me, than during that day of darkness, but still it seemed impossible that I should ever participate in its glorious benefits.

I entered the school-house and spent the time till the scholars assembled in weeping and groaning and praying. When the school came together, I read my chapter as usual and then told my scholars that I felt it to be my duty to pray with them, which I ever after continued to do, though at the time I commenced I had no expectation that my prayers would do good to myself or any one else. I went through the duties of the school almost without food, and returned to my mother's and laid open my mind to the family and my old friend Dear Nostrant who then lived in the house.

They talked and prayed with me, but still my mind was overwhelmed [sic] with despair. I felt almost disposed to envy the brutes and was ready to exchange existence with the meanest reptile. I continued in much the same state of mind for three days, but on the 6th had such a deep and affecting view of the justice of God that I felt an entire willingness to be in his hands; (and whether it was a reality or a delusion) I then thought that I was willing to resign myself to his disposal, whether heaven or hell should be my position. I recalled distinctly of contrasting my feelings with what they had been for some days before and saying to myself, I would not exchange my being with that brute, which was then before me, if I knew I should be eternally miserable. I mention this pain as a mere matter of fact, without my reference to theological opinions. At that time I had never heard the question whether a man must become willing to be damned. I had

never heard until long after this period of a syllable of the different views which have so often agitated the church in subsequent years. My own reading and the preaching which I had been brought up under had never furnished me with any such sentiments. And whether I was deceived or not, in regard to my real feelings, the views I have expressed are precisely what appeared to me at that time to be the real state of my mind.

But while I felt a disposition to rejoice that I was in God's hands my personal comfort was small. My mind was still horrified with dreadfully impious thoughts, and I was daily perplexed with gloomy doubts and awful fears. In the course of a few weeks, I went through almost every system of false religion that I had ever heard of, and thought, at times, that I had embraced it. I recollect once, I thought myself an atheist, and expected to be struck dead by lightening during a thunderstorm, when I was at the same moment praying to God for preservation and deliverance from my evil thoughts.

On the 19th of June, though still oppressed with doubts, I applied to the session for admission to the communion of the church, though it was suggested to my mind that I should be struck dead, for pretending to believe, what I did not believe. And as several were examined before me, I was almost induced to leave the church before my time came, but after I was examined my mind seemed considerable relieved.

On Sunday June 28th 1801 I made a publick profession and was admitted to the Lord's table. It was a blessed day to my soul, and in the afternoon service, I felt as if I could say sincerely

My willing soul would stay
In such a frame as this,
And sit and sing herself away
To everlasting bliss.

I had now just entered upon my seventeenth year. On July 28th my old friend Dear N. insisted on my praying in the publick meeting, which from this time I was constrained to do, though with fear and trembling.

At this time my views with respect to my employment for life began to undergo an essential change. I felt a strong desire to devote myself to the gospel ministry, and as I had been induced to give up the idea of going to College, because my mother could not sustain the expense, and as now by the influences of some friends a was was [sic] opened for her to be relieved from a large part of the burden, I was induced to put my school into other hands, and review my studies. On the 8th of August. I returned to the Academy.

Nov 4th 1801 I left home and on the 9th arrived in Princeton. On the 11th or 12th I was examined and admitted into the sophomore class in college.

This, may with propriety be denominated [sic] my first adventure upon the world. I had never before spent a week from home, unless under the guardianship of some one of the family. Brought up in an insular situation, in a country town, which was full fifty years behind almost any part of the main [land] I had seen little, and learned less of the world. This circumstance, connected with other which I shall mention, made me in many respects an object of ridicule to many of the students, which so completely broke my spirits, and discouraged me, that my college life was cheerless and in many respects unprofitable.

The moral state of the college was at that time awful. Not only did infidelity, vice and immorality prevail to a most alarming extent, but the arm of discipline was so completely paralyzed, (by injudicious management, as I believe) that the faculty could not enforce any law against the will of the students. As an evidence of this, I will mention a simple fact. Between Christmas & New Year, two students were called before the faculty under the charge of intoxication, and four others as witnesses. These refused to testify, appealing to the faculty that they knew they could not do it without exposing themselves to the vengeance of their fellow students. They were then threatened with suspension; to which they replied, it will be better for us to be suspended by you, than expelled by our fellow students. From you we might hope for mercy and restoration; but if we should be driven out by them we should never expect to return. The faculty with the *design* of sewing their power, but *in fact*, as the result proved, their absolute impotence, suspended the six.

The whole college immediately assembled and presented a respectful remonstrance, though many were in favor of instant rebellion. The reply of the President [Samuel S. Smith] was that it was not couched in respectful terms. A second was sent, though more voices were given in favor of rebellion. The President answered, the young gentlemen should be restored if they would confess their faults. He was answered by the committee, they (the four) had no faults to confess.

Upon the return of this committee, an article was drawn up, declaring that the subscribers would perform no college-duty till the suspended students were restored. The roll was called, and every member of college required to sign the pledge. Only one refused, and he was obliged to leave college the same night and never returned. Another erased his name after signing, and he after enduring insult, indignity and personal violence for a week or two, was obliged to flee.

This paper was sent to the President and the greatest uproar and disorder commenced which lasted an hour or two, when the President sent word, if the students would return to their duty and behave well till Monday (it being Saturday night,) their wishes should be granted.

To complete the climax of folly, on Monday, the young men were all restored, though the restoration of four only had been solicited and yet the act of the faculty in suspending them was attempted to be carried into effect by not noticing them in their respective classes at recitation. This was soon observed, and the threatening of another rebellion removed the difficultly.[8]

On the 6th of March following [1802] the College Edifice was burnt to ashes, and no doubt existed of its being the work of an incendiary. But it was, in my view, the most favourable event that could have happened. Without it, I cannot conceive how the institution could have been rescued from anarchy & misrule.

Among all the students at this time amounting to nearly one hundred, there were but nine or ten professors of religion, and though some of them were advanced to manhood, I was astonished to see that they could exert so little influence in counteracting the tide of vice and irreligion that continually prevailed. When such men are disregarded, it was not strange that an indiscrete and comparatively ignorant youth of sixteen should be made a subject of derision.[9]

I worried my way through college, without adding much to my small stock of classical knowledge, though I made progress in the mathematics and Philosophy. But the most important acquisition I made during the whole course, was an experimental knowledge of mankind, for which, I certainly had a favourable, though in many respects, a disagreeable opportunity.

Sept. 26th 1804 1 took my degree of A. B. and joyfully bid adieu to a college life of three joyless years, which, not withstanding, appeared to have passed with the rapidity of a fleeting dream.

I immediately returned to my native town where I commenced the study of theology under such advantages as I could derive from the occasional aid of my aged pastor the Rev. Wm. Schenck.

Oct 7th 1804, I took charge of the Academy in Huntington. Here I had the first opportunity of exercising the prerogatives of a man; and under circumstances not the most favourable. Here I had myself been a scholar only three years before. Many of the scholars had been my companions, and all belonged to families in which I had been regarded as a boy but a little while ago. In addition to this, the school had been under very lax discipline for a long time. Profaneness, irregularity and indolence

extensively prevailed. I resolved to correct these things immediately; and the only encouraging circumstances I had, was, that I was regarded with great respect by the Trustees and my townsmen generally. And though a "prophet is usually without honour in his own country" yet I have no reason to complain of the want of it in her native town. I can here testify that I have never been treated with more attention or respect in any part of the country, than I have uniformly been in the place where I was born and brought up; and that by all classes and descriptions of persons.

I soon succeeded in reducing the school to a perfect order, which was maintained as effectually when I had occasion to leave the room as when I was present. I continued in charge of the school only one year; but I undoubtedly here made some acquisitions in the art of discipline, which became of great advantage to me in more advanced life; though at that time, I had no idea of ever again engaging in the business of instruction.

During this year, I indiscretely performed an act that has been the subject of more regret and humiliation before God than any other publick act of my whole life. I was the main instrument of getting up a publick celebration of the 4th of July, attended with the usual accompaniments of feasting and toasting and firing cannon; which had never been done before, and which I regret to say, was from that time kept up annually in my native town.

A few years after I became deeply convinced of the unsuitableness, and demoralizing tendency of that kind of celebration, and though I continued to observe the anniversary of our independence in a religious manner; yet my conscience would never allow me to participate in one of those noisy celebrations. I never after would view the prayers of ministers on those occasions as any thing else than "saying grace" on all the unhallowed proceedings of a day of dissipation and senseless mirth; and it is by these that many professing Christians have been induced to continue to countenance these celebrations.

The only atonement I could ever make for having got up this kind of celebration, after the change of my views, was to declare the fact in my native town on a 4th of July on which I happened there, which I did in the church at the close of their exercises, and it was well received, though I fear had little effect in changing the mode of observing the nation's birthday.

In April, 1805 I was taken under the care of the Presbytery of Long Island with a view to the gospel ministry.[10]

Oct. 10th 1805 I was licensed by the Presbytery to preach the everlasting gospel. This was doubtless as premature as it was unexpected to me; as I had no idea when the Presbytery met, of asking for licensor. But as there was another to be licensed, some of the members advised me to

make the request.

Never did one enter upon this great work with less human preparation. I had but two written sermons, and my acquisitions in theological knowledge were very limited, and it is to me a matter of astonishment that I did not utterly fail. My first efforts however were attended with considerable popularity; and my extreme youth undoubtedly gave a currency to pretension which I am sure could not have been acceptable from one of riper years.

I preached during the succeeding winter at Cutchogue, a parish in Southold, and though I was an inexperienced, indiscrete, and improvident youth, my labours were attended with success in healing a division in that congregation, which had existed a long time and had kept part of them out of the house of God for years. They became a united and happy people.

The 21st of April 1806, the day on which I was 21 years of age, I spent at my mother's, and unexpectedly met all my brothers and sisters; my oldest stepbrother J.W.G. in very distressed circumstance... Having made up my mind to travel through New England, I had resolved to set out this spring but delayed to attend an important trial before the Presbytery.

June 16th I set out from Cutchogue where I had spent the preceding Sabbath, for Smithtown where the Presbytery were to meet for the trial of the Rev Luther Gleason. On this day occurred an annular eclipse of the sun which...I viewed on the road. The trial of Mr. G. occupied the whole week and resulted in his suspension and eventually in his deposition.

On the 27th of June I crossed the sound and set out for Boston. At the beginning of the next week I was taken unwell, but still pressed on till I was obliged to give up at Meriden Conn. where I was confined for several days, and most kindly nursed in the house of the Rev. Erastus Ripley. My complaint terminated in the fever and *ague* and as soon as I was able, I returned home, which I reached on the 5th of July.

I continued out of health during the most of the summer, though I preached almost every sabbath, travelling from one place to another (October 16, 1806 preached the first time in Sag-Harbour...)

In the fall I again made my calculations to go into New England, and at that time I felt as if nothing would tempt me to spend my days on Long Island. But though I took a tour through Conn. I was constrained to return to Sag Harbour, from which place I had received a very pressing invitation.

Nov 20th 1806 I commenced preaching at Sag H. as a stated supply, in which place I remained with little interruption, though with many trials and joys till the spring of 1809. During the time we were blessed with a powerful revival in which 70 or 80 obtained a hope of eternal life.[11]

It would require a volume to record all the particulars of my connexion

with that people. But though my final separation from them was of a most trying nature yet I have no doubt it was for my greater usefulness.

It may be sufficient to say that when I was invited to that place the prospect of ultimate settlement was presented to me in the strongest light. But this was constantly put off for various reasons. The fact however was that political views and feelings were the governing principles of the people in that place, and because I would not come out, as a politician at least of some occasions, they would not settle me. And eventually, though they professed to admire and love one, and no man would have a suspicion to any injury, circumstances were so managed by the management of a few individuals that I considered it my duty to leave the place.

While at Sag Harbour some of the most interesting events of my life occurred. July 5th 1808 I was married, and in the fall of that year just before we commenced house keeping I went through some very peculiar trials of mind, succeeded by as peculiar joys. I cannot do better than transcribe the substance of the record made at the time.[12]

On Thursday Sept 22 (1808) I preached at the funeral of a man who was killed instantly by the fall of a stick of timber. I had been rendered solemn by this sudden providence, and was led to reflect much on the necessity of habitual preparations for death. But after preaching on the occasion from these words[,] The Lord reigneth [over] ye...I began to inquire of myself in the evening, whether I could rejoice in *Divine Sovereignty*, as I had formerly done, and which I had been in the habit of considering a cardinal evidence of a gracious state. My mind was gloomy and I began to apprehend that I was deceived with a false hope.

For several succeeding days my apprehensions were greatly increased and I felt as if I was indeed in the gall of bitterness.

On the sabbath I preached but every word seemed to seal my own condemnation. On the following Tuesday, I went up with my friend Mr. [Lyman] Beecher to Easthampton and had much conversation with him in the course of which I disclosed the state of my mind. In the evening after a conference meeting, in which a part of one of [Jonathan] Edwards' sermons was read I told Mr. B. I had given up my former hope and that I would never ascend the pulpit stairs again without better evidence than I had ever had before. His answer though of tremendous impart did not increase my alarm; "that will not do, it will injure the cause; you must go on, and if you go to hell, you must go to hell through the pulpit."[13]

And here it may be proper to notice two peculiarities in the whole progress of those trials of mind. It was not the fear of hell that disturbed me. The most awful descriptions of eternal woe] did not excite alarm or increase my distress—the other peculiarity was, that when the hour of rest

arrived, and I was prepared for bed, my burden was removed, and I fell asleep as calmly and usually slept as sound as if nothing had occurred though the moment I awoke my trouble revived...This was a merciful dispensation. As I would take very little food, if I had lost my sleep, my mind could not have sustained itself long.

The next morning I set out for home. The enmity of my heart appeared constantly to increase by the way, and I really expected by the time I got to S. Harbour, I should be ready to run through the streets to oppose revelation and blaspheme the holy name of Jesus. This awful apprehension made me groan out by the way, to the greatest grief of my dear wife, and I dared not tell her the immediate cause of my groans—But when we got home, I was so exhausted that my knees literally smote together and I was obliged to take my bed.

Had it not been for my connexions who would have been alarmed at my disappearances, I should now have gone somewhere, whence I would not be known that I might no longer be a false witness for God, and where I might enjoy the privileges of the means of grace.

In the afternoon my distress became so great that I could not disguise it and was frequently constrained to cry out under it. My good mother-in-law attempted to comfort me with my former hopes, but I told her, that was "a tale to a deaf man." I never should believe myself Christian without greater evidence than I had ever before enjoyed. On this and the succeeding day I retired to a piece of woods (where my distress became so great that I could not contain my feelings) and there poured out my sorrows and tried to pray. But every time I went there the thought was suggested to my mind that I might there be induced to end my present sorrows, and I had better leave my knife...at home; but I said in my heart, I can trust myself in Gods hands, and the temptation was dispelled. On the later day previous to my going to the woods, I had commenced reading Dr. [Joseph] Bellamy's Dialogues & Letters, which I considered peculiarly adapted to my case, and I drew the conclusion that my faith had been just like Theron's. When I returned I finished the book, and then according to several references therein contained, I commenced and read the Epis. to the Romans through. Before I got through the Epis. I found (for I often stopped to look into my heart) that my distress was gone. It is true, I had been sensible of no particular change of feeling, I was the object to no joy nor even fears; all the difference I was sensible of, was merely negative, the absence of distress and anxiety. I now began to apprehend that it was hardness of heart & blindness of mind.[14]

About an hour afterwards I was called down to tea. I ate with a good appetite and was refreshed. When I arose from the table, I said

"I know the heart is deceitful above all things, but if I know anything, I think I can say, I have holiness for holiness sake." This was the first sensation of joy that throbbed in my heart, and from that moment, it seemed as if new life was wrought in my soul. I do not mean to be understood that I now experienced divine grace for the first time; for the strictest examination that I could make I could discover nothing different in the nature of my religious views and feelings from those I had formally experienced, though a new and vigorous impulse seemed to be given to my soul.

This was Thursday. The same comfortable state of mind continued on the two next succeeding days, though occasionally troubled in view of the sins and miseries of the world around me. The crying of a child in the street, would occasion many painful sensations and although I could rejoice in God as the Sovereign of the universe, I had abundant evidence in my own heart that my submission was very imperfect.

Still I made preparations for preaching on the sabbath with great delight, as I longed for one more opportunity to speak for God.

About half past 9 o'clock on Saturday evening, when I had completed my preparations for the sabbath I retired for prayer. And now I seemed as if I was admitted to the very foot of the throne. My mouth was opened wide, my troubles were dissipated, all my doubts were removed, God was present to my soul, and I was enabled to say without one doubt or fear, "I know that my Redeemer liveth." I could give up myself, soul[,] body and spirit, my wife, my friends, my all to his disposal, and I felt that if he should then see fit to take any of them away I should not be moved. The only desire which I had for myself was, that I might live to preach the next day; and then if God should call me, I felt that I would leave the world without regret. I awoke my dear wife and told her the fulness of joy which I, though infinitely unworthy, was the subject. It was long before I could sleep.

Sunday Oct 2nd I awoke in the same happy state of mind as that in which I had gone to rest. As the hour of service approached, it began to rain. This little circumstance was sufficient to convince me that I was not perfect. It tried me, as I was greatly desirous of meeting all the congregation in the house of God. A goodly assembly was convened and I was enabled to preach as I never had preached before. At the close of the second service I assembled the church and endeavoured to tell them what God had recently done for me. Saints rejoiced & sinners wondered.

For several succeeding days I continued to enjoy the same unclouded views, and though doubts afterwards returned, yet by this peculiar dispensation of heaven I believe the Lord had designed to prepare me for

that interesting season with which that congregation was blessed a few months afterwards. This was in fact the beginning of the revival.

And though from my subsequent experience I have a thousand times been led to doubt the genuineness of these exercises yet, at the time, I can sincerely say that for several days I had not a single doubt of my gracious state, and I felt that if I was called to die, I could lie down and die as calmly and fearlessly as if it were only to take a single nights repose. And if I was deceived, I know not by what views I can be undeceived. May the Lord once more chase away my doubts and graciously manifest himself to my soul, ere he calls me to go hence and be here no more.

At Sagg Harbour also Aug 14th 1809 my first child was born and (on the 24th of Sept. I think it was) was baptized by the excellent & beloved Dr. [Aaron] Woolworth.

About this time I left Sag H. and spent the succeeding winter at Smithtown.

Oct 24th 1809 I was ordained as an evangelist by the Presbytery of Long Island, sitting in my native town.

It is a singular fact not unworthy of special notice that all the acts relating to my church and ministerial character took place in the church of my native town. Here I was baptized in infancy—here at the age of 16 years I was admitted to the communion of the church—here I was licensed to preach the everlasting gospel; and here I was ordained to the office of a gospel minister.

And what adds still more to the singularity of the case is, that the minister (Rev. Nathan Woodhull) who baptized me, preached my ordination sermon; and the Rev Wm. Schenck under whose ministry I was received to communion, made the consecration prayer. These good men have long since gone to their rest.

When I left S.H. as there was no place on the Island that presented a prospect of comfort and permanent usefulness, I was disposed to leave the Island; but at the earnest entreaty of my brethren I was induced to stay in some small vacancies in anticipation that there might be some changes that would afford a favourable opening. I staid at Freshpond, a second congregation in my native town for nearly two years; and then I removed on invitation to Milton in Saragota County, where I continued about 10 months. I then received a call to Cambridge in Washington County, to which place I removed in July 1813 and on the 14th of that month I was installed.

I ought to have mentioned however that while I resided at Freshpond my labours were not altogether useless. That little church was somewhat increased and built up, by some droppings of the rain of righteousness.

And it was while residing here that my eyes were opened (by reading Dr. Rush's Inquiry) to the evils of intemperance. Here my first sermon on that subject was written and preached Oct. 13th 1811—subsequently before the Presbytery and afterwards published. And from that time I have not knowingly tasted a drop of ardent spirits or offered it as a drink to any man. And from this time by the influence of Dr. Rush's Essay a great moral reform commenced on the Island.[15]

From the time of my leaving Sag H. till my settlement in Cambridge, I had never felt at home. But here I found a wide and open field, which afforded abundant employment and in which I was enabled to labour with delight and some success. And if the church was not built up in numbers as rapidly as it had been before, I have the satisfaction to believe it was increased with equal caution. There was a great call for the administration of discipline in that church, and while a goodly number of those who we hoped will be saved, were admitted, a considerable number of unworthy members were excluded. I am not able now to state precise numbers in relation to the whole period of my ministry there...but during the first...years of my administration more than 20 were the subject of discipline and were either suspended, or excommunicated, and all of these except 2 or 3 had been admitted before my settlement

My connexion with that congregation was on the whole happy on both sides. I had indeed trials, and what minister is without them, but I loved my people and I was beloved by the good part of them, and I know I was respected even by the bad.

My influence was as great as I could expect, and for many years it was a source of pleasure to all. But at a subsequent period it became a ground of jealousy to some, and eventually led to my separation from them. This however was not the result of any sudden commotion but grew out of a train of circumstances some of which I shall detail.

Though this people professed to love me, and were willing to hear the plainest truth from my lips, yet they were extremely remiss in one important duty on their part. The salary which they provided me might have been adequate to my support if punctually paid, but as it was not, I was constantly embarrassed in my pecuniary concerns.

In 1821 I found myself so much in arrears that I saw no way to extricate myself from debt without some change, and as the Academy in that place was then destitute of a teacher[,] many of my friends urged me to take charge of it. At first I would not listen to this proposal, as I deemed myself incompetent, and had long before determined never to teach; but at length I was induced to think more favourably of it.

I proposed to submit it to the congregation, but the Session advised me

to begin and leave it till the annual meeting in the spring.

I commenced teaching in the fall of 1821, and with the undertaking a season of awful labour commenced. Having become so rusty in classical & scientific lore, I was obliged every night to study every recitation that was to be heard the next day, besides writing two discourses for the sabbath. I scarcely could find time to eat & sleep. In the spring the congregation, being convinced of the necessity of relieving my embarrassments, approved of my teaching and agreed to dispense with such labours as I could not perform. I continued in this twofold connexion till the spring of 1824, when finding myself relieved, I gave up the Academy and devoted myself exclusively to the congregation.

But it was not long before I became convinced that my relief was only temporary, and that the same cause would soon produce the same effect. Besides a foundation had been necessarily laid for an increase of my expenses. My two oldest sons were prepared to enter college and I was constrained to enter them in the fall of 1826. By the next spring I found myself again running deeply in debt, and as my sons had both professed to have become the children of God, I felt it my duty to carry them through. No other means presented than to return to teaching, and make it my business. The Academy had remained vacant from the time I had relinquished its concerns. In addition to this I thought I could discover symptoms of alienation in two or three principal members of the congregation. At least I thought they would not approve, but would be secretly gratified by my dismission. While connected with the Academy before, I had made no attempt to increase the number of students. It was as large as I had time to attend to. I was now convinced that if I should take charge of it as my exclusive concern I could make it productive. After much deliberation, consultation and prayer I concluded to devote myself to it, and my people agreed to consent to dismission in the month of February in the next year.

On the 11th of Sept 1827 I opened school with 17 scholars. I preached to the people till Feb. 27th, 1828 when I was dismissed by the unanimous vote of the Presbytery, after having been their pastor nearly 15 years.

In regard to the propriety of my virtually withdrawing from the ministry and devoting myself primarily to the interests of education, I have only to say, I had previously made it a serious case of conscience in the settlement of which I went through peculiar trials of mind. Indeed, while my mind was in a state of doubt, I felt for a few days, as if I should die, if the path of duty should not be made plain. But in the course of a short time, my way was made clear, and I have never since been led [to] doubt the correctness of the decision then made.

It would take some time and would probably be useless to enumerate all the considerations that had an influence in this case. I will only say that the education of my children especially my oldest sons who were then in college and had become hopefully pious, had a powerful weight on my mind. Besides, I did not expect to desist entirely from preaching the gospel, but supposed that I should have frequent opportunities of engaging in the active duties of the ministry, which has indeed been the case.

I am perfectly aware that success in an undertaking is no evidence that the Lord approves our ways. But it is a fact which is worthy of record that under the favor of providence, and with the patronage of the publick, my course has been peculiarly successful. While I remained at Cambridge, I was enabled to pay all my debts, and to carry my two older sons through college, and when I left there in the spring of 1830 I was square with the world. Thus in the course of two years and a half I was enabled to free myself from the embarrassments which had oppressed me for years with the exception of the short period after I taught the academy in the years 1821-3.

In May 1830 I removed my family to Sing Sing, Westchester County, and took charge of Mount Pleasant Academy. The principal reason that induced me to this removal was the prospect of a wider field of exertion, which would probably afford employment for my children as well as myself. At the time of my removal the Presbyterian congregation in Sing Sing were destitute of a pastor, and upon their invitation I preached stoutly for them til Nov 1832 when, on account of increasing cares, I was obliged to relinquish this charge.

In May 1831 I established and took charge of the Mount Pleasant Female Seminary, in connexion with my daughter Maria M[argaretta] and a young lady from N.Y. who continued with us only till Oct. 1832, when the whole charge remained in our own hands. This experiment was in some respects hazardous, but in the event became a very important and profitable concern. We commenced with only ten boarding scholars but with a gradual increase till they amounted to fifty which was as large a number as we could accommodate.

The students in the Academy had also increased to nearly 40, and the two concerns had become so burdensome as to render it desirable to relinquish one. Besides, my lease on the Seminary building was about to expire and the proprietor was not disposed to renew it. This rendered it necessary to procure another building. In Aug. 1835 I took a suit of buildings in Newburgh, without an expectation of removing till April 1836. But in the fall vacation Oct 22nd, 1835 the Seminary building at Sing Sing was burned down & an immediate removal became necessary,

which we affected Nov 4th 1835.

Here we opened the Seminary with as large a number of scholars as before, with only a forthright's delay beyond the ordinary vacation, having experienced a very trifling loss of furniture by the fire. Subsequently our numbers were increased to seventy, which were about as many as our building would accommodate.

In all the measures which had been adopted in reference to the business of education, the favor of providence appears to have attended us. Not a single untoward event affecting our reputation or our interest has been experienced. We have, indeed, had our trouble, and who that lived in such a world as this, could expect or even wish to be entirely exempt from this part of man's common lot, yet in reviewing my past life thus far, I am inclined to think, few pass through the world more happy and prosperously than I have hitherto done. It is true I have, as yet laid up little for the future. But I have long since been free from debt—I have educated the most of my children with the prospect of usefulness—my oldest daughter to whom I relinquished the larger share of the profits of the Seminary till our removal to Newburgh has made a comfortable provision to begin the world, and I have now the prospect of doing something for my family beyond our present wants, which I have already begun to do. (March 1837:) If my life should be spared two or three years longer, I feel as if I should be glad to relinquish my present employment and devote myself more immediately to the cause of my Lord & master.[16]

While at the same time I have the satisfaction to believe that my labours for the last 10 years have had as important a bearing (though not directly) on the interests of the church and of the world, as several of the last years of my active ministry.

NOTES

1. Nathaniel S. Prime, "Recollections of Nathaniel S. Prime" (Huntington, 1837), unpaginated ms., collection of Brooklyn Historical Society, and *A History of Long Island, from Its First Settlement by Europeans, to the Year 1845, with Special Reference to Its Ecclesiastical Concerns* (New York: Robert Carter, 1845).

2. For Edwards, see Perry Miller, ; for Bellamy (1719-1790) and Hopkins (1721-1803), see Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven, 1972), 406-9; for some especially discerning remarks about Bellamy's views, consult Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York, 1977), 122-24.

3. "Diary Notes of Nathaniel S. Prime, June 1853" (collection of Long Island [now Brooklyn] Historical Society).

4. "Recollections" apparently was written in the early part of 1837; the document traces Prime's life to March 1837.

5. Benjamin Young Prime (1733-1791) graduated from Princeton, and subsequently studied medicine in England and on the continent.

6. Ebenezer Prime (1700-1779), a graduate of Yale, was minister of the First Church of Huntington for sixty-two years.

7. Philip Doddridge (1702-1751), a nonconformist English divine, was the author, among other works, of *On the Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul* (1745).

8. Such student upheavals were not uncommon at Princeton (which was to have what came to be called its "great rebellion" in 1807), or at other American colleges in the early nineteenth century. For a brief discussion of these student rebellions, see Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *Princeton, 1746-1896* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1946),136-43.

9. Prime was not far from the mark here, and the situation at Princeton was characteristic of the American college scene around 1800. Piety was not in popular favor. Rather, influenced by the writings of Thomas Paine and such philosophers as Voltaire and Diderot, the typical college student of the time adopted a deistic stance and was indifferent to organized religion. See Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University* (New York, 1962), 37-39.

10. Organized in 1748, the Long Island Presbytery acted not only as a licensing agent, but also as a final court in matters of doctrine and discipline.

11. Many years later the pastor of the Sag Harbor church told Prime that "the fruits of that revival are still the stamina of this church."

12. To Julia Ann Jermain (1789-1874), who was the daughter of Major John Jermain, of Sag Harbor. Dorothy Zaykowski, of Sag Harbor, has informed me that Julia Ann Prime started one of the first Sunday schools in the United States, and that the building she used for her classes is still standing.

13. Lyman Beecher (1775-1863), an influential Presbyterian preacher, and the father of Harriet Beecher Stowe and Henry Ward Beecher, began his career at East Hampton.

14. *Letters and Dialogues Between Theron, Paulinus, and Aspasio, On The Nature of Love to God, Faith in Christ, and Assurance of Salvation* (Boston,1759; reprint, Glasgow, 1830). Theron is a character engaged in a religious dialogue with Paulinus, the latter speaking for Bellamy. Theron, his faith declining, is plunged into gloom. Paulinus tells him that at the root of his problem is a dislike of the Divine Law as too rigorous, and that he will only be saved when God appears to him as "One Infinitely Lovely." And yet so depraved is he, "that God will never appear thus...in your eves unless you are born of the Spirit, have divine life immediately communicated, imparted to you from on high." But Paulinus assures him that, "through Christ, God is ready to be reconciled to the returning penitent, who justifies God, approves his law, quits all claims, and looks only to free grace, through Jesus Christ, for salvation." Theron takes the message of Paulinus to heart, and after much praying and soul-searching accepts God as "not only infinitely great and infinitely holy, as the Sovereign of the whole universe; but also infinitely glorious; but also infinitely glorious, as to be worthy of all the love and honour, which his law requires." "The law appeared holy, just and good," says Theron; and, "I could not but approve it."

15. Dr. Benjamin Rush (1745-1813), one of the best-known physicians of the early Republic, and the leading figure in the temperance movement at the time, was the author of an *Inquiry into the Effects of Ardent Spirits upon the Human Mind and Body*(1784); Prime subsequently also gave up tea, coffee, and, for the most part, what he called "animal food."

16. Prime kept to this resolve, and in 1838, a year after he wrote his "Recollections," returned to preaching. Over the years he served at Newburgh, Ballaston Spa, Brooklyn, Yorkville, and Huntington.

MATERIAL EVIDENCE OF IDEOLOGICAL AND ETHNIC CHOICE IN LONG ISLAND GRAVESTONES, 1670-1800

By Gaynell Stone

Editorial note: We thank the editors for allowing us to present this article from *Material Culture* 23 (Fall 1991): 1-29, which follows the author-date format for notes.

Many geographers have been concerned with the concept of culture and its imprint on the landscape, and there are varying definitions of what areas constitute the North American culture hearths. Few scholars have perceived New Netherland as one of these hearths, and Long Island, strategically located between New England and the Mid-Atlantic states and contiguous to the nuclear New Amsterdam settlement, has not been recognized as an Important part of the "Dutch" culture area.

Until recently there has been limited attention to and few systemic studies of the persisting Dutch influence in the area, especially through the material culture record of decorative arts, architecture, gravestones. and settlement patterns. This paper will review current scholarship, and focus on the record of ethnic choice in the gravestones of Long Island. I wish to acknowledge the talented assistance of William Persons of the SUNY at Stony Brook Computer Center with the computer analysis of the gravestone database. About 4,500 Colonial gravestones in all the locatable cemeteries (164) of the Island were photographed and computer coded for 44 variables to retrieve the cultural and social Information inherent in their use. Since gravestones symbolize a conservative rite of passage—death—they reveal prior ethnic and ideological patterns which may not exist today and choices not revealed in the historical record.

New Netherland as Culture Hearth

Culturally, Long Island was a hinterland of both the New England and Mid-Atlantic: culture hearths, and an integral part of New Netherland politically. That colony, with "Dutch" surnames, language use, place names, architecture. and settlement patterns still evident—despite English seizure In 1664—should be considered a culture hearth itself. The concept of the coherent entity of Hudson Valley materials was noted by Alice P.

Kenney, who reviewed 100 years of specialized study in the area, to find that some elements had been studied separately, but that it deserved to be considered systematically as a whole.

Cultural geographer Donald W. Meinig (1975:52) defines the culture hearth "as an area wherein new basic cultural systems and configurations are developed and nurtured before spreading vigorously outward to alter the character of much larger areas." He further feels that a distinctly new American people were formed largely of the Dutch and English, laced with many other ethnic elements, and self-consciously different from the character of adjacent New England (1968:124). Wilbur Zelinsky (p. 89) finds the colonial culture hearth a seedbed in which a culture displays most strongly its essential features, which remain primary whatever the subsequent development. His defined culture hearths are New England, the Midland, and Chesapeake Bay, with New Netherland included in the Midland hearth.

Although New Netherland was geographically limited compared to other culture hearths, nuclear New Amsterdam hived off settlements north to the upper Hudson River, east to Long Island, west along the Mohawk, and south to the Delaware River, and was a vital pervasive force In the colony (see Fig. 1). While geographer Peter Wacker (I 975:vii) does not perceive New Jersey as New Netherland, but rather as a borderland between the Massachusetts Bay and Pennsylvania hearths he recognizes, his statistics of ethnic and ideological origin of settlers (162, 164) indicate New Jersey mirrors the multi-culturalism found by Rink (p. 165) for the upper Hudson Valley, by Hinshalwood for the mid-Hudson area, and by the author (1987) for Long Island. Further, Wacker's analysis of house and barn types (1974), as well as that of Embury (1977) and others indicates a Dutch imprint on that form of material culture.

John Stilgoe (p. 152) sees only New England, the Tidewater, and the Piedmont as cultural landscapes, and mentions New Netherland solely in terms of the Dutch barn. David H. Fischer's (p. 816) lengthy examination of America's four major British culture areas —Massachusetts, Virginia, the Delaware, the Backcountry—devotes one page to New Netherland as the "largest of these other cultures."

Henry Glassie's (pp. 145-50) study of the material folk culture of the eastern United States defines source areas as southeast New England, southeastern Pennsylvania, the Chesapeake Bay area, and the North Carolina-Georgia coast. He does not recognize New Netherland as a folk culture area, though he acknowledges "an early Continental infusion," which results in three pages focusing on the Dutch barn and *as* clothes

cabmen. While he discusses the ubiquitous 19th century neo-classical American gravestone and the design motif evolution of New England stones, he does not include this type of folk material culture for the other source areas, precluding further such comparison between regions.

The only scholar who treats New Netherland as a culture hearth Is geographer Allen Noble, who analyzes the St. Lawrence Valley, New England, Hudson Valley, Delaware Valley, and Chesapeake Bay culture areas (see Fig. I for the New Netherland hearth). While most of these geographers utilize regional material culture—primarily architecture, sometimes place names—to delineate areas, none have used gravestones as a form of material culture which provides fine grained data on ethnic

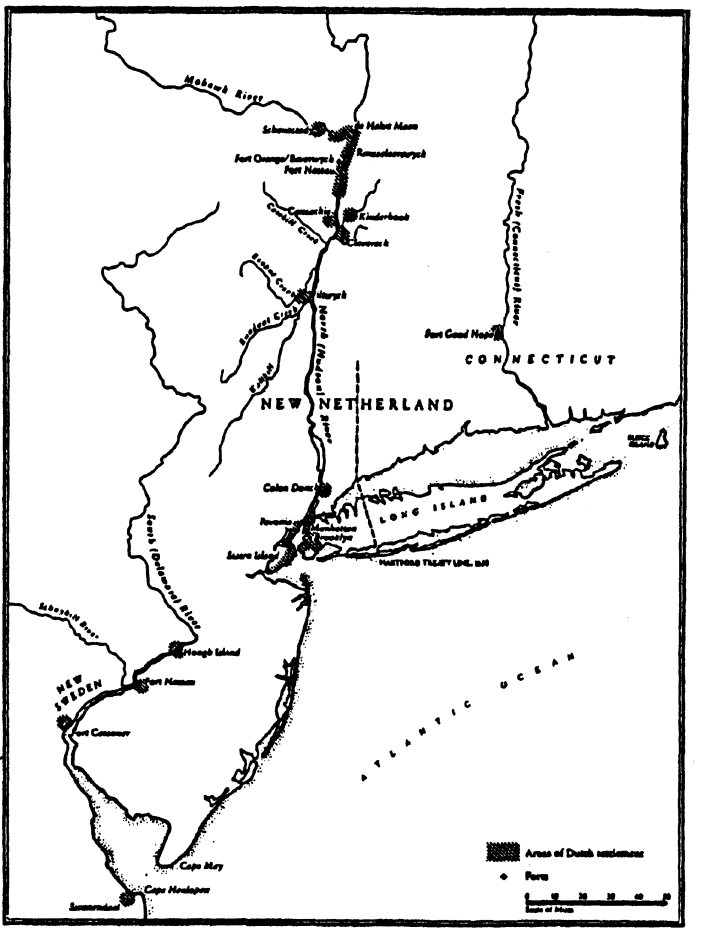


Figure 1 New Netherland - Blackburn and Piwonka, 1988, p. 34.

and ideological origins and affiliations. Zelinsky (p. 101) is the only geographer to note the nodal position of churches and cemeteries on the settlement landscape and remark about the scandalous neglect of this unique database with its potential for cultural information. Even further social data Is available from quantified, systematic analysis of the gravestones harbored In the cemeteries.

The proposed New Netherland culture hearth contains these characteristics: early settlements replicating the culture dispersing from a nuclear core; a highly multi-cultural population: material culture which reflects this heterogeneity unto today." Dutch" life ways In New Netherland were composed of the varied traditions of the settlers' natal provinces adapted to the resources of the new environment, thus creating a distinctive New Netherland culture. The recent monumental book, *Remembrance of Patrai: Dutch Arts and Culture in Colonial America 1609-1776* (Blackburn and Pancho) richly illustrates this thesis, though emphasizing the upper Hudson Valley portion of New Netherland. Noble (p. 27) describes more extensively the architectural evidence of the lower Hudson Valley and Long Island, and Dean Failed presents the wealth of Dutch furniture on the Island; Sophia Hinshalwood focuses on selected cultural aspects of the mid-Hudson Valley, and Dutch New Jersey is analyzed by geographer Peter Wacker and folklorist David Cohen.

Cohen's (p. 51) analysis of the "Duchess" of New Netherland indicates that the proportion of foreign (non-Dutch) settlers was as much as 50 percent of the colony's population. The earliest settlers were Belgian Walloons, and from the beginning French Huguenots, Flemings, Germans, Scandinavians, Scots, Protestant Irish, a sprinkling of Turks, Italians. Polish, Jews, and later, enslaved Africans composed 17th century New Netherland. After the English seizure of New Netherland in 1664, all who were not English-speakers were perceived as "Dutch." Though Pennsylvania is popularly thought to be the most heterogeneous Colonial colony and Wacker (1975:xvi) believes New Jersey was, New Netherland was the earliest, most culturally diverse colony. As late as the first United States census in 1790, the Dutch were recorded as 2 percent of the population, third behind the Scots and Germans (Resister, p. 116). When examined by state breakdown, the Dutch were 16 percent of New York's population, five times as numerous as the second place Scots; they were a fraction of 1 percent in every other state listed.

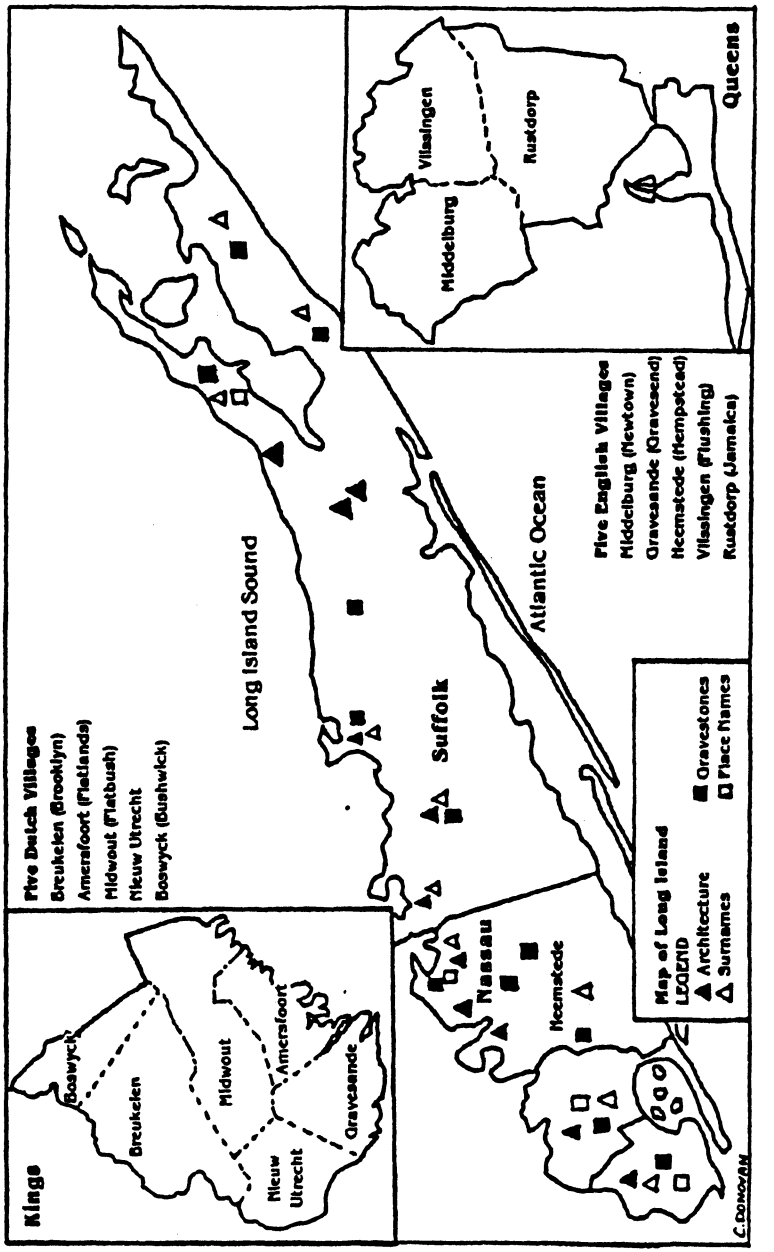
The material culture evidence of gravestones and architecture on Long island indicates that "Dutch" cultural choices, building practices, and surnames survived throughout the later engulfment by a largely English

population. The use of the Dutch language continued on gravestones until 1813, in church services into the second quarter of the 19th century, and in the home even later—among the Roosevelt, for example, through the 1850s—and as an integral part of the American language today, such as the word "Yankee" (Hammond). Dutch customs, from Sinter Klans (the original Santa Claus), to New Year's Day Open House, to egg rolling at Easter, are still part of American holiday tradition. Figure 2 illustrates currently known "Dutch" influence on the Island.

Unfortunately, this evidence for a New Netherland culture hearth largely has not been used by scholars. The fact that many colonial Dutch records have not been translated until recently has been an obstacle to documentary research, and the almost complete destruction of Dutch architecture by the expansion of the New York megalopolis has been a detriment to material culture analysis. Happily, some of this extensive record has survived pictorially (see Bailey, Dillard, Eberlein, Historic America Buildings Survey, Reynolds, and photograph collections at the New York Public Library, Brooklyn Public Library, Brooklyn Historical Society, Queensborough Public Library for evidence),

Most studies of New Netherland have been by historians; among such studies are those of Bachman, Condon, Norton, Rink, and Smith. Generally, they are economic analyses and do not deal with the concept of the culture hearth or data from material culture, although there was some description of ethnicity by Patricia Bonoml (p. 22) and more recently by Oliver Rink.

A body of material which includes some material culture and archaeological perspectives has been building through the annual Rensselaerwijck Seminars of the past 14 years (see Zeller). Most recently, the persistence of Dutch language and Irving's literary depictions of the Dutch have been described by Gehring and Funk, while Fabend has followed one Dutch family through colonization and "Americanization." Two historians, Narrett and Goodfriend, are pinpointing the striking differences between Dutch and English marriage and inheritance practices (Narrett), and the systematic anti-Dutch bias of the political historians who write history, as well as the inadequacy of the 'Anglicization' model of historians who describe Dutch 'assimilation' (Goodfriend).


"DUTCH" INFLUENCE ON LONG ISLAND
Five Dutch Villages
Breukelen (Brooklyn)
Amersfoort (Flatlands)
Midwout (Flatbush)
Nieuw Utrecht
Boswyck (Bushwick)
Long Island Sound
Suffolk
Atlantic Ocean
Five English Villages
Middelburg (Newtown)
Oravesande (Oravesend)
Heemstede (Hempstead)
Vlissingen (Flushing)
Ruxtdorp (Jamaica)
Nassau
Heemstede
Map of Long Island
LEGEND
Architecture
Surnames
Gravestones
Place Names
Kings
Boswyck
Breukelen
Midwout
Amersfoort
Nieuw Utrecht
Oravesande
Middelburg
Vlissingen
Ruxtdorp
Queens
C.DONOVAN

Only one scholar, David Cohen (1991), uses material culture evidence to further define the Dutch culture area, He analyzes and defines the Colonial Dutch-American house style, often called Georgian by architectural historians, and its distribution. Cohen sees it as a "dialect" of the English-influenced American structure, viewed as "language." Most of these current writers see New Netherland as a vigorous regional culture and the Dutch a majority into which the earliest English of New Netherland were absorbed, producing in the process a new culture.

The Utility of Gravestone Studies

Gravestone study has been part of human historical inquiry since the first antiquarians recorded Egyptian pyramids, Etruscan tumult, English barrows, Roman stelae, and other memorials. The first Northern European immigrants who came to North America brought their traditional mortuary practice of stone box or table tombs for the elite, and wooden grave markers for the "middling sort," though this varied by area (see Mackey, Sweeney, etc. below). Generally, the poorest were not memorialized except by a wood post or field stone, though sometimes a town government ordered a simple carved marker for their charges.

Therefore, the upright stone marker was the normative memorialization for the bulk of the new Americans, with shape, material and motifs changing through time. The geological base of an area usually determined the type of stone used, although with improved rail transport marble overtook all regional stone usage by the mid 19th century. The early tripartite or round top shape, traditional slate, schist, or sandstone material, and hand carving gave way to more complex shapes, the use of marble, and machine carving early in the 19th century—a powerful material culture transformation indicating pervasive change in American technology, beliefs, and cultural influences: for example, the fluorescence of neo-classical design in gravestones and other forms of material culture stemming from the discovery of Pompeii.

Choice of design motif was often related to ideology, with the early death's head mortality symbol (with or without wings and other symbols) more prevalent in Puritan New England than in polyideological New Netherland; the plain stone with no design was usually the earliest there, unless it was imported from Boston, in the early mid-1700s the face with wings, often called a cherub, cherubim, angel, etc., and perceived as a symbol of immortality, began to replace the death's head; the rate of acceptance varied by area. The author's research has shown that ideology and ethnicity also influenced the choice of designs; in New Netherland, for example, there were few death's heads, and plain stones and those with

initials for the design were chosen more frequently by the Quakers and the "Dutch."

Only with the advent of the statistical gravestone studies of Deetz and Dethlefsen in the 1960s did the data from stones become diachronic and nomothetic—allowing the power of generalization. The author's procedures were based on theirs and amplified to deal with this region; however, the universe of stones was not sampled but recorded as completely as possible. This was necessary to retrieve the data of the more difficult to locate Quaker and Dutch family cemeteries. Sampling would largely have missed this aspect of the region. A universal, open-ended coding system was devised to allow the inclusion of whatever materials were discovered; the stones were photographed and coded for over 40 variables. This was entered into the university mainframe computer through SAS, and runs were made for the variables of space—location by county, town and cemetery; chronology—decade, quarter-century, half-century; by design, ethnic group, religion, etc. Some results were so diffuse at the finest levels of analysis (decade for example), that it was necessary to cluster into quarter-century or higher periods to make sense of the data. See Stone (1987) for further details of the recording system.

Thus a material culture artifact which is original and little modified, composes a sizable universe, and is easily quantified for systematic analysis, has the potential to amplify the documentary record (indeed, gravestones are original documents) and provide further insights into a region or a society. As such, cemeteries are museums without walls, harboring a collection of artifacts related by their social matrix. Archaeologist Edwin Dethlefsen noted, "the graveyard is a miccrocosmic material history of the systemic evolution of the living community" (p. 137), and demonstrates this in Dethlefsen and Jensen (p. 32-38), where several Florida cemeteries of varying configuration are related to their origin and evolution. Thus, in the family cemetery the gravestone artifacts yield the evolution of the family on a micro scale; on the macro scale, the totality of cemeteries reveals regional patterns of human choice affected by social, economic, political, and cultural factors.

Mortuary material evidence will also be affected by spatial and temporal constraints, an variables change through time. On Long Island, both of these factors affect the cemetery and gravestone record, which also co-varies with the composition of the social group creating it. A study of all cemeteries in an area can indicate patterns which may not be revealed in the study of a few cemeteries or in the documentary record. On this regional scale, culture hearths or spheres of influence may be delineated,

perhaps more finely than by the usual cultural artifact used for this—architecture.

Scholars have utilized gravestone analysis in various ways to elicit an area's Colonial-era human behavior. An example of this is the evidence of German ethnicity found on gravestones, but not in architecture, in Ruth Little-Stokes' highland North Carolina study area. Also, geographer Donald Meinig's (1975:133) map or cultural influences on New York State in the Colonial period (the type of data it is based on is not stated) indicates influence from Connecticut for most of Long Island, with only the small western tip (Brooklyn) influenced by the Dutch. This surface depiction does not reveal the more complex record shown by the gravestone evidence.

Analyzing an area's cemeteries and stones will also show the distribution of ethnically and ideologically-bounded groups on the landscape, a record which today is often invisible. For example, Bonomi's map (Fig. 3) of 17th century settlement flow in New York contains more ethnic, and thus cultural, diversity than does Meinig's, but truncates the Dutch influence to a small part of Kings County, as does Fig. 1, and oversimplifies the New England-Long Island interface. See Stone (1987) for the distribution pattern through gravestones of ethnic peoples and ideological groups on Long Island.

Within an area which appears homogeneous, such as all-British settled New England, antecedent regionality, rather than ethnicity, will surface if looked for. Historians David G. Allen and Peter Benes provide the documentary and genealogical evidence of New England's varied cultural makeup, and illustrate the Kentish mortuary designs transplanted to their new Plymouth home. Anthropologists Peter S. Allen and Anne Yentsch demonstrate the regionality evidence shown by gravestones and fence types as related to surnames on Cape Cod, and show the transplantation of English regional subsistence practices to New England settlement siting.

Two contemporaneous cemeteries in an area can graphically illustrate a social or ideological schism, while two others may exist because of temporal or spatial factors. Abernathy's analysis of settling a river system at Rehoboth, Massachusetts, reveals an ideological, and thus social,

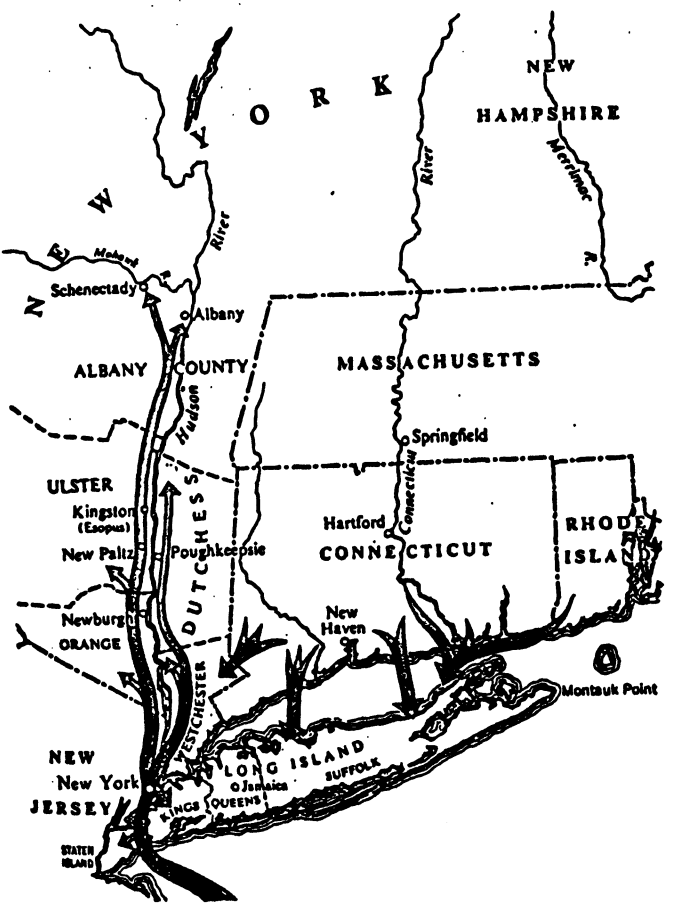


Figure 3 Settlement Flow - 17th Century New York. Bonomi, 1971, p. 21

schism, while Stone's research (1987:310-321) indicates Long Island cemeteries whose establishment was determined by temporal and spatial factors. Either of these occurrences can provide insight into local social dynamics for which the documentary record may be silent.

Mortuary memorial evidence also illustrates the differing attitudes between regions (and within them) toward wealth, status, power, and occupation. Archaeologist Elizabeth Cromwell found that Quaker ideology in Pennsylvania allowed the popular culture style of marker to be used, but plain, without a design. Stone (1987) also found this choice for Long Island Quakers. The popular culture stone is defined as the basic types produced in large numbers by the usually multi—generational larger 18th century stone-cutting workshops. They were often carved by formula, and sometimes stockpiled, with only the inscription carved to order.

Archaeologist Norman V. Mackie, upon examining Virginia gravestones, found status distinctly related to gravestone types: such as box or table tombs for the wealthy, the upright marker for the middle class, and none for the classes below. However, historian Kevin Sweeney describes even the wealthiest citizens of the Western Massachusetts river towns as memorialized by the ordinary regional upright marker. Stone (1987) found an even less status-conscious situation for Long Island, where the wealthiest original proprietors of manors and private islands had cedar posts or simple upright markers or none at all; memorialization occurred 50 years after death or was carried out on a monumental scale by late 19th century descendants.

Obviously, the cemetery-museum gravestone artifacts reveal choice which is socially, ideologically, and geographically shaped. When all stones are systematically recorded and studied—the home-carved "folk" fieldstones as well as the popular culture workshop produced stones—patterns of differing ethnic and ideological choice are revealed. These patterns also vary through time both nationally and regionally. While James Deetz's pioneering quantitative gravestone analysis (much of it distilled in *In Small Things Forgotten*) described one pattern for one portion of New England, the regional studies of Dethlefsen and Jensen (1977), Cromwell, Mackie, Gorman and DiBlasi, Sweeney, Stone and others describe the regional variations of national gravestone choice and use.

Jules Prown's insightful review of the multiple and inter-related elements one must elicit from a material culture object is instructive in

this regard; it is a rigorous task. Further cautions on carrying out material culture research, if the field is to grow in respect, have been outlined by Thomas Schlereth. It is the author's opinion that systematic gravestone studies fulfill his requirements of 1) adequate survival of data (stones survive in far larger number than houses or other forms of material culture, and thus provide a more normative database), and 2) adequate techniques of analysts (complete recording and statistical handling provide that). His cautions against the 3) exaggeration of human efficacy (systematic gravestone studies avoid the usual art history approach of studying the elite or the unusual), 4) the scholarly tendency toward progressive determinism in American history (the ubiquity of surviving gravestones when studied normatively can eliminate that bias, although the poor and social subgroups are generally under-represented in all historical materials), and 5) proclivity toward synchronic method (complete recording of an area and statistical analysis will provide the diachronic record, and thus allow broad-based interpretation) are met by this type of inquiry.

Geographic Setting of the Study Area

Long Island is a geographically-delimited culture area bounded by water, 120 miles long by about 20 miles wide, hugging the Southern New England coast. It is shaped somewhat like a fish, with the mouth nibbling Manhattan and the lower Hudson River and the flukes pointing into the Atlantic (see Fig. 1). The Island occupies a strategic area at the confluence of numerous waterways—the Hudson River of New York, the Connecticut and other rivers of Connecticut, the eastern rivers of New Jersey, and it is just north of the Mid-Atlantic complex of waterways. Thus the area had easy water access through these prime trade routes to multiple ports and cultural influences.

This Island is a morainal deposit, therefore it contains the field boulders of New England carried here by the last glacier, but no quarryable stone, which greatly affected gravestone procurement practices. Because of its location on the Atlantic coastal plain with no native stone, its island situation fostering trade networks throughout the region, its location between the New England and New Netherland culture spheres, and its poly-ethnic social composition, it contains the largest number of different types of gravestones—materials, designs, sources—in the country.

The only local-origin stones were those made of field boulders for markers produced at home, and all others, were imported from the coastal stone-cutting workshops of New England or the New Netherland carving centers of New York City and New Jersey (see Figs. 4 and 5 for typical

New Netherland-origin stones). Gravestones on the East end of the Island (Suffolk County) were brought here by ship from the Boston area and Plymouth, Massachusetts, and from Newport, Rhode Island. Some came from the River towns of Connecticut, Hartford, Middletown, Windsor—some from coastal ports such as New Haven, and others came from eastern Connecticut. These stones are found throughout Long Island, most heavily in the east end.

Late in the 18th century the Hill family of carvers moved from Connecticut to Sag Harbor, Long Island, their production increased the number of "local" stones appreciably for the mostly east end market they secured from the New England carvers. West end to mid -Long Island inhabitants (Kings and western Queens Counties) ordered almost all of their gravestones from Newark and Elizabeth, New Jersey carvers, as well as those in New York City, also supplied by the New Jersey quarries. Eastern Queens (now Nassau County) inhabitants of mid-Long Island imported 87 percent of their stones from the New Netherland carvers, with the balance from New England and locally crafted. New England accounted for 42 percent of the total Long Island stones through time, with 11 percent of those from Boston, 23 percent from Connecticut. and 8 percent from Newport, Rhode Island. Of course, the proportions of these sources varied by decade because of trade relations, ideology, the Revolutionary War, and other factors. Figure 6 illustrates the general sources of the imported Long Island stones.

Historical Background

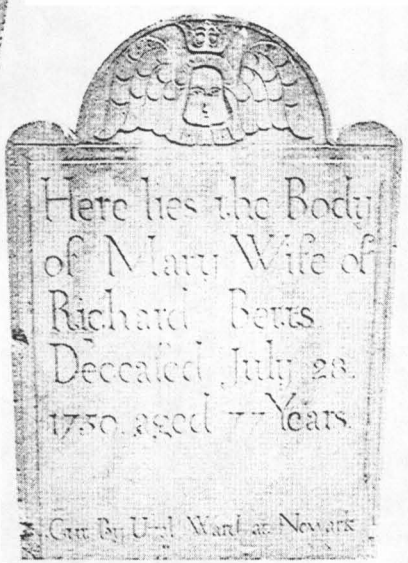
Long Island is one of the earliest settled areas of the northeast. The east end was peopled from 1640 on by the third wave of Puritan emigration on the northeast coast, and was the outpost of Puritan and Pilgrim territorial ambitions. The earliest "Dutch" landfall in this region, Manhattan Island in 1604, is contiguous to the West end of the Island. Stemming from this, the "Dutch" colonists, actually Flemish Walloons, settled New Amsterdam (Manhattan) in the 1620s, as well as Fort Orange (Albany) and other spots along the Hudson River. Then Kings and Queens Counties were colonized in the 1630-40s, placing West end Long Island in the Dutch sphere of influence.

John Zuricher
William Wells, d. 1696 (backdated from 1760s)
Southold Presbyterian Cemetery (Suffolk).

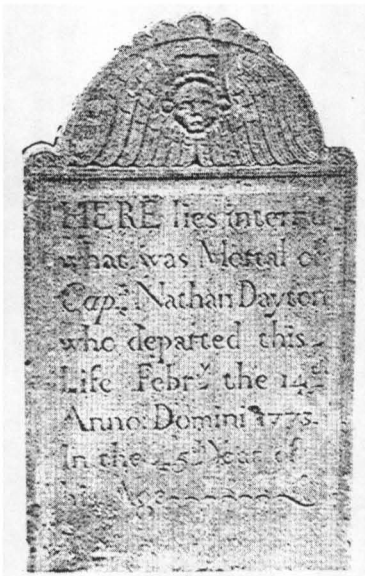
Robert Hartley
Steve Schenek, d. 1767
Flatlands Dutch Reformed Cemetery (Kings).

William Grant
Jonathon Cook, d. 1734
Quogue Village Cemetery (Suffolk).

Thomas Brown, New York City
Elizabeth Wright, d. 1755
Wright Cemetery, Oyster Bay (Nassau)



Uzal Ward, Newark, NJ
Mary Betts, d. 1759
Grace Episcopal Cemetery, Jamaica (Queens).



Ebenezer Price, Elizabethtown, NJ
Capt. Nathan Dayton, d. 1773
East Hampton North End Cemetery (Suffolk)

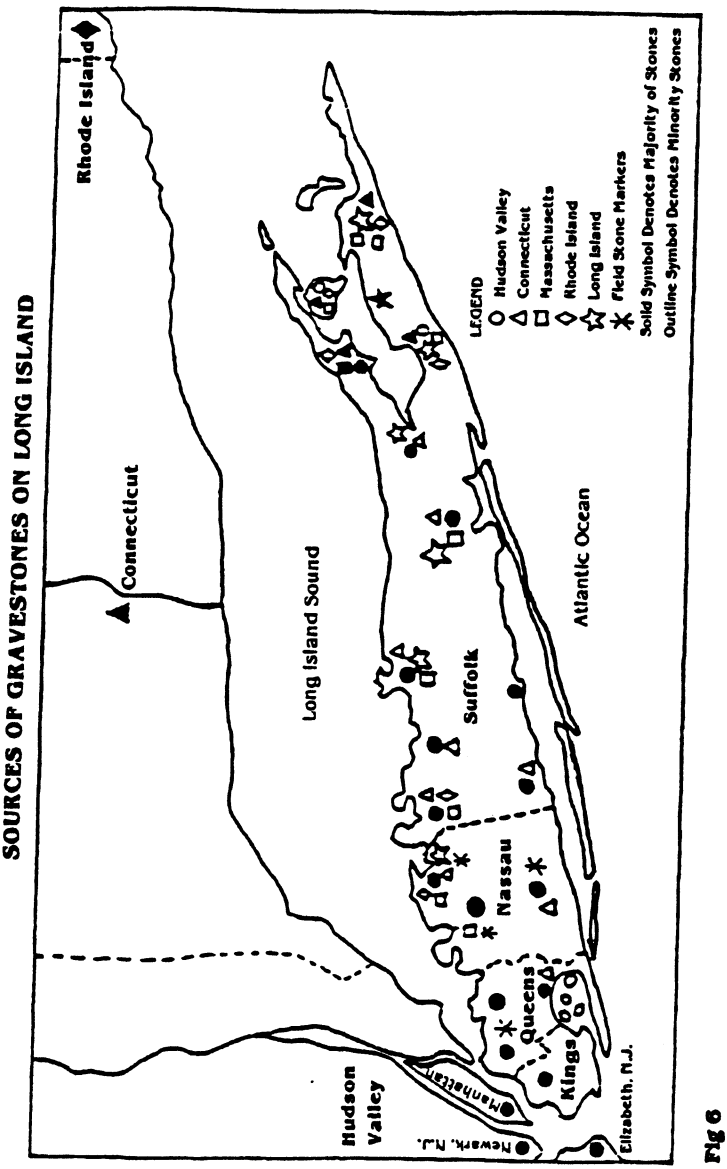

SOURCES OF GRAVESTONES ON LONG ISLAND
Rhode Island
Connecticut
Long Island Sound
Suffolk
Nassau
Queens
Kings
Manhattan
Newark, N.J.
Elizabeth, N.J.
Hudson Valley
Atlantic Ocean
LEGEND
Hudson Valley
Connecticut
Massachusetts
Rhode Island
Long Island
Field Stone Markers
Solid Symbol Denotes Majority of Stones
Outline Symbol Denotes Minority Stones

Fig 6

Politically, Long Island was a major geographic portion of early Colonial New Netherland, and was peopled by the varied ethnic groups who came to New Amsterdam from throughout the world, primarily the lowlands of Europe. There was an interface of these varying cultural modes in mid-Long Island (Eastern Queens, now Nassau County, and Western Suffolk). Thus Long Island's settlement history stems from the political and social complexion of the founding settlers—their ethnicity or national origin, religious beliefs or ideology, and point in time of settlement, which was often related to the political arena in Europe. The gravestone evidence for this will be discussed below.

Cultural Composition

New Netherland was poly-cultural from the beginning, with 18 languages spoken in New Amsterdam almost from its founding (Jameson:259). After the English take-over in 1664, brief Dutch rule in 1673, then final English control in 1674, all non-English were subsumed under the category "Dutch." That category actually included Flemish, Belgian Walloons, French Huguenots, Germans, and Scandinavians, as well as those from the various Low Country provinces later known as Holland. Brooklyn (Kings County) contained at least some Turks, Blacks, and Italians from its beginnings and later came to include numerous enslaved Africans and some freedmen (Miller); Queens County provided country homes for some of Manhattan's Jewish residents (Seyfried).

These early Turks, Africans, and Jews left no material evidence documented as yet on Long Island, but the other groups have done so in architecture, place names, surnames in the population and on gravestones, as well as through customs and traditions.

Not only is the ethnicity of Long Island settlers expressed in the material and documentary record, but also the ideology which often cross-cuts ethnic or cultural boundaries. The gravestone surnames show that half of purportedly "English" Newtown and Hempstead towns were "Dutch," about a third of North Hempstead was of Dutch origin, a quarter of Oyster Bay Town was Dutch, and a fifth of Jamaica was; of course, the five towns of Kings County were solidly "Dutch."

The most obvious social boundary is the current existence of multiple denominations, reflected in their churches and cemeteries which dot the landscape. The bulk of the churches continue from their Colonial beginnings: the Puritans (now Congregational and Presbyterian) with 63 percent of the gravestone population; the Anglicans at 6 percent; Quakers with 2 percent; and Methodists (including Anabaptists and Baptists also) at 3.5

percent. Only the early Anabaptist, Lutheran and Baptist structures no longer stand, while some former Dutch Reformed congregations (10 percent of the gravestones) are represented now only by their cemeteries.

By type of burying ground, church cemeteries account for 53 percent of this gravestone database, the family or neighborhood burying grounds contain 25 percent, the village denominational graveyards have 20 percent of the extant stones, and the non-denominational cemeteries hold 3 percent. Cemeteries exist where they are due to cultural influence, social organization, and the geographic setting. The earliest Dutch were buried at their water-side plantations, which have not survived; the early stones extant today are largely in Dutch Reformed churchyards. Overall, the Dutch were twice as likely as the English to be in family burying grounds. The English mostly settled in corporate village groups, thus their earliest stones are in churchyard cemeteries, where they are buried more than 50 percent of the time. They are seldom found in village non-denominational cemeteries and about 25 percent of the time rest in village denominational grounds.

The Gravestone Evidence

Some groups are poorly represented in the gravestone record. Enslaved Africans were quite numerous in Colonial New Netherland, but none of their Colonial mortuary record has survived on west end Long Island, there are a few stones in the east end and dozens of wooden crosses in mid-Long Island, usually in estate cemeteries. The only community cemetery with wood markers for Africans is one in Oyster Bay Town, which was inhabited by many Quakers and free thinkers having close trading ties with nonconformist Newport, Rhode Island. The exceptionally egalitarian atmosphere there and enslaved African carvers working for the John Stevens Shop may account for the substantial body of African gravestones in Newport's main burying ground.

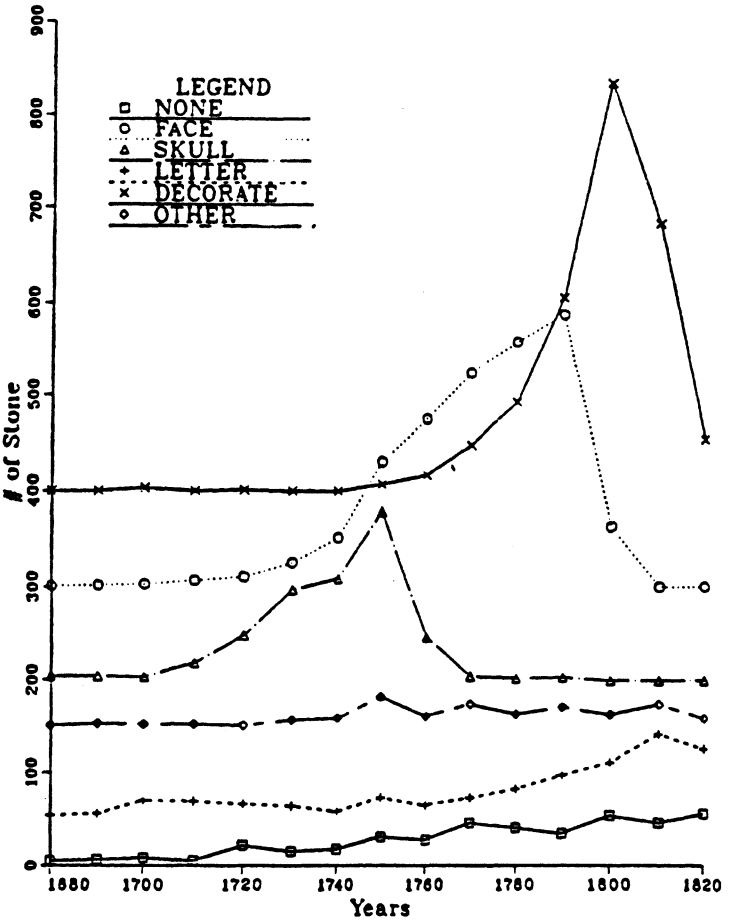
Also, the Native Americans of Colonial Long Island, many of them indentured servants and some slaves, have no carved markers of traditional stone, although there are a few 19th century marble markers, a wood post said to mark Native graves, and some cobble mounds said to be Native burials within settler family cemeteries. Thus these groups are underrepresented in the grave marker as well as the documentary record; in fact, any findings of ethnicity noted in this report are lower than the actual record due to the wholesale destruction through urban expansion of the numerous early family cemeteries in Kings and Queens Counties.

For other groups there are somewhat better records. The "Dutch" represent 15 percent of the extant gravestone record of 1670 to about 1800

on Long Island: yet, according to census records, in 1698 only about half of the New Netherland population was English. As late as the 1790 first census of the United States (after the influx of the English), the Dutch numbered 57,000, or about 2 percent of the national population; 89.4 percent of all Dutch lived in New York State, and composed about 16 percent of the New York population. New York contained 18.1percent of all French settlers (about equal with Virginia and Pennsylvania), or, 75 percent of the national population. German immigrants were .7percent of the New Yorkers and about 6percent of the national picture (Resister, p. 117). These 11gures appear conservative, as Fischer (p. 817), citing Purvis and Wacker, et. al, notes higher figures—around 100,000 for the Dutch population, for example. These ethnic groups are represented in the Long island gravestone record as .50 percent Flemish-Belgian, 10.1percent Hollanders, 1.7percentGerman, 2.7 percent French, .9 percent Scandinavian, and .9 percent Scots and Irish.

The "Dutch"and the English Quakers are also under-represented in the gravestone record for several reasons. The earliest Dutch entrepreneurs established water-side plantations and their field stone markers did not survive the urbanization of the sites. This destruction was repeated later for the inland Kings and Queens County homesteads. As the extant gravestone record shows, the Dutch were also twice as likely to use fieldstone memorials, which have not survived as well, as the English, except for the Quakers. They were about 50 percent more likely to use fieldstone markers than their fellow English. Most of these boulder markers were originally carved with initials and death date and were chosen to have a pointed top or other gravestone-like shape, some were shaped deliberately or had designs carved on them, but most are illegible now. Since the Dutch and Quakers were solid farmers and craftsman, this evidently was not a choice dictated by economic necessity.

Early Quaker settlers present another problem in assessing memorialization. The Society of Friends' Meetings on Long Island became distressed at the increased usage of commercial grave markers by their members, so the Westbury Meeting in 1776 ordered that all carved markers be removed from their meeting house grounds. In keeping with their philosophy of simplicity and equality, meeting house grounds which contain burials from the 1600s are mostly unmarked and thus invisible today. Because of this, the Quakers are greatly under-represented in the gravestone record. The Town of Flushing was home to many early Friends and other dissenters. Oyster Bay Town also had many non-conformists, and a multiplicity of religious groups, possibly due to its merchants'


LEGEND
NONE
FACE
SKULL
LETTER
DECORATE
OTHER
# of Stone
0
100
200
300
400
500
600
700
800
900
1680
1700
1720
1740
1760
1780
1800
1820
Years

D.A., d. 1735.
Landing Cemetery,
Glen Cove (Nassau).

Thomas Brown, New York City
Hannah Seaman, d. 1772
Townsend Cemetery, Jericho
(Nassau).

extensive trade (and kinship) ties with non-conformist Rhode Island.

Since markers frequently reflect basic human ideas, these ideological roots are reflected in the larger number of field stone markers and "plain" (no design) stones in this Dutch and Quaker-influenced mid-Long Island hinterland- Oyster Bay and Hempstead Towns. Fieldstone markers account for about 7percent of all stones; their use peaked between 1750-1775, bu t about a 20 percent usage continued to the early 1800s. Another expression of ideology by Friends or nonconformist families was an adaptation of the traditional gravestone; the usual Colonial shape was used, but the tympanum was left blank.

The American tradition of religious pluralism and freedom of belief stems from the Flushing Remonstrance and other precedents established by these free-thinking individuals in Queens County, John Bowne, an English non-conformist, and later Quaker, of Flushing, was imprisoned by Peter Stuyvesant, governor of New Amsterdam, for refusing to pay taxes for the established (Dutch Reformed) church. He demanded a hearing before the Dutch West India Company and pleaded his case in Holland. The Company subsequently ordered Stuyvesant to allow freedom of conscience, which became the basis of the American separation of church and state.

Gravestones demonstrate the persistence of the Dutch language. Within the cemetery boundaries, ethnic groups were identified by surname on the stone, inscribed biographical information, and by the language used. Inscriptions in Dutch on stones in the Kings County Dutch Reformed church yards comprise 2 percent of the total stones of the Island. The use of this language was maintained for 200 years after defeat by the English, as noted earlier. This is the most clear-cut ethnic distinction in Long Island cemeteries.

Another strong ethnic division is shown in the orientation of the headstone inscriptions. The Dutch and English both sprang from a common Calvinist heritage, yet 91percent of the earliest Dutch stone inscriptions face east, while 85 percent of the English inscriptions face west. With the passage of time and as the descendants of the early Dutch settlers moved east to the mid-Long Island area, their headstones began to conform to the English practice.

Besides surname and language, ethnicity is expressed in the gravestone inscription format. Dutch women in most early Dutch Reformed burying grounds were denoted by their natal name first, and then that of their husband; English women never were. Even English women of status were further identified only as daughters for example, as "Hannah, wife of

Herrick Rogers and daughter of Capt. David and Mrs. Mary Rose." This practice was evident in only minuscule fraction of the female population; overwhelmingly, English women were anonymous wives.

In the choice of the design motif on stones, ethnic and/or ideological differences were also displayed (see Fig. 7). Only 12 percent of all Long Island stones have a death's head; of these, only 1percent occurred in the Dutch-influenced west end, whereas 89 percent of them are in the Puritan-influenced East End in churchyards which later became Congregational or Presbyterian. In fact, there was never similarity in design choice between the two culture area groups except to a limited extent in the 1750-1774 period. There was also variation in choice and use of gravestone designs through time; see Stone (1987) for the overall Long Island record by decade.

It appears location as well as ethnicity has some effect in Long Island gravestone choice. Overall, 60 percent of Suffolk County stones came from nearby New England. However, the proportion changed through time, from 76 percent in the late 1600s, to 86 percent in the early 1700s, to 64 percent in the third quarter, to 46 percent at the end of the 18th century, and to only 3 percent in the early 1800s. This drop was influenced by an increase in stones from the New York City stone-cutting center as it came to dominate trade and with the establishment of the Hill family workshop in Sag Harbor in 1783, which took over the former share of the New England carvers.

All of the workshop-produced, popular culture gravestones in Kings County and 98.6 percent of those in queens came from the New Netherland stone-cutting centers in New Jersey and New York City, regardless of the ethnicity or ideology of the deceased. Eastern Queens (now Nassau County) inhabitants of mid-Long Island chose 87 percent of their stones from New York-New Jersey—reflecting a sizable Dutch ethnicity as well as propinquity—and the balance from New England.

Conclusions

The findings support Zelinsky's (p. 13) "Doctrine of First Effective Settlement," that the characteristics of the first group to effect a viable society are of crucial significance for the later social and cultural geography of the area. The gravestone data provide further support for Noble's (p. 27) designation and the overdue recognition of New Netherland as the Hudson Valley culture hearth. Further, the original multicultural nature of this Dutch Colonial hearth, reflected in the various forms of material culture discussed here, is more closely aligned to the Mid-Atlantic culture area than to that of New England.

These data refine Bonomi's (p. 22) use of 1698 population records stating that there were no "Dutch" in Suffolk County. There was a sprinkling of "Dutch" in most of the towns of the county from the beginning, still reflected in building practices, surnames, and gravestones (see Fig. 2). This information also provides a finer-grained picture of the settlement influences and ethnic composition of Long Island than is depleted in the maps of Bonomi (p. 211, Meinig 11975: 133), and Blackburn (p. 35).

The Dutch sub-group, eventually submerged by 200 years of pervasive English culture, demonstrates in this material culture record the strength of regional inheritance. People died and were memorialized as they lived—bounded by their cultural roots. English rule began only 30 years after Dutch settlement on Long Island, so the majority of the Dutch gravestones represent, more than the founding settlers, the succeeding generations who were becoming the new Americans. Because of this, the evidence of continuing early ethnic and ideological boundaries is all the more remarkable.

In the 164 cemeteries studied, the cultural choice of gravestones outlined above appears to be somewhat controlled by proximity, or the friction effect of distance, but ethnic and ideological differences between the two culture area groups are clearly expressed through variations in language used on gravestones, expressions of gender, the orientation of headstones, the use of fieldstones as markers, and the choice of design motifs. The small English Quaker sub-group gives evidence of its ideological tenacity through a differential use of gravestones, or the lack of them in the Colonial period, a higher usage of home-made fieldstone markers, and the later choice of traditional stones with no design.

The gravestone is a form of material culture which has survived in far larger number than structures or most other objects; it has also been less

modified and is more reliably fixed in time and space, which makes these markers useful for research and analysis. They are primary documents which frequently are the only early public death records or the only physical evidence of early trade routes, and are thus important adjuncts to the written record.

Gravestones are an enduring and traditional part of a people's culture, and the cemetery is a nodal point of the social landscape. Both represent choices illustrating human beliefs, and their presence provides a fuller record of an area's history. On Long Island that record was shaped by the nine ethnic groups and ten religious denominations functioning within a unique situation of competing culture spheres and multiple sources of grave markers.

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PHOTOGRAPHIC DEPICTION OF RACE AND ETHNICITY IN *NEWSDAY* AND THE *NEW YORK TIMES* LONG ISLAND SUNDAY SUPPLEMENT

By Arthur B. Dobrin

If a newspaper means to furnish a chronicle of a community, then the editors must intend that the photos they choose will accurately reflect the life of that community. However, no matter how objective they are meant to be, photographs tend to reflect the explicit and implicit philosophy of the photographer and the editor who chooses to print them. Just as words intended to be impartial may reflect their author's implicit and often unconscious view of the world, photos can reveal as much as they conceal. As a happening becomes news because an editor deems it so, so an image becomes worth printing because it meets the criteria set by one or more individuals.

As with any selection process, editing means that some pictures are printed and some are not. Published pictures go through the filtering screen of the photo editor, and, perhaps, the editorial board. In addition, what photographs appear reflect the philosophy of the photo editor. Claudia Mills quotes the philospher, Judith Lichtenberg, as saying, "What's news... is what's new, different, out of the ordinary." Defining what is new, different, and out of the ordinary is often in the eyes of those making such judgments. According to this interpretation, what photographs appear and what appears in the photographs are not necessarily true pictures but pictures that the photographer and editor choose to present as true. The criteria for deciding what pictures to print depends on the social climate, which varies considerably over the years. This point is illustrated by a decision by Alicia Patterson, *Newsday's* cofounding publisher, in 1947. According to *Newsday*'s historian, Robert F. Keeler, Patterson, had to be persuaded by a friend, Elizabeth Bass Golding, president of the Nassau County Women's Bar Association, to run a photograph of a light-skinned black woman who had been a guest speaker at a Women's Forum. When Patterson commented, "That might be very damaging to the paper, because I don't know of any newspaper that has had a picture of a black in it," Golding replied, "Then *Newsday*'s going to be the first," and Patterson ran the photo.[1]

Now, almost fifty years after Brown vs. Board of Education, enormous

change has taken place in public perception of race. Newspapers pride themselves on giving minorities and their problems the open-handed attention denied in the past, with no hesitation concerning the race of individuals photographed. However, coverage tends to be random, dependent on the news value of stories. Newspapers lean over backwards to be neutral and objective, yet the definition of what is newsworthy depends on the people making such choices. The purpose of this article is to determine the extent to which two leading Long Island papers, Newsday and the Sunday Long Island Supplement of the New York Times, actually practice objectivity in the photographs they decide to print.

Rather than examining all the photos in these two papers, the article focuses on particular parts of each paper that are similar in purpose, the portrayal of local stories not of major importance. It considers stories in *Newsday* devoted to soft rather than hard news, but does not look at either the sports pages or Part Two, where most entertainment stories are found. The *New York Times* photos are from the weekly Long Island section. Like *Newsday's* local news section, the Sunday supplement is a vehicle for parochially slanted feature stories. Hard news about Long Island appears on a daily basis in the *Times*'s Metro Section, while the Sunday supplement tends toward the more glamorous stories, especially during the summer months when it emphasizes goings on in the celebrity saturated Hamptons. Examination of only these parts of each paper provides significant insight concerning the editors' perception of the people who live, work, and play on Long Island, what readers are interested in seeing, and what is most newsworthy about whites, blacks, Hispanics, and Others. How do these two major papers portray race and ethnicity, and what social reality have they helped to create?

Photos examined appeared in *Newsday*'s local news sections, variously titled "Long Island," "Around Long Island," "Long Island/Nassau," "Long Island/Region," "Around Long Island/Community Life," and "Crime and Courts," Nassau edition, from 16 October 1998 until 20 March 1999, and the *New York Times* Sunday Long Island supplement between 18 October 1998 and 16 May 1999. Photographs considered reflect the decisions made by editors on a regular basis. For example, those taken by the papers for restaurant reviews and concerts are included, but advertising and publicity shots are excluded, along with the pictures of columnists which accompany several of the stories.

Several years ago *Newsday* published a story about a crackdown on deadbeat dads which sheds light on the mind set of photo editors. While the story reported arrests of many men, it focused on one individual and was

written in a way that made the reader assume he was white. However, the photograph accompanying the story showed three men being arrested. Two were clearly black, and the third man's race was unclear. The photo seemed to have been selected more to fill the need for a striking image than to convey a commitment to literal accuracy.[2]

This policy is shared by a good many photo editors of soft news stories in national magazines, who, unlike hard news photo editors, are more concerned with the power of the image than with an accurate reflection of the story. Photographic images are a subtle form of communication that is not always recognized as such. While the adage claims that pictures do not lie, most newspaper photos present only a portion of the possible truth of a situation. The photographs, selected for readers to view, represent the truth as the editor understands it. Different photographs present different points of view and, therefore, different stories, selected to present particular versions of social reality. Walter Lippmann had this in mind when he observed that, "The only feeling that anyone can have about an event he does not experience is the feeling aroused by his mental image of that event."[3]

By Lippmann's time, the mental images Americans carried with them were no longer the stories formerly passed from generation to generation through the telling of tales. The sources of images had shifted from the home and neighborhood to a mass culture in which are embedded racial and ethnic stereotypes. The reflection of these images back to the viewer not only reinforces social prejudices, but validates them by presenting the images as accurate reflections of social reality. Today's mass media offer Americans the information they need about the society in which they live, and, in the process, shape social perceptions and political attitudes. According to Martin Gilens, "Media distortions of social conditions are therefore likely to result in public misperceptions that reinforce existing biases and stereotypes." Photographs, especially those found in newspapers, are part of this process. Oral societies teach people the nature of social reality mainly through the spoken word. With the rise of literacy, the spoken word was largely replaced by the written word and social reality was learned through texts. However, since the advent of movies and especially television, people increasingly learn about themselves through visual representations.[4]

Conversely, real-life situations find their meanings in the visual media. Unlike the past, in which literature may have served as the main reference point, today meaning is more likely to come originally from images. Moreover, photographs are more than images; they are texts and, as such, are to be read, not merely observed. Understanding photographs as text

goes back to the very beginning of photography, as suggested in the 1830s by William Henry Fox Talbot, the first person to utilize negative/positive photographic processes, when he called photography "words of light."[5]

Photos have become major parts of newspaper stories. The Vietnam War may have lost its support because of the broadcast of bloody images into American households. Other influential visual influences were print media photos, such as that of horror-stricken children in Hung Cong Ut's photograph, "Accidental Napalm Attack," called by some a "seminal image from the Vietnam War. Tom Buckley, an American journalist in Vietnam, believes that the tide of public opinion turned against the war with the publication of the photograph of the execution of a Vietcong prisoner by Nguyen Ngoc Loan, the South Vietnamese national police commander. Whether such images makes an indictment against war, as hoped for by photographer Eugene Smith, or—as William James thought—does not have any effect because horror only makes for fascination, remains an open question.[6]

The *New York Times*, by conceding to print color photographs, even on the front page, acknowledged the continuing importance of the photograph in print journalism. No longer was it sufficient to publish "All the News That's Fit to Print." Now, even the gray lady of journalism needed a photogenic facelift in order to compete in an environment in which television news programs have replaced newsprint as the public's major source of news. Photographs had to be elevated in the papers, by becoming more eye-catching in order to compete with a medium of images.

Race in News Photographs

Race, as a social classification, is defined by Jefferson Fish as a culturally based system of categories. What we know about race is through someone else's representation, mainly, the narratives to which we are exposed. Newspapers provide one such narrative. Indeed, it is through such narrative sources that we largely form our ideas of social reality, and in particular, our beliefs regarding particular categories of people.[7]

The purpose of a newspaper does not require portraying racial and ethnic groups in proportion to their percentages of the population. Nevertheless, most newspapers accede to the critique that they should try to represent all elements of the community fairly, and that even the most fair-minded person is subject to unconscious bias. The papers accept the claim that the way in which news is defined is prejudiced, to some extent, both by reporters and editors. In recent years, many newspapers have made

concerted efforts to address bias by diversifying their staffs. *Newsday* is one such paper. From its origin in 1940, it has become the country's eighth largest paper, Long Island's only daily, the publisher of *Long Island: Our Story* and other books, and the winner of several Pulitzer Prizes. At first the staff was almost exclusively white, but after self-examination a number of years ago, the paper adopted a policy of diversification. Today, according to its chief editor, the paper has 448 newsroom professionals, a number that includes editors/supervisors, reporters/writers, copy/layout editors, and photographers/artists. Nearly 81 percent of these are white, and 19 percent are minorities, an almost exact match of Long Island's racial and ethnic make-up. Black executives include a member of the editorial board, the overseer of the national, foreign, state, Queens County, and science desks, the national editor, and three columnists.[8]

Race and Ethnicity

The prime categories in this study are white, black, and Hispanic, the Census Bureau's three major demographic designations for Long Island, with the remainder classified as Other. When the photo, caption, or context is too indistinct to identify color or ethnicity, the people involved are not counted. This applies to photographs of crowds in which people appear in the distance or with their backs to the cameras. However, when gender or color/ethnicity are not distinct, the person appears in the over-all count but not in the totals related to race or ethnicity. This method of counting leads to minor discrepancies in the analysis of the data. It should also be noted that the categorizing follows a common view of race and ethnicity, classifying people largely according to appearance, a notoriously inaccurate measure. Nevertheless, since newspaper readers seldom know more about people in photos other than appearance and occasional other information, the study is a fairly accurate reflection of widespread assumptions regarding racial classification.

The photographs are placed in the twelve broad categories of human-interest, politics, crime, education, accidents, entertainment, work, drugs, environment, housing-protest, poverty, and political protest. Most fit into one of the categories, while others are more ambiguous. "Where Crime Reigned, Self-Esteem Now Rules," for example, can fall under crime, human-interest, or education, and "Group Revives Troubled Area" might be placed under crime or poverty. In each case, however, the photo is classified by one category only, based on the content of the story.

Nassau and Suffolk County Demographics

Population estimates for Long Island as of 1 July 1997 were as follows: Total, 2,666,302; white, 2,156,470 (81 percent); black, 224,958 (8.4 percent); Hispanic, 210,465 (7.9 percent); and Other, 98,080 (3.7 percent). Arrest records for Nassau and Suffolk counties are: white, 39,892 (69 percent); black, 16,721 (29 percent); and Other, 806 (about 1 percent). Figures for Hispanics, who are counted only relatively to non-Hispanics, are 9,431Hispanic (16 percent) and 47,998 non-Hispanic (84 percent). Since race and ethnicity are separate categories, some people are double-counted. Therefore, the percentages of white, black, Hispanic and other add up to 115 percent. Latest estimates of persons below the poverty line on Long Island are white, 78,896 (4 percent); black, 22,453 (12 percent); Hispanic, 15,703 (10 percent); and Other, 3,004 (1.9 percent).[9]

Readers of *Newsday*'s local news sections get a fair view of Long Island demographics, since whites, who represent 80 percent of the population, are 77 percent of the individuals in the photographs examined, a statistically insignificant difference. However, both whites and Hispanics are under represented in terms of the total number of photos, while blacks and Others are over represented. More significant, however, are the distortions between various groups as depicted in the nature of the stories in which they appear. Here is found a picture of Long Island in which different racial and ethnic groups appear to lead different life styles, have different interests, and stand in a different relationship to the power authorities.

A typical day as presented in photographs shows mainly whites in benign settings, with blacks, Hispanics, and Others absent. A larger percentage of whites and Others is found in human-interest stories than that of blacks and Hispanics, who, on the other hand, are more likely to be depicted in photos illustrating a social problem. When crime, problems in education, accidents, and poverty are examined, blacks and Hispanics appear in disproportionate numbers. Here are found 35 percent of all pictures of blacks and 30 percent of Hispanics, but only 12 percent of whites and 14 percent of Others. It is about three times more likely that blacks or Hispanics, compared with whites or Others, will be shown in photos involving problems.

There is a serious disparity between social and depicted reality in the area of poverty. Blacks and Hispanics constitute 75 percent of all photographs depicting poverty, in stark contrast to the incidence of poverty on Long Island. In fact, 66 percent of Nassau and Suffolk's poor are white,

nearly the reverse of what the photographs show. Moreover, blacks constitute 19 percent of the poor and Hispanics 13 percent. To be fair, the latest available figures regarding poverty are from 1989. While the social reality of poverty has changed in the intervening eleven years, which witnessed an expansion of an already substantial minority middle class, it is questionable that it has changed as dramatically as depicted in *Newsday*.[10]

Crime photos often show inconsistent distortions pertaining to all the groups concerned. White people constitute 60 percent of photographs of criminals, but 69 percent of those arrested, and blacks represent 26 percent of the photos of criminals, but 29 percent of those arrested. Conversely, Hispanics receive kinder treatment: while accounting for 16 percent of arrests, they are represented in only 5 percent of photos of criminals. The most glaring discrepancy concerns Others, who account for less than 2 percent of arrests, but appear in 9 percent of the crime photos .

As might be expected in an area with a predominately white population, white people are shown in a preponderance of the photos of law enforcers and government officials. Some 79 percent of all police, lawyers, and judges depicted are white, as are 96 percent of photos involving politicians. Similarly, every firefighter shown is white, which probably is indicative of continuing discrimination .

New York Times

The Long Island section of the *New York Times* shows a population slightly whiter than it truly is, while blacks, Hispanics and Others are under represented. However, as with *Newsday*, the discrepancies are minor. Greater distortions appear in the stories in which the groups appear. More than half of all whites photographed are in human-interest stories. Less than half of that percentage applies to blacks, and even less to Hispanics. At the same time, almost half the photographs of Others are in this category. Statistics involving restaurants show that whites and Others are twice as likely as blacks to be shown, and seven times more likely than Hispanics.

Blacks are three times as likely as whites to be depicted as criminals, with the percentage of Hispanics closer to that of whites. There is also a clear distinction when it comes to stories dealing with problems in education. Blacks are seventeen times as likely as whites to be found here, Hispanics thirty-nine times as likely. In fact, more than 70 percent of all photographs showing problems in education depict blacks and Hispanics. Other minority groups are not shown in this category.

Similar disparities surface in stories involving poverty, with blacks twelve times more likely than whites to be depicted. In fact, half of all photos of poverty involve blacks. Ninety percent of all photographs of whites are found in stories of human-interest, politics, positive stories about education, entertainment, sports and restaurants, while 57 percent of the photos of blacks and 13 percent of Hispanics are in these categories. All photos of Others are in this sub-group. Conversely, 15 percent of whites are found in the problem areas of criminals, difficulties in education, and poverty. Thirty-eight percent of all blacks are in this category, as are 46 percent of all Hispanics. Not one Other is found here.

Conclusion

This study indicates that some distortions in racial representation continue to show up in photographs in two of Long Island major newspapers. While the photos come close to accurately reflecting the racial and ethnic composition of Long Island's population, the types of stories in which people are depicted do not present a true picture of social reality in Nassau and Suffolk counties. Instead, photographic selection tends to reinforce stereotypes of blacks and Hispanics relative to crime and poverty.

White people are shown mainly in human-interest stories or in socially positive roles, such as politicians, teachers, or firefighters. On the other hand, blacks appear to a greater extent as criminals, poor people, or in need of remedial education. Blacks, Hispanics, and Others are defined by *Newsday*' s photo selections as "new, different, and out of the ordinary," but they are so selected for quite different reasons. Blacks and Hispanics are "out of the ordinary" in terms of crime, poverty, and problems in education. Those classified as Others are "out of the ordinary" simply because they are a distinct but growing minority on Long Island. In fact, Others appear only in stories about human-interest, crime, and education. Whites, on the other hand, are newsworthy as makers of legislation and fighters of crime and fires. Nearly one-fourth of all whites appear in just these three categories.

The *New York Times* draws a similar picture. All but 10 percent of whites are shown in human-interest, political, and other socially positive stories. Conversely, only 40 percent of blacks are found here. It is worse for Hispanics: a little more than 10 percent of their photographs are in these categories.

Readers of *Newsday*'s local news sections and the *Times*'s Long Island Sunday Supplement can easily draw the conclusion that whites play the

roles of maintainers of the status quo on Long Island and Others enjoy a life of leisure, enjoyment, and a good education, while blacks and Hispanics are the primary sources of crime, poverty, and other social problems. While the former premise may be close to reality, the latter is not. Whites may indeed enjoy more leisure than other groups on Long Island, but in absolute numbers as opposed to proportion of the population, they constitute the largest number of those arrested and the largest number of people in poverty.

When the photographs are reduced to five major categories—human-interest, crime, poverty, educational problems, and other—the distortions in representation become clearer. This conclusion is similar to that of Gilens, who found that, "Network TV news and weekly news magazines portray the poor as substantial more black than is really the case."[11]

In 1978, the black caucus at *Newsday* accused the paper of portraying blacks in a dehumanizing way. It pointed out that the obituary of a black reporter contained details of his suicide and the fact that he had beaten his wife, while obituaries of whites who committed suicide tended not to report personal and unflattering information about the deceased. The reporter who wrote the obituary did not think she was racist, but on "this great mission of truth-telling."[12]

While these two newspapers do not deliberately portray groups in particular ways, either in print or in photographs, they nevertheless present images of the community that reflect a reality rooted in white America's dominant viewpoint, one that links race and ethnicity with poverty and crime. In other words, Long Island's two major newspapers, like other segments of the media, sometimes distort the relationship between race, poverty, and crime that continues to reinforce a perception of social reality rooted in the history of racism. Photographs selected by the two papers should avoid presenting a picture of Long Island viewed through the prism of race.

NOTES

1. Claudia Mills, "The Ethics of Representation: Realism and Idealism in Children's Fiction," *Report from the Institute for Philosophy & Public Policy 19* (Winter 1999): 13-18; Robert F. Keeler, *Newsday: A Candid History of the Respectable Tabloid* (New York: Arbor House, 1990), 366.

2. Alexander C. Kafka, "53 Accused as Support Deadbeats," *Newsday*, 8 Feb. 1994, A21.

3. Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (1922; reprint, New York: Macmillan, 1960), 13.

4. Martin Gilens, "Race and Poverty in America: Public Misperception and the American News Media," *Public Opinion Quarterly 60* (1996): 516; James Guimond, *American Photography and the American Dream* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Univ. of North Carolina Press,

1991), 4).

5. Graham Clarke, *The Photograph* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Eduardo Cadava, *Words of Light: These on the Photography of History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1997).

6. Clarke, 160; Richard Bernstein, "In Vietnam the Pen Was as Mighty as Napalm," *New York Times*, 1 December 1998, E2.

7. Jefferson Fish, *Culture and Therapy: An Integrative Approach* (Northvale, N.J.: Jason Aronson, 1996), 179-201. 188.

8. Anthony Marro to the author, 9 March 1998.

9. U S Census Bureau, "Estimates of the population of counties by race and Hispanic origin," www.census./gov/population/estimates/crh/crhny97.txt; State of New York, Division of Criminal Justice Services, "Uniform Crime Reporting, County No. 29," 1997; "Uniform Crime Reporting, County No. 51," 1997.

10. Long Island Planning Board, *POVRACE WK 1*, 1992.

11. Gilens: 515.

12. Keeler, 585.

AN ACCOMMODATING ARTISTRY: ROBERT MORRIS COPELAND'S LANDSCAPE DESIGNS FOR SHELTER ISLAND

By David Sokol

The accomplishments of the landscape architect Robert Morris Copeland have been obscured by the long shadow cast by his famed contemporaries, Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux. Moreover, to evaluate the creativity of any landscape artist requires a degree of caution, because most assignments are commissioned to rather than created by that artist. This article examines Copeland's contributions,
both as artist and employee, to the landscape of Shelter Island at Dering Harbor (formerly Shelter Island Park) and Shelter Island Heights. The Shelter Island Park project climaxed his tense relationship with the developer Erastus Carpenter, of Foxboro, Massachusetts, especially in comparison to the Shelter Island Heights design commissioned by the Methodist Camp-Meeting Association.. This recurring theme in the Copeland-Carpentef relationship may be used a guage for measuring public response to the landscape architect's dual and sometimes conflicting roles.[1]

Copeland was born 11 December 1830 in Roxbury, Massachusetts, to Benjamin Franklin Copeland, a Boston merchant, and his wife, the former Julia Ruggles. Robert's early childhood may be considered an extended introduction to landscape architecture. His father was a founding member of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, and among the family's neighbors was Henry Alexander Scammell Dearborn, the first president of the society and the chief designer of Mount Auburn, Forest Hills, and Edgell Grove cemeteries. The architectural historian John B. Jackson commented on the influence of the physical setting of Copeland's childhood on his choice of a career:

> It was in these various ways that rural New England changed in the mid-nineteenth century: the fields moved down into the valleys and (in accordance with nationwide tendency) became larger. "It was a pastoral landscape of smooth expanses of short grass, bordered by translucent groves of trees" and it was this that they [Olmsted,

> Copeland, and other landscape architects] unconsciously sought to reinterpret in their urban parks when they were middle-aged men.[2]

In *Country Life*, the nine-hundred-page horticultural manual he wrote in 1859, Copeland explained eliminating "translucence" in a cluster of trees, in a tone suggesting long-term familiarity with the subject:

> Everyone knows that trees grown in masses, with the exception of those on the edges of the plantation, lose their lower branches; those branches only develop fully which are open to air and light. A great beauty of an irregular plantation is, that its trees feather down to the ground.[3]

After sailing to California at the age of nineteen to seek his fortune in the gold rush, Copeland returned to Massachusetts in 1849 to attend Harvard. An apprenticeship with a noted scientific agriculturalist, the Rev. Morrill Allen of Duxbury, followed his 1851 graduation, after which Copeland established himself as "A Landscape Gardener" in Auburndale in 1852 or 1853.[4]

After establishing a partnership with Horace William Shaler Cleveland, which lasted until 1859, Copeland honed his style on a number of projects, among them the rural cemeteries of Oak Grove in Gloucester (1854), Sleepy Hollow in Concord (1855), Mount Feake Cemetery in Waltham, and Wyoming Cemetery in Melrose (1857), and the Samuel Colt Estate in Hartford. Copeland and Cleveland contemplated landscape design on a grander scale with their 1856 publication of *A Few Words on The Central Park* in 1856, but their proposal failed to place in New York City's Central Park competition.[5]

Several projects illustrated the maturation of Copeland's style, as he wrestled with the problem of how intricate a design could be without appearing artificial. For example, he had yet to decide the number of twists a path could take but still appear natural, like a rambling stream. The progression from Oak Grove to Mount Feake cemeteries showed that Copeland was testing his limits. The 1854 Oak Grove Cemetery design manifests a number of different effects within a small space. A hilltop overlooks the entrance, around which a series of small paths weave in and out of sets of irregularly defined shapes. The following year's plan for Sleepy Hollow Cemetery, however,caricatures Oak Grove's intricacy. While several connecting roads sweep broadly over the landscape, their terminals are not grand or sweeping. Pathways through the burial plots do

not weave, as at Oak Grove, but instead run into themselves. The paths for each row of burial stones cover as much ground as the greenspace with which they compete for the viewer's attention. By the time of the Mount Feake commission, Copeland had recognized this mistake. The 1857 project, with its slightly rambling roads encircling uninterrupted gravesite greenspaces, indicates a more mature, self-controlled manipulation of the landscape. Mount Feake's roads and topographical features are more rolling, changes in height are less severe than at Oak Grove or Sleepy Hollow, and the paths do not collapse into themselves. While this more relaxed manipulation of the natural landscape may have been due to Mount Feake's much larger size, this project represented Copeland's increasing grasp of a signature style.

Copeland's writings confirm his aspiration to design landscapes that stressed movement and connection between their different parts without dizzying the viewer. By 1859, when he wrote *Country Life*, Copeland favorerd gently curvilinear roads, as opposed to the wildly twisting roads that reduced the picturesque quality of Sleepy Hollow Cemetery: "Do not think that because a line is not straight it is beautiful," he remarked. In addition, he emphasized his concern with achieving an overall landscape scheme, or "picture."[6]

His experience during the Civil War not only put his career on hold but almost ruined his reputation. Soon after the war began he entered military service as quartermaster of the Second Massachusetts Regiment, quickly followed by his appointment as aide to General Nathaniel P. Banks, and then as assistant adjutant-general with the rank of major. At this point, Copeland played a role in the establishment of an African American unit, probably the 54th Massachusetts Regiment. However, his predilection for controversy resulted in termination of his military career. As the architectural historian Ellen Weiss explains:

> He took it upon himself to inform the people of Massachusetts, by way of his brother in law Charles Dunbar's *Daily Advertiser*, of the reverses to the Northern forces in the early months of the war in the hope that such news would stimulate New England men to volunteer. Instead, he was dismissed from service [en route to a new position under General Hunter in South Carolina], without charges or explanation. He eventually met with Lincoln, who seems to have become progressively irritated with Copeland during the course of the interview, calling him down as a trouble-maker and renegade that the army could well do without. Deeply hurt by the disgrace, Copeland retired to West Castleton [where he

had placed his family with his father].[7]

Despite this negative publicity, his career was reinstated after the war. In 1866 he was hired by Erastus Carpenter, Shubael L. Norton, Ira Darrow, Grafton N. Collins, William Bradley, and William S. Hills to design the landscape for Oak Bluffs, the vacation resort adjacent to Wesleyan Grove, the famous Methodist campsite on Martha's Vineyard. Erastus Carpenter, the leader of the developers, hired Copeland as landscape architect, the first chapter in their long business relationship. However, at first blush it appeared an odd coupling.[8]

While Copeland attempted to clear his name of Civil War scandal, Erastus Carpenter enjoyed one of the many pinnacles of his career. Eight years Copeland's senior, Carpenter was a Foxboro boy who made good. By 1852, he had built the Union Straw Works, the "largest manufacturer of straw hats in the world" and the employer of six thousand workers, mostly women. Carpenter sold the Union Straw Works to Vyse & Co. in 1861, but remained as superintendent and a partner until 1870. The sale, primarily due to the Civil War, gave Carpenter time to serve the Union cause. Among other activities, he was chairman of the Foxboro War Relief Committee, after which the local Grand Army Post was named in his honor. Carpenter, the pragmatic, successful, patriotic businessman, and Copeland, the impetuous artist, could not have been more different, with a shared interest in landscape architecture one of a few exceptions. Carpenter founded the Sylvanian Association, a private group responsible for creating the Foxboro Common, and led the association that established Foxboro's Rock Hill Cemetery (1852). Carpenter's acquaintance with rural cemetery design explains why he was familiar with Copeland and chose him to do Oak Bluffs.[9]

Oak Bluffs provided a unique project to Copeland—a closely knit vacation community that maintained the quiet, nature-oriented ambience of adjacent Wesleyan Grove. Copeland's vision of the project reestablished the aesthetic trajectory taking shape at Mount Feake Cemetery. His 1866 speculative map of Oak Bluffs, contiguous with but more intricate than the earlier plan, stressed informal living conditions. Small parks, like one-acre Hartford Park, were scattered throughout the site, while the outlines of shapes conformed with the natural features. This was exemplified by the periphery road along the shoreline, extending to the village's landlocked boundaries. Nor did the design neglect Wesleyan Grove. Curvilinear roads played on the radial-concentric plan of the campground's preaching area, as well as its residential subdivisions. Meanwhilke, the abundance of trees

at Hartford Park replicated the spiritual significance attached to nature and community space at Wesleyan Grove.

After Copeland's earlier floundering for a signature style coupled with the Civil War's interruption of his artistic growth, Oak Bluffs was a major but short-lived achievement. Perhaps indicating the power of capital in the Gilded Age, the most distinctive alteration in Copeland's plan was the creation of massive Ocean Park, covering seven seaside acres and "rendering the community open to space, sky, and the sea." Ocean Park was not Copeland's idea, but a concept of Carpenter and the developers, who championed the change for a number of reasons:

> The land in that area dipped in the center, creating drainage problems for cottages. "Breathing space" and firebreaks were wanted. A large park would help avoid conflict with the camp meeting and would give the development "magnitude." And it would attract city dwellers and a better class of resident to its edges.

Ocean Park became the antithesis of Hartford Park. Large, practically treeless, and anchored by ornamental ponds and bandstands, it served as a poor transitional area between the water and the land. The *New York Times* reported that Ocean Park was at best an eyesore, "a wretched attempt at landscape gardening" to which Copeland had to sign his name.[10]

Carpenter's group purchased more land for the Oak Bluffs resort in 1870 and 1871. Copeland's design for these years, however, broke sharply with those of his past; while his treatment of the original site rambled less than his 1866 design, the new parcels stood removed from the rest of the subdivision. Copeland's treatment of the landscape disregarded that of Wesleyan Grove, his 1866 Oak Bluffs design, and his 1850s cemeteries. Most striking about his handling of the added space was his abandonment of the curvilinear line, except for the peripheral road whose broad, sweeping arcs enclosed the series of lots so that they looked like a football or, to Ellen Weiss, a fish. Within this oval, however, straight lines and right angles dominated. Copeland emphasized symmetry by dividing this pattern into approximate thirds by means of boulevards. Like Frederick Law Olmsted's boulevards at Jackson Park in Chicago, or those leading to Prospect Park in Brooklyn, a central green space was intended for promenading. In this new use of public space for Copeland, he turned to the formality of boulevards instead of nestling small public spaces within this part of Oak Bluffs. Outside this area were more park-like public spaces. While the 1870 and 1871 designs may have shown Copeland's

contemplation of formalism in landscape architecture they were at odds with his earlier style, indicating Carpenter's pragmatic influence. To unappealing ends, Copeland accommodated his employer's ideas, perhaps responding emotionally to Carpenter's meddling. No longer could Copeland create a space on his own; instead, he was reduced to designing a product tailored to a businessman's requests.[11]

Probably unaware of the design incongruities at Oak Bluffs, Carpenter commissioned Copeland to design Shelter Island Park. Like Oak Bluffs, Shelter Island Park was a secular vacation resort created to complement Shelter Island Heights (also known as Prospect), a Methodist campground established in 1872. That August, two months after the association at Shelter Island Heights began selling lots, Carpenter and several other Boston-area developers formed the Locust Point Association (also known as the Shelter Island Land Company) to acquire the acreage on Dering Harbor, facing the Heights. In terms of recreation, Shelter Island Park was similar to Oak Bluffs. The lavish Manhanset House hotel would be built, in addition to wharves, bathing pavilions, and other facilities to be completed by summer 1873.

Copeland carried over and emphasized the themes from the Oak Bluffs additions. One of the earliest maps of Shelter Island Park, a subdivision plan for L. G. Van Etten dated 1912, can be extrapolated backward to understand what Copeland and Carpenter and his fellow developers had in mind for Locust Point. An unnaturalistic formalism dominated Copeland's design, with straight roads that disregarded topographical features and abandoned undulation. Only the cul-de-sac shoreline terminus for the north-south roads employed the circular form. In addition, the formal boulevard reappeared, though quickly reduced to a narrower pedestrian promenade directing vacationers toward Greenport Channel. Most remarkable was the omission of public spaces such as roads, promenades, and small or large parks. Although it might have been assumed that vacationers would stay on the beach or remain on the Manhanset House grounds, this was a new development in Copeland's designs. Was it again Carpenter's doing? He was among those who suggested that Copeland remove several hundred lots to create Ocean Park and similar spaces at Oak Bluffs. If not Carpenter, then for some other reason Copeland took the disjunctive design for the Oak Bluffs extensions, reduced it even further, and created an entire project from it.

Carpenter should be suspected. Considering that he helped create Ocean Park at Oak Bluffs to attract wealthier vacationers, the lack of public space at Shelter Island Park ensured the patronage of the well-to-do.

With the development's extremely narrow lots and paucity of public space, it made sense for buyers of green space to purchase multiple lots, which less affluent people could not afford. Consequently, few houses were built in Shelter Island Park, with only a dozen before 1889. Paralleling large land purchases, those houses appeared more like mansions than the Oak Bluffs-sized "cottages" probably originally envisioned for the site. Indeed, Carpenter's association's by-laws stated that one "sea-shore cottage, costing not less than $1,500, would be built for every two lots purchased."[12]

With Copeland's design for Carpenter's Katama, on Martha's Vineyard, the formalism and lack of public space attributed to Carpenter at Shelter Island Park became more sadly resonant. The earlier 1872 design for Katama had resolved the tensions evident in the various Oak Bluffs designs. Although never executed, it was, according to Ellen Weiss, Copeland's most mature contribution to suburban landscape architecture. It continued the use of boulevards, although many fanned out at the ends and were composed entirely of greenspace. In addition, Katama's center was punctuated by a large, Ocean Park-like park. Like the 1866 Oak Bluffs plan, however, there was a curvilinear intricacy to Katama's appearance, as well as smaller public spaces reminiscent of Hartford Park. Even here, one theme of the Copeland-Carpenter story surfaced. Carpenter built only a hotel at the Katama site; his failure to execute Copeland's mature plan again rejected Copeland's accommodating artistry. Thus, Katama places Shelter Island Park in a new light. After the rejection of Copeland's compromising Katama design, the Shelter Island Park project represented a bitter climax to his relationship with Carpenter than previously imagined. In the context of Katama, the formality of the Shelter Island Park design can more definitively be atritbuted to Carpenter. This becomes clearer considering Copeland's commissioned design for the Shelter Island Heights camp meeting, which descarded formality while its graded manipulation of space attempted to maximize profit. Nevertheless, consistent with Copeland's earlier works, Shelter Island Heights proved that Carpenter's business-minded intervention in the Oak Bluffs and Shelter Park projects was hardly warranted.

The site for the Shelter Island Heights camp meeting was purchased in 1871 by a group of Brooklyn clergymen and developers incorporated as the Shelter Island Grove and Camp-Meeting Association of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The land was purchased from the estate of Frederick Chase, who had died fourteen years earlier. Chase had hoped that some day the site would become a Christian "city of sobrie" (sobriety). Almost immediately after this purchase, the association began planning the sort of

vacation resort hybrid that characterized most camp meetings established in that era. Anchoring the site would be a hotel called Prospect House, a wharf with a bathing pavilion, tabernacle, restaurant in addition to the hotel's dining hall, and later, a detached amusement hall, all of which would share space with individually built cottages. The association hired Copeland to execute the plan that harmoniously would contain these various elements. His selection may have had something to do with availability, as Copeland worked for Carpenter at Shelter Island Park around that time. In any case, the plans for Shelter Island Park and Shelter Island Heights were executed almost simultaneously.[13]

Copeland's design for Shelter Island Heights, unlike that for Shelter Island Park, returned to his earlier work. In a more autonomous position than he had with Carpenter, Copeland here celebrated his Mount Feake Cemetery and 1866 Oak Bluffs designs. More informally meandering than his design for Katama several months earlier, broad yet self-contained arcs dominated the landscape, and roads were shaped to the natural contours and geographic outlines of Shelter Island Heights. Copeland also resumed a wide distribution of public space with a system of small parks. Although some green space was encircled by lots, and therefore less accessible, public space was generous in magnitude and quality. The small Rainbow Park (also known as Sylvan Park) faced a series of lots, inviting community gatherings and influencing Copeland's design of both the preaching and the Prospect House grounds. Equal or only slightly larger than the largest park in their vicinity—Rainbow Park, immediately east of Grand Avenue Place—the park space would be as conducive to gatherings as the institutional grounds. Mindful of the Methodist campground's emphasis on community, he created these spaces to compensate for the relatively small size of the lots. This indicated that, unlike at Shelter Island Park, Copeland expected Shelter Island Heights buyers to build one cottage per lot.

If cottages were to be built on individual lots, Copeland's design for Shelter Island Heights demonstrated a business acumen that remained artistically consistent with his earlier work. According to survey maps drawn in 1880 and 1884, the lots surrounding the tabernacle and on the shoreline approach of Dering Harbor into Peconic Bay were approximately 35 by 60 feet, while those on the coast of Chase Creek, with less striking vistas, averaged 40 b y 75 feet. As one moved away from these sites, access to recreational or religious activities became more restricted, for which Copeland compensated by increasing the size of the plots. Those of Divinity Hill, nicknamed for the clergy who built homes on it, represented the other extreme, ranging from 60 to 150 feet wide and about 200 feet

deep. The spaciousness doubly demonstrated Copeland's sense of location. At the highest point of Shelter Island Heights, he imagined mansions instead of crowded small houses. These imposing residences would mimic the topography, fittingly crowning the Heights. In all, the design for Shelter Island Heights demonstrated Copeland's understanding of public demand by creating a higher-density subdivision closest to the site's attractions, and dispersing people more widely to compensate for their distance from those attractions.

The Heights Association never executed Copeland's vision. As at Shelter Island Park, the summer residents of Shelter Island Heights purchased contiguous lots in a single bid, with a maximum of five allowed. At the first auction, fifty-one bidders bought 117 lots at a price of $150 each. Lots on the western and northern shores of the campsite, which covered only ten acres or about one-eighth of the site sold immediately, in preference to the interior land surrounding the preaching area. Six bidders bought five contiguous lots, five bought four, and seven purchased three. This trend did not continue, though, as only fifty-one cottages were noted by Kenneth R. Cranford on a trip to Shelter Island Heights in summer 1878. However, this purchasing pattern rendered pointless the parks fundamental to Copeland's design: the purchase of multiple contiguous lots resulted in fewer cottages being built, freeing yard space for large but private outdoor gatherings. Copeland's design was not a failure, but early land development at the Heights again illuminated the sponsor's willingness to sacrifice artistic vision in favor of financial gain.[14]

The design alterations influenced public perception of those landscapes. The Methodists' withdrawal from the Heights campground by the mid-1880s shed light on the response to the flawed execution of Copeland's design. Perhaps Methodist campers left Shelter Island to participate in the North Fork camp meeting at Jamesport, in operation since 1834. After a lender foreclosed on the church at Jamesport and the campers offered the entire parcel as additional collateral, the Methodist churches of Suffolk County repurchased the site for $1,000 around 1868. Buyers probably appealed to Methodists at Shelter Island for crucial assistance, hus crating an incentive to join the camp meeting to which they contributed. In any case, the presence of Methodist campers at Shelter Island Heights drastically diminished. In 1886, the Shelter Island Grove and Camp-Meeting Association changed its name to the Shelter Island Heights Association. Much later, in 1947, the Methodist Church bought Camp Quinipet, about three miles from Shelter Island Heights, and converted this all-boys' (later all-girls') camp into a training center and resort camp. Camp Quinipet resembles Copeland's Shelter Island Heights

design: a number of hotels are nearby, and its coastline location provides excellent views. The aesthetic similarities suggest the preferred criteria for choosing camp meeting locations.[15]

The execution of Copeland's design did not concur with this formula, for which partial esponsibility belongs to th Methodists'withdrawal to Jamesport. Surely, the execution of Copeland's design relegated religion at the Heights to second-class status. While providing larger lots on Divinity Hill, he could foresee that its cottages would be occupied almost exclusively by ministers participating in the camp meetings. Housed at a distance from the resident clergy, lay campers may have felt abandoned by their spiritual leaders.

Other poorly executed elements led to similar spiritual ramifications. Shelter Island Heights buyers showed higher concern with recreation more than religion by snatching up shoreline property first. Moreover, by rendering public parks pointless they showed little interest in contributing to a spirit of community. More immediate developments, like the post-poned construction of a chapel in 1875-1876 until after completion of the first amusement and hotel facilities, and the campsite's increasing interdenominationalism ensured that religious community would not be the first priority at Shelter Island Heights. However, design played the crucial role. In addition to considering the characteristics of Camp Quinipet, we should note how closely the Jamesport campsite replicated Copeland's original design for the Heights: its tight circular form created a high-density community of Christian believers, reminiscent of the earlier, more primitively designed Methodist campgrounds. Thus, despite the centrality of the tabernacle, use of small public parks, and reverence for nature borrowed from campsites like Wesleyan Grove, Copeland's vision of a summertime religious community never took shape.[16]

The failed vision belonged as much to the Methodists of Shelter Island Heights as to Copeland. Artists like Copeland must engage in dialogue with employers like Erastus Carpenter, with all the accommodation and frustration that it involves. In the history of landscape architecture, Copeland, Carpenter, and the Shelter Island Grove and Camp-Meeting Association exemplify the potential tension between the artist and his or her patron. In this case, the Methodist campers of Shelter Island Heights disapproved of the art of the man they hired and finally turned it down. Their rejection highlights a major concern for the student of outdoor design, stated bluntly by the timeworn proverb: "He who pays the piper calls the tune." In short, the story of landscape architecture belongs as much to the sponsor as to the artist.

NOTES

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1. For Copeland, see Ellen Weiss, "Robert Morris Copeland's Plans for Oak Bluffs," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 34 (March 1975): 60-66; Daniel J. Nadenicek, William H. Tishler, and Lance M. Neckar, "Robert Morris Copeland," in *Pioneers of American Landscape Design II: An Annotated Bibliography*, eds. Charles A. Birnbaum and Julie K. Fix (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, Historic Landscape Initiative, 1995), 35-38; and Robert Morris Copeland obituary, *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 30 March 1874. For Carpenter, see Jack Authelet, *Glimpses of Early Foxboro* (Foxboro: Foxboro Company, 1978), 47-51.

2. For Dearborn, see Weiss, 61, n12; John Brinkerhoff Jackson, *American Space: The Centennial Years 1865-1876* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1972), 111.

3. Robert Morris Copeland, *Country Life: A Handbook of Agriculture, Horticulture, & Landscape Gardening*, 5th ed. (Boston: Dinsmoor and Company, 1866), 763.

4. Copeland obituary; Weiss, 60-61; Nadenicek, Tishler, and Neckar, 35.

5. For Oak Grove, see *Gloucester Telegraph and News*, 30 June 1855; for Sleepy Hollow, see Marian H. Wheeler, "News for a History of Sleepy Hollow Cemetery: A Chronological Order of Events," n.d.; for Mount Feake, see "Historic Mount Feake One of Best-Kept Cemeteries," n.d., and John M. Duffy, "Driving Tour of Mount Feake Cemetery," n.d.; for Wyoming Cemetery see "A History of Wyoming Cemetery," n.d., and *Melrose Free Press*, 29 November 1951; for Massachusetts State Farm, Samuel Colt Estate, and Central Park, see Nadenicek, Tishler, and Neckar, 36.

6. Copeland, *Country Life*, 324-56.

7. Weiss, 60; see also Copeland obituary.

8. The Carpenter group's Oak Bluffs land purchase was resented by Methodist campers at Wesleyan Grove (The Rev. Hebron Vincent, *History of the Camp-Meeting and Grounds at Wesleyan Grove, Martha's Vineyard, for the Eleven Years Ending with the Meeting of 1869, with Glances at the Earlier Years* (Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1870), 171-88); for Oak Bluffs developers, see also Henry Beetle Hough, *Martha's Vineyard, Summer Resort 1835-1935* (Rutland, Vt.: Tuttle, 1936), 60-64.

9. Authelet, 47-48; Ellen Weiss, *City in the Woods*, 2d ed. (Boston: Northeastern Univ. Press, 1997), 80.

10. For Ocean Park, see Weiss, "Copeland's Plans for Oak Bluffs," 62-63, and *City in the Woods*, 80-85; *New York Times*, 5 August 1872.

11. Weiss speculates similarly, and cites that project's Waban Park as evidence in "Copeland's Plans for Oak Bluffs," 65.

12. *Shelter Island Park, Shelter Island, Suffolk County, NY* (New York: Stewart, Haring & Warren, 1873), 4-5

13. The association gave 11 May 1872 as its incorporation date (Shelter Island Heights Association, Successors to the Shelter Island Grove and Camp-Meeting Association, stockholder's publication [New York: Wilbur & Hastings, 1899]); Ralph G. Duvall, *History of Shelter Island 1652-1932, with a Supplement 1932-1952 by Jean L. Schladermundt* (Shelter Island Heights: the author, 1952), 178-79; Stewart W. Herman, *God's Summer Cottage* (Shelter Island: Shelter Island Historical Society, 1980), 1-3.

14. As reported in a June issue of the *Brooklyn Eagle* as well as the 8 June1872 issue of another local newspaper (both damaged), folders MM 119 and JF 108, Pennypacker Collection, East Hampton Free Library; *Our Neighborhood*, July 1878, Chas D. Baker, ed., folder JF 108, Pennypacker Collection, East Hampton Free Library.

15. "Camp-Meeting Reminiscences," *Riverhead News*, 23 September 1893; Nancy Demarst Widmer, "Reminiscences of Ruth Marsland Demarest, as Told to Her Daughter, Nancy Demarest Widmer, on October 29, 1978," *Jamesport Camp Meeting Grounds, Jamesport, Long Island: A Glimpse of Jamesport by the Sea*; *Camp Quinipet*, Methodist Training Center brochure, ca. 1972; *Camp Quinipet, Shelter Island, N.Y.: A Salt Water Camp for Girls*, brochure, ca. 1930.

16. Herman, 1-19; the less sophisticated radial-concentric pattern comprises the landscape design of the Jamesport campsite, as observed by the author in December 1998.

SECONDARY SCHOOL ESSAY CONTEST

The following articles are winners of the "Long Island as America" essay contest we sponsor in conjunction with the SUNY at Stony Brook Center for Excellence and Innovation in Education, Dr. Eli Seifman, director. Several other winning articles will be presented in our Spring 2001 issue.

GUGLIELMO MARCONI AND HIS INFLUENCE ON LONG ISLAND'S ITALIAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY

By Lauren Branche
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Radio is one of the world's most widely used appliances. It facilitates communication, disseminates information, and provides entertainment. Many scientists contributed to the development of this essential device: this article focuses on one of its major developers, Guglielmo Marconi (1874-1937), and his impact on Long Island.

Born in Bologna, Italy, on 25 April 1874 to Giuseppe and Annie Jameson Marconi, Marconi was interested in physical and electrical science from a young age. Although he attended several schools and audited courses at the University of Bologna, his basic education was provided by tutors engaged by his well-to-do parents together with his own voracious reading in the field of electrophysics. While still in his teens he began conducting experiments on his family's estate in the hills, eleven miles from Bologna. By sending wireless signals over distances of up to two miles, he became the inventor of the first system of wireless telegraphy, and laid the groundwork for its future development.[1]

Because of his immense success, he formed the Wireless Telegraph and Signal Company, Ltd., which was incorporated in England in 1897 and three years later renamed Marconi's Wireless Telegraph Company, Ltd. In 1899, he established wireless radio communication between France and England across the English Channel, constructed permanent wireless stations in that area, and in October came to the United States to organize a wireless telegraph service enabling the *New York Herald* to cover the

America's Cup yacht race. It was the first time that any newspaper would be able to receive news of an event as it happened; Marconi had made his mark in the New World. He soon became obsessed with sending signals across the Atlantic Ocean, and began plans to build a transmitter one hundred times stronger than any previous station.[2]

At the dawn of the twentieth century, Marconi encountered a competitor, Nikola Tesla. A portion of their competitive battle took place on Long Island, where Tesla assembled a research and manufacturing plant in Shoreham. Marconi's company, however, instituted some of the first ship-to-shore radio relays.[3]

In November 1901, Marconi finished construction of his powerful transmitter and succeeded in transmitting a message—the three-dot Morse code letter "S"—from Cornwall, England, to St. John's, Newfoundland, a feat that bestowed him with the sobriquet "Father of Radio." As news of his achievement rapidly spread throughout the world, many prominent scientists, including Thomas A. Edison, acclaimed him. For his accomplishments, Marconi was awarded the title of Knight of Italy, and, in 1909, the Nobel Prize in physics. [4]

Marconi established stations from Newfoundland to New York and New Jersey, providing crucial interaction with ships along the coast and in the Atlantic Ocean. On Long Island, however, Tesla received more recognition than Marconi. Tesla spent much of his time on the Island, commuting back and forth to New York City. To deepen his imprint on Long Island, in 1902 Marconi installed his first station with massive equipment at Sagaponack, allowing him to communicate with ships closer than the nearest station on Nantucket Island. News reports imply that the first radio signal came from a steamship on 20 June 1902.[5]

Marconi's second Long Island station, built to communicate with inbound and outbound ships, was on Fire Island Avenue, Babylon. Although little more than a shack with wires and equipment, the American branch of the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company secured Long Island's place in radio history. The twelve by fourteen foot shack, which resembled a doghouse and easily could be mistaken for a tool house, had room for only two operators. A tall upright pole on top of the shack identified it to neighbors and passers by, because, in the early days of radio, iron poles could not support an antenna (iron and steel are used exclusively today). The antenna consisted of a single wire, with a zinc ring buried in the ground at the base of the shack providing the ground connection. A third station was set up at Seagate, Brooklyn, to make final contact with ships before they docked in New York, or the first connection when leaving the

harbor.[6]

Marconi began visiting the South Shore village of Copiague, in western Suffolk County, in summer 1912. Residents were proud to have such an accredited person spend his vacation in their community. Marconi made a profound impact on the village, where he frequently visited his friend, John Campagnoli, a wealthy immigrant from northern Italy who purchased a large portion of Copiague. While Marconi was staying at the McAlpin Hotel in Manhattan, across the street from Campagnoli's real estate office, Campagnoli convinced him to visit Copiague, and even arranged for an associate to drive Marconi there. The highlight of Marconi's first visit was his speech, delivered at the hotel newly built by Campagnoli and named the Marconi Hotel in honor of his chum. Campagnoli renamed part of Copiague Marconiville, named Marconi Boulevard for his friend, and changed the names of some streets in the village to those of historic Italians such as Vespucci, Dante, Verdi, and Verrazano. The Marconi Hotel was one of the high-risers constructed by Campagnoli, a resplendent building facing the railroad station and topped by a tower to make it the chief structure in the area. A group of villagers, including Dr. Renato Giorgini, took a picture in front of the hotel in 1912. Giorgini also contributed to the construction of the Marconiville Community League building on Marconi Boulevard. On one visit in 1927, Marconi came with his wife and important business leaders. Speaking at the Marconi Community League Clubhouse, he stated how proud he was to be involved in a "progressive Italian community."[7]

The publicity generated by Marconi's speaking engagements attracted Italians and others to settle in Copiague. His visits, which Italian people thought of as "special marks of distinction," made them feel more comfortable in a community that, as a whole, rejected and discriminated against Italians. Iola Giorgini, who as a young child emigrated from Italy, recalled that old-line Long Islanders who lived south of the railroad, themselves objects of disdain commonly known as "clam diggers," looked down on Italian immigrants: "They used to call us guineas and wops." This offensive display of superiority was mirrored at the railroad station, where passengers were informed that Copiague was on the south and Marconiville on the north side of the tracks, as indicated by six-foot high cement letters spelling out Marconiville.[8]

As Campagnoli spread the word in his New York City real estate office, many Southern Italians migrated to and bought property in Marconiville. This led to ambitious plans for development until the Great Depression abruptly ended dreams of expansion.

Many thought that the relationship between Italian immigrants and

local residents would improve, but the people south of the tracks in Copiague were stubborn in their refusal to accept Italians as equals. Prejudice was evident when American-born inhabitants referred to Marconiville as "Macaroniville." As a result of the bigotry, rival civic associations were formed, the Marconiville Community League on the north and the Copiague Civic Association on the south. The Marconiville Community League actively proclaimed that recently arrived Italians were an essential part of Copiague. This lack of harmony continued until both sides united to support building a high school.[9]

Some linked discrimination toward Italians to the ethnocentric nationalism that marked the 1920s, when native-born Americans worried about safeguarding the country from incoming swarms of aliens. In 1924, the National Origins Quota Act curtailed the immigration of southern and eastern Europeans, including Italians.[10]

Eventually, Italians started to gain acceptance in Copiague, as shown in the 1920s by the election of Charles Barcellona as constable for several successive terms. He was the first Copiague Italian American to hold office in the village. In 1926, the booklet, "Long Island, the Sunrise Homeland," praised Marconiville:

> The unique village established here makes a strong appeal to the man with a family seeking a home in the great open spaces, within easy commuting distance of New York, and where the opportunity for health, rest and recreation is his to the fullest extent.[11]

Since 1963, the shack Marconi built in Babylon in 1899 and used for transmissions to ships in the harbor, has stood in Rocky Point in back of the Joseph A. Edgar School. Babylon and Rocky Point fought for possession of the shanty in 1989. A Babylon historian argued that the shack belonged in Babylon, where it was built. Worried about the shack's deterioration, the town of Babylon asked the Rocky Point School District to return it, contending that "Babylon has a more direct connection to the inventor." Nevertheless, the Rocky Point School District decided to hand over the shack to the Sons of Italy, who volunteered to refurbish it and turn it into a museum. The president of the Sons of Italy insisted it should be in Rocky Point because of that hamlet's abundant number of Italian Americans residents. Accordingly, the shack was moved to the grounds of the Radio Corporation of America (RCA), and, when RCA closed its doors in 1975, was donated to the school district as a landmark. After considerable persuading, the superintendent of the Rocky Point School District

agreed that the shack should be moved, for the sake of safety, to the Sons of Italy Catering Hall to be refurbished and opened to the public.[12]

Guglielmo Marconi continues to be honored. To commemorate his birthday in 1989, students from the Joseph A. Edgar School along with adult operators met at the shack in Rocky Point that Marconi used for his experiments. The paint was peeling and, to an outsider, the shack looked out of place, "more suitable for an auto junk-yard than a schoolyard." Inside is a picture of Marconi with David Sarnoff, the founding chairman of RCA, standing in front of a radio transmitter during the 1930s when "Radio Central" was Rocky Point. Sarnoff, as an operator for the American Marconi Company, had heard the message that the *Titanic* was sinking.[13]

There is also a telegraph key resembling the one Marconi used to send his famous "S" or tap simple, repetitive Morse code signals—CQ, CQ, CQ—to invite others to join. Through a miniature speaker, a hollow sound of radio waves was heard. As the operator adjusted the frequency dial, "a muted whoosh became louder and softer," and then a message came through. A collage of sounds was repeated before the communication was understandable. One such call, from a Long Island man known only as Bill, turned into a successful communication thanks to Marconi, the father of radio.[14]

Marconi's influence on Long Island was immense, particularly on the town of Babylon, which includes Copiague/Marconiville. Commercial radio in the United States had its start in the little shack off Fire Island Avenue. Services regularly handled at Rocky Point include telegraph message traffic, international telex service, leased/ channels—government and private—and program transmissions.

Almost eighty years have passed since the division of Copiague north of the railroad was known as "Marconiville," to which it still is often referred. The results of Marconi's experiments, contributions, and encouragement to Italian people remain and are clearly observed every day. In the words of one biographer, "The spark of his genius will leap forever across the skies."[15]

NOTES

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NASSAU COUNTY EXECUTIVE EUGENE H. NICKERSON'S DECADE OF DEVELOPMENT

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"New York City is typically liberal and Democratic, while the suburbs are conservative and Republican." This generalization applied to Long Island through most of the twentieth century, when the GOP was dominant in Nassau and Suffolk counties. Under the leadership of J. Russell Sprague, Nassau's first county executive and a prominent figure in national politics, the Republican party controlled the county government through the first six decades of the twentieth century, holding the key position of county executive as well as majorities at the town and county levels. In the words of Bernie Bookbinder,

> Under Sprague's direction, Nassau's Republican organization gained a nationwide reputation for unanimity and efficiency. ..Foreseeing the need to broaden the...organization's traditional Anglo-Saxon, Protestant hierarchy, he opened posts in leadership to others, especially Italians, who were destined to become the county's largest ethnic group.[1]

One reason for Republican strength was the disdain of most Long Islanders for the proven corruption of Tammany Hall, New York City's Democratic machine. Another key factor was the tendency of former Democrats to change their registration once they moved from the city to Nassau and became the owners of property. As one reporter put it, "[g]reeted by a red carpet, many newcomers came to equate Democrats with subways and a city they had abandoned, and to associate Republicans with clipped lawns and the gracious life they aspired to."[2]

After four terms in office, Sprague stepped aside and helped his protege, A. Holly Patterson, move into the county executive post. However, according to Nassau's historian, Edward J. Smits, by 1961 the GOP found itself under "increasing pressure from from young and invigorated elements within the Democratic party." The Republican monopoly was dramatically interrupted by the election of Eugene H.

Nickerson , Nassau's first Democratic county executive. Nickerson, a descendant of John Adams, was a Harvard- and Columbia Law School-educated lawyer and the active vice-chairman of Nassau's Democratic party. In the 1960s decade of turbulence and social change, Nickerson won three successive terms, temporarily wresting power from the Republicans.[3]

Several factors contributed to Nickerson's upset victory in 1961. The Republican party lost favor with the electorate shortly before the election, when it was learned that Sprague had invested heavily in the stock of Roosevelt Raceway, creating a conflict of interest because the county served as overseer of the track. Also, Patterson's failure to get state aid tied into the rapid growth in the county had led to tax inequities. At the time of the election, property had last been assessed in 1934, compounding the impact of the state-aid-based tax inequities. Voters approved of Nickerson's displeasure with the county's expanding bureaucracy, under which there were 270 tax brackets for such activities as garbage collection and street lighting. The Republicans, who had not kept up with the 1950s' population explosion (from 672,765 to 1,300, 371 people), failed to provide the entire county with adequate transportation services. In addition, they seemed insufficiently concerned with the needs of the poor, which led to a lack of low-income housing or an effective welfare policy. There was little regulation of environmental pollution, and, finally, with the county board controlled by one party, there was hardly any regulation of the county executive's power.[4]

Nickerson addressed many of these problems in his campaign. He contended that Sprague's almost unlimited power was unhealthy, and that lack of opposition resulted in wasteful appropriation of funds and a situation in which corruption could not easily be contained. Nickerson desired to streamline the county's tangled web of government by enlisting several firms to study its productivity. He proposed reducing wasteful or unneeded projects by installing a county budget director, and considered reform of the county charter, which he claimed had given Sprague and Patterson too much unbridled power.[5]

Nickerson believed that a streamlined county government would eliminate unnecessary jobs created by the spoils system tactics of the Republican machine, and would assume responsibilities previously left to the towns. This was necessary to eliminate overlapping and wasteful tax districts and respond to the needs of all citizens, not only those in t he upper brackets. He wanted the county to develop low-income housing, an aspect of governrnent previously handled by each separate town. He also addressed the county's general lack of services, stating that, if elected, he would reorganize town and county functions. Another problem on which

he focused was the tax burden, pledging to obtain more state aid for education and thus reduce taxes on homeowners. However, as the GOP noted, his county-centered policy removed a great deal of the towns' cherished powers.[6]

According to James Shelland, "Nickerson, in contrast to his predecessors, placed a great emphasis on planning." He attacked the Republicans for failing to prepare for the county's irregular and rapid growth, which he wanted to control while maintaining the essence of suburban life. Also, Nickerson hoped to expand the county's park system and its recreational facilities. Overall, in his 1961 campaign, he attacked the wastefulness of the previous government and promised to be deeply involved in development of the county.[7]

Nickerson believed he was helped by John F. Kennedy's victory over Richard M. Nixon in the 1960 presidential race. Although Kennedy failed to carry Nassau, and his national margin was razor-thin, Nickerson felt that the enthusiasm which caused a change in the presidency carried over to his election, and that Kennedy's victory signaled to Nassau the need for a change in its government. Nickerson envisioned a "more people oriented" county executive and government, involved not only politically and economically, but also socially. This was possible in the 1960s, an era open to social change. He wanted to create an educational and civic center at Mitchel Field, and be more active in the affairs of workers and settling of strikes. During strikes on three county bus lines in 1953, Patterson had refused to get involved unless he received "such a request in writing from both the union and the company officials." Nickerson promised to take the initiative and introduce a new kind of active government.[8]

Also contributing to Nickerson's upset victory was John F. English, his campaign manager. English, who had close ties to John and Robert Kennedy, carefully orchestrated Nickerson's campaign. He highlighted the faults of the Republican county government and attacked the weakness of the politically unknown Republican candidate, Robert Dill. When Dill tactlessly referred to Democrats as "a bunch of greasy, slimy pigs," English sent Democrats wearing pig masks to Dill rallies. Another of English's "grandstand plays" had Nickerson smash a car that was labeled "Republican Machine." In 1960, English, as Democratic county chairman, openly attacked Patterson and appointed a party committee to study charter reform. Thus, English publicized many Democratic complaints and enabled Nickerson to base his campaign on correcting them.[9]

The most important factor in Nickerson's upset was the Republican party and its candidate, Robert Dill. Sprague, bemused by an inflated view of GOP power, masterminded the nomination of a former customs collector

for the Port of New York who was relatively unknown in Nassau County. It was a controversial selection for a party with many more qualified candidates, such as John Burns, the supervisor of Oyster Bay. In addition, Dill tended to be outspoken, offending Democrats and opening himself to attack. His language and apparent lack of manners made him unappealing to voters in comparison to the polished, patrician Nickerson. Moreover, the Republican party began to falter when it did not account for the rapid migration of people from the city to the suburbs. As Richard Kluger commented, the "machine" had become so big that it began to lose touch with its members.[10]

Nassau, from its inception, has been a Republican stronghold, but it was not uncommon for voters to support Republicans for president while splitting their congressional, state, and local tickets. Nixon carried the county in 1960, yet Nickerson won a year later. In the 1960s, Democrats such as Lester Wolff were elected to Congress, while Republicans like Ralph G. Caso (the Hempstead town supervisor who succeeded Nickerson as county executive in 1970) won majorities at the town and county levels. The open-mindedness of Nassau voters was displayed in 1964, when three Republicans and three Democrats were elected to the assembly. Therefore, it was not surprising in 1961 that predominantly Republican Nassau retaliated against Sprague and enabled "Gene" Nickerson to pull off the upset victory.

After his nail-biting election, in which he beat Dill by only 216,096 to 208,465 (the Liberal candidate Isabel Friedman received 7,056 votes), life as county executive was much harder than Nickerson had anticipated. The Republicans maintained majorities on the county boards and in most of the towns. Dill and Nickerson each carried three assembly districts, and the positions of district attorney, county clerk, county comptroller, chairman of the board of assessors, and sheriff all went to Republicans. Nickerson became the lone Democrat in a predominantly Republican county government. Dismayed but not defeated by Dill's loss, the Republican party directed its attention to regaining its influence. Soon, the county charter, which had been acceptable to the Republican-controlled board of supervisors while Sprague and Patterson were in power, was subject to revision. The new board devised seven so-called "ripper bills" which would have severely restricted the power of the county executive and given the board more unlimited power. These bills characterized the initial animosity between the Republican party and Nickerson, but compromises later were made, creating a healthy bipartisan relationship. This sort of power sharing, provided in the charter, was necessary for an efficient county government.[11]

Nickerson, who based much of his campaign against the extreme power wielded by the Republican Party, tried not to entangled himself in partisan politics (perhaps because of his Republican upbringing). He stated that all developments would be for the good of the county, not the Democratic party. This was reinforced by his refusal to appoint only Democrats to certain positions. Instead, he tried to appoint the most qualified people, regardless of their political affiliations. Unfortunately, differences in opinion and ideology resulted in several confrontations with Republicans like Assemblyman Joseph F. Carlino, the new GOP leader. In addition, some Democrats took Nickerson's actions as an apparent lack of party loyalty.[12]

Nickerson again ran for county executive in 1964 against the popular town of Oyster Bay official, John Burns. For the first time, Nassau's Democratic party had an incumbent county executive. Burns attacked what he claimed was a Nickerson's lack of leadership, coupled with a desire to centralize power in the hands of the county. Burns's experience as supervisor of Oyster Bay and his support for a bicounty planning board made him an appealing candidate. However, Nickerson was able to counter Burns's claims and win the election, 358,475 to 264,925, by pointing to his successful land-reassessment plan and other accomplishments. His slogan—"A man is known by the company he keeps"—became an issue when Nickerson referred to his appointed professional administrators. Also,1964 was the year of President Lyndon B. Johnson's landslide victory, which immensely helped other Democratic candidates. Nickerson swept all six assembly districts and the Democrats won the position of county comptroller and three congressional seats.[13]

In 1967, Nickerson made his final run against Sol Wachtler, a young Great Neck lawyer, with taxes the dominant issue. Wachtler pointed to the increasing property tax and rate hike imposed during Nickerson's six-year tenure. Nickerson countered by emphasizing his success as county executive, and narrowly won reelection, 241,096 to 235,116.[14]

During his three terms in office, Nickerson helped to streamline the county government and eliminate wasteful programs He expanded the park system by almost four thousand acres, established a county code of ethics, strengthened the civil service system, restructured county government by creating a budget staff, and expanded Nassau Community College. In addition, he paved the way for Nassau Coliseum, and established departments of commerce and industry, as well as of labor, a bureau of consumer affairs, an office for aging, a vocational center for women, a drug rehabilitation center, an ombudsman, and a Human Rights Commission." By increasing the professionalism of the county police, he promoted better

relations with minority groups. In addition, Nickerson made government more accessible for the people, often answering letters to his office. One of his legacies "was to open up government, to tell the people what it was doing." In 1964 and 1967, Nickerson wrote to residents on his personal stationary regarding his recent fiscal decisions.[15]

Nickerson used his power for the benefit of the poor and minorities. Sticking to campaign promise made in 1961, he vigorously campaigned for housing rights for the poor. Although unsuccessfully, he tried to pass an amendment to the state constitution empowering counties to construct housing. He also created programs for job training and employment for welfare recipients. To live up to his promise of making government more conducive to the individual, Nickerson instituted such projects as a garden for the blind and a more hospitable Home for the Aged in Nassau.

Nickerson vehemently fought to promote civil rights, an effort made easier by the new social climate induced in the 1960s by the civil rights movement and Johnson's "Great Society" program. Many of Nickerson strides were possible because he served at a time conducive to social change. He created a Commission on Human Rights that opposed discrimination, and ordered, in 1964, that all county contracts prohibit discrimination and require employers to observe affirmative action. Also, in 1969, because of his pressure, the board of supervisors approved the first county open-housing ordinance in the country.

Encouraged by his success in Nassau, Nickerson entered the Democratic primaries for governor in 1966, and two years later, for the Senate. When he decided to address a cross-section of non-county issues, from the Vietnam War to tax reform, Republicans contended he did this as a ploy to attract state-wide attention. Eventually, after failing to receive Robert Kennedy's endorsement, Nickerson quit the gubernatorial race in 1966, and in the 1968 Senate campaign was defeated by a considerable margin by Paul O'Dwyer (although Nickerson received a majority of Nassau Democrats' votes). His inability to ascend to state or national office probably convinced Nickerson to end his quest for elective office, but President Jimmy Carter appointed him to a federal judgeship for the Eastern District of New York, in Brooklyn. Nickerson, who still sits on the bench, has presided over the Abner Louima and other high-profile cases.[16]

Although Nickerson accomplished a great deal in office, he had his share of failure. He could not convince the county or state to agree to several housing measures he proposed. In 1966, housing at Mitchel Field was not approved, and his proposed constitutional amendment, giving the county the right to build housing, also failed. In 1968, Nickerson was unable to convince the board to appropriate funds for a nonprofit housing agency.

Another proposal that would have developed a state zoning board of appeals to create low-income housing in communities with little of it was crushed by Republicans and Democrats alike because of Nickerson's attempt to take much of the power of residential building away from the towns. Another failure was his inability to convince the board to reorganize and modernize the county's bus system.[17]

Nickerson was plagued by his inefficiency in keeping down spending and preventing an increase in taxes. Initially, he was able to cut taxes—in 1963, he accomplished the largest property tax yet instituted in Nassau. A reelection campaign letter in 1964 showed he was able to protect homeowners from discrimination in land assessment and that he had lowered the county tax in 1963. However, his elaborate planning and creation of several new departments made it impossible not to increase the taxes. By his third term, Nickerson's vision of a welfare state led him to impose a 2 percent sales tax, and the largest tax increase in Nassau's history in 1970.[18]

The Nickerson administration helped to develop the county in several aspects. In a 1967 letter to homeowners, he called on citizens and officials regardless of party to join him "in the exciting business of government." Most of all, he accomplished the unthinkable by defeating the hitherto impregnable Republican steamroller, paving the way for further development and modernization of Nassau County. He was a dedicated public servant who led Nassau County's adjustment to rapid population growth in a period of social change, while creating a strong role for the county executive. As Ralph G. Caso, Nickerson's Republican successor, acknowledged,

> before 1960, the county government could operate at a much more leisurely pace. The conditions that have prevailed since the have required the executive to be much more aggressive. There is a need, therefore, for the kind of leadership Nickerson exercised."[19]

NOTES

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8. Arnold Abrams. "JFK 25 Years Later," *Newsday*, 22 Nov. 1988, 2; author's interview with Eugene H. Nickerson, 14 Nov. 1999; Ann McCallum, "County Executive Race: The Hottest in History," *L. I. Sunday Press*, 25 Oct. 1964; Shelland, 170-71.

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WHAT COST REFORM? FISCAL POLICY IN THE CITY OF BROOKLYN, 1870-1898

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Introduction: Historical Theories of Municipal Fiscal Policy

In their approaches to the history of urban public policy, American political scientists, economists, and historians have lacked neither data nor theory. In fact, the problem has been a deluge of both, a multitude of potential determinants of urban public policy and a variety of theories used to explain the roles of these determinants in the development of the urban political scene. Faced with numerous variables and competing theories, many scholars have thrown up their hands and resorted to metaphor and anecdote to describe the urban public policy. Maury Klein and Harvey Kantor represent this "cop-out" tendency in their description of the emergence of urban public policy in the nineteenth century from "a sea of interests and ambitions, needs and demands, whose waves lapped incessantly at city hall." While this is the way the nineteenth-century city appears to some historians, and perhaps the way that it appeared to many contemporary observers, a proper work of economics or political science must take more care to specify which interests and ambitions, needs and demands brought about which results.[1]

In an effort to produce this specificity, historians and political scientists have moved beyond metaphor toward theory in three directions. The University of Michigan's Terence McDonald identifies the two major variants of historical theory regarding the development of the urban public sector as the *socioeconomic structural theory* and the *political cultural theory*. This study will expand on McDonald's work as part of a new synthesis, applying several aspects of his work in San Francisco to our study, and use his variables to examine fiscal policy of the city of Brooklyn from 1870 to 1900.

The more familiar political cultural theory, of course, takes political or

ideological values as its starting and ending point. In such renowned works as Oscar Handlin's *The Uprooted*, Richard Hofstadter's *Age of Reform*, and most influentially, Samuel P. Hays's *The Politics of Reform in the Progressive Era*, this theory has explained the changing size and cost of the public sector by reference to substantive differences between the fiscal policies of machine and reform politicians, differences rooted in competing political "ethos." In this theory, bosses are characterized as committed to grass roots democracy and an expanded public sector, agreeing with Handlin's characterization of Brooklyn's own Hugh McLaughlin who once asserted that, "I never saw a man in my life who made economy his watchword who was not defeated before the people." The reformers, on the other hand, appear as obsessed with efficiency, economy, and businesslike management, as Hofstadter has portrayed them. Reformers typically represent a coalition of businessmen, professionals, and other members of the urban middle class who, according to Hays, sought political power so that they might "advance their own conceptions of desirable public policy. In a more recent restatement of this theory, Martin Schiesl has described the sides similarly, noting that the "survival of the machines" depended upon their continuing ability to "distribute public posts and social services to various groups in urban society," while the reformers believed that "the growing expense of civic management was directly proportional to the degree of dishonesty and waste in machine administrations."[2]

According to the socioeconomic structural theory, politics or the exercise of power played a minimal role in the development of urban government and the formation of government policy. Instead, socioeconomic structural factors, such as a city's economic base, social stratification, population size and composition were primary influences. Changes in these factors—population growth, industrialization, and the like—generated demands for various goods and services from the public sector. Among others, Charles N. Glaab and A. Theodore Brown have noted in *A History of Urban America* that these developments produced an increasing number of "tasks" to be fulfilled and "needs" for community action. According to these authors, as municipal governments grew in size and importance "by necessity"; they "spent more money in order to satisfy growing needs" and there was "no way to avoid" the increasing range and scale and consequently the increasing cost of government activity.[3]

This argument has been best developed by Alan Anderson in *The Origin and Resolution of an Urban Crisis: Baltimore, 1890-1930*. He has argued that the increasing density of population and complexity of economic activity, along with an increase in per capita income, brought about the increasing cost of municipal government there. Conversely, he

has asserted that the city's decision-making system was "secondary" because politicians "most always operate within the narrow constraints of technological and economic imperatives," and, therefore, that "political or ideological values" are irrelevant to his explanation.[4]

Although these two theories propose different sets of influential variables, they are similar in their use of expenditure to measure the growth of municipal government, in their concentration on the demand side of municipal expenditure, and their attempts to explain long-run patterns in total expenditure as a result of the balance between socioeconomic or political cultural factors. In both theories, government expenditure increases in response to demands for additional services from the socioeconomic or political environments. Moreover, the supply of expenditure appears to be infinite, limited only by socioeconomic necessity or political ingenuity, and, therefore, overall patterns in total expenditure are the result of either 1) socioeconomic forces which overwhelm politicians or 2) political actors who ignore or manipulate the socioeconomic environment to serve their political clients.

"The largest determining factor of the size and content of this year's budget is last year's budget," according to Aaron Wildavsky, who highlights a lesser-known third view which might be called the bureaucratic-incremental theory. This theory differs from the first two primarily in its focus on the supply side of expenditure and the incremental changes in expenditure from year to year. Moreover, the bureaucratic-incremental theory differs in its level of drama and its portrayal of political actors. This theory borrows the perspective of political scientists such as John P. Crecine and Aaron Wildavsky, himself, who argue that he budget is an "internally determined event" in which available revenue, previous levels of expenditure, and system inertia are the major influences. Against the previous theories, which see the budget as an "externally determined event," this theory argues that the determinants of expenditure in a given year are the available revenue for that year and the level of expenditure of the previous year. Crecine has argued further that if there is an external effect on the budget; it appears only in the form of a constraint on revenue such as a balanced budget requirement or political pressure on the tax rate. This theory refutes Boss McLauglin's statement in that the political actors are seen as generally risk averse, content to maintain previous commitments rather than initiate new ones.[5]

This perspective has only recently found its way into the historical literature in J. Rogers and Ellen Jane Hollingsworth's *Dimensions in Urban History: Historical and Social Science Perspectives on Middle Size America Cities.* In their cross-sectional analysis of mid-sized

American cities in 1900, they found that "per capita wealth"—i.e., assessed valuation—was the best predictor of per capita expenditure, and agreed with Wildavsky and others that "excepting moments of crisis, budget decision making operates to produce a process of incrementalism in public expenditure."[6]

All three theories are characterized by lack of attention to what, for want of a better term, might be called political institutional factors, such as election strategies, fiscal ideologies, and the institutional matrix within which fiscal policy is made. Consideration of these factors is irrelevant to the socioeconomic structural theory because political actors have little or no autonomy from socioeconomic factors. Political-institutional factors are similarly irrelevant to the political cultural theory but for the opposite reason. In that theory political actors are abstracted completely from all structures, socioeconomic, political, or otherwise, and they are granted almost total autonomy to deal with their political clients. In the bureaucratic-incremental theory, the relevant structures are budgetary and the ideologies are budgetary decision rules. All three theories propose that the political system mediates social change—even by ignoring it—but none examines the contents of the political system. A more complete approach to this issue would include all these components—socioeconomic, political cultural, and political institutional—and a more careful approach would specify these effects clearly, measure them quantitatively, and determine their impact statistically. Having done so, only then would then be possible to turn to nonquantitative sources to help locate these effects in their specific historical context.

Brooklyn, 1870-1898

This article takes a step in this direction by applying hypotheses derived from all three theories to data collected from the city of Brooklyn from 1870 to 1900, and using these results as the basis of an analytic narrative of the central aspects of the formation of fiscal policy there. By 1898, Brooklyn had merged with the other five boroughs to form "Greater New York," but the U.S. Census still reported Brooklyn separately in its 1900 reports. Thus, at the turn of the century, Brooklyn was part of Greater New York, the second-largest city in the world. What many people fail to realize, however, is the fact that throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, Brooklyn was one of the largest, fastest-growing, and most economically vibrant cities in the United States. The1880 Census lists Brooklyn as the fourth- largest producer of manufactured goods. By 1890, it was the nation's third-largest city, its second-leading East Coast

port, and remained its fourth-most valuable manufacturing center. The city's population grew at a remarkable rate of nearly 45 percent per decade from 266,661 in 1860 to about 1,166,582 in 1900.[7]

Perhaps the best explanation for the geometric growth of Brooklyn was its simultaneous status as "back office" and "bedroom suburb" for Manhattan. As Manhattan grew and its real estate values skyrocketed, the warehouses which occupied so much space along the East River waterfront required relocation. As a back office, Brooklyn offered easy access to New York City for workers via ferries, subways, and after 1883, its new bridge. From 1855 to 1875, Brooklyn was the number one place of settlement for people who left New York City. This was a rather dramatic internal shift, as the number of New York City residents who emigrated to Kings County more than doubled, from 30,000 in1855 to 69,000 in 1875. In 1889, no less than sixty New York City police captains, lieutenants, and sergeants owned houses in Brooklyn. Certainly, such home ownership would have been impossible on the pricey island of Manhattan.[8]

Similarly, Brooklyn became a leading manufacturer of "high bulk" items such as petroleum, books, cast iron, glass and porcelain. Brooklyn refineries peaked in 1875 with more than fifty companies. In the 1870s, the Astral and Pratt refineries combined to produce 2,600 barrels per day. Both firms merged in the late 1870s, and eventually formed the East Coast backbone of Rockefeller's Standard Oil Trust. Book publishing was also a big business in "the City of Homes," represented by several dozen publishing firms. In 1868, the largest, Appleton Publications, employed over 700 people in its huge printing and binding building in Williamsburgh, which occupied a complete city block. Such an operation would be impractical in Manhattan; it was more cost-efficient to run such a huge building in Brooklyn. Transportation to New York City was cheap and Appleton maintained only a sales office there. Similarly, the cast iron industry prospered in Brooklyn. In 1845, there were only seven foundries, but by 1860 there were more than one hundred twenty. In 1880, Brooklyn became the nations third-largest producer of glass, providing more than 6 percent of America's supply. The last of Brooklyn's "Five Black Arts," porcelain grew dramatically in the decade after the Civil War. The Union Porcelain Works was the only pottery company in the U.S. capable of making hard paste porcelain, the kind used to make fine "china." The common thread in Brooklyn's leading manufactures is their enormous space requirements—needs better satisfied in the less densely populated city on the east bank of the East River.[9]

Analysis of the Components of the Fiscal Process

The analytic strategy adopted here differs from that of former studies both conceptually and methodologically because it is conducted over time, recognizes the multiple products of the fiscal process, and is sensitive to differences in the hypotheses that can be derived from the theories. Whereas most studies of this subject—for example, the Hollingsworths'—have been cross-sectional, this analysis is conducted in longitudinal fashion, on variables measured over time. Each relationship below encompasses observations of variables measured from 1870 to 1900, the years for which there are complete cases for all variables. Rather that focusing on expenditure only, this analysis divides the fiscal process differently. This division permits not only the analysis of the relative ability of the three theories to explain fiscal policy, but also where in the fiscal process different variables have their respective effects. The analysis also is sensitive to the different ways in which hypotheses derived from these theories must be specified.

The dependent variables remain constant throughout the study, no matter which theory is being tested at a given juncture. These dependent variables include TAX and EXP 2 (see table 1). However, since each theory proposes its own set of influence on TAX and EXP 2, we have examined the role of seven independent variables. The political cultural theory uses two independent (x) variables (Election Year and Party); and the socioeconomic structural theory employs three different closely related x variables, while the bureaucratic incremental theory adds one more (see fig. 1).

The socioeconomic structural theory attempts to explain overall levels of fiscal variables. When the socioeconomic structural theory is specified as an hypothesis, the primary processes at work are population growth and density, commercial development, industrialization, and increasing per capita income. On the basis of the city's socioeconomic history and extant data, we have measured these processes as indicated in table 1.

Table 1: Variables

Variable Name	Explanation
EXPENDITURE 1 (Mean = 25.66)	Per Capita Operating Expenditure
EXPENDITURE 2 lagged	Per Capita Operating Expenditure (Mean = 25.66)
ASSESSED VALUE (RE)	Per Capita Assessed Valuation of Real and Personal Property (Mean = 457.51)
TAX (Mean = 2.90%)	Tax rate of Assessed Valuation
WORKS Establishments (Mean = .092)	Per Capita Manufacturing
MANUFACTURED VALUE	Per Capita Value of Manufactured Products (Mean = 271.89)
CAPITAL	Per Capita Value of Cash on Hand at the close of a Fiscal Year (Mean = 141.0)
PARTY	Machine or Reformer/Independent
ELECYR	Election Year? Yes/No

The "sample" for this project was quite unlike that of most social science projects. Most data was derived from the *Annual Reports of the Mayor of the City of Brooklyn* and the decennial *Reports of the US Census Bureau*. Since the US Census only records information every ten years, we extrapolated the missing data by adjusting the annual increase (average of 10 percent) by keying it to the rate of growth of the Gross National Product for each year, assuming a steady increase would have been inaccurate.

By applying the new synthesis theory's findings to Brooklyn, we may be able to establish that the political machines did not expand spending and tax patterns any faster than the reformers did. We expect to find that a combination of economic growth (socioeconomic structural theory) and bureaucratic inertia (bureaucratic-incremental theory) is predictive of spending levels. In sum, we predict that the following x variables will/will not have predictive value for each y variable (Tax Rate and Expenditure 2).

Figure 1: Predictions

Socioeconomic Structural Theory	Political Cultural Theory	Bureaucratic-Incremental Theory
ASSSED VALUE/CAPIT*	ELECTION YEAR**	EXPENDITURE 1*
MANUFACTURED VALUE/CAPITA *	PARTY**	
FIRMS*		
CAPITAL*		

*predictive**non predictive

The most important data source was the series of expenditures, tax rates, and assessed values(RE) which were published annually. The mayor's name and party affiliation were drawn from Harold Coffin Syrett's *A Political History of the City of Brooklyn 1865-1898*, considered the source for political information on the "City of Homes." Instead of inaccurately adjusting the annual increase in census-generated data by 10 percent each year, we started with figures for manufactured value per capita and the number of firms per capita in 1870, 1880, 1890, and 1900. We were required to extrapolate data for the intermediate years (1871, 1872, 1873, and so on) by keying them to the rate of growth of the Gross National Product for each noncensus year. For example, if the GNP went up a significant amount in 1873, less in 1874, and even less in 1875, we might have adjusted 1873 by 18 percent, 1874 by 9 percent, and 1875 by 3 percent. Population data was drawn from Ira Rosenwaike's *Population History of New York City*. Appropriate calculations were conducted to create the following meaningful variables: manufactured value per capita, number of firms per capita, assessed value(RE) per capita available, capital per capita and expenditure per capita. "Expenditure 2" was created by lagging expenditure per capita (Expenditure 1). This was necessary because each administration set the budget for the following year. Tax rate was not lagged because it was both established and reported in year 1.[11]

Politically judicious and socially acceptable municipal spending were based on many factors, not the least of which were the institutions and ideologies embraced by Brooklyn politicians. They were insulated from socioeconomic change and day-to-day politics to a certain extent. The fiscal institutions they had constructed by charter and by precedent had established an incremental system of fiscal policy. City officials such as aldermen, sheriffs, and supervisors who served specific local as well as general municipal roles were the only participants in the budget-making process. Consensus ruled and outside groups were excluded. It was a terribly uncreative and inherently conservative process in two ways: each

department was typically given a similar budget increase to aid unity and prevent in-fighting (remarkably, this was true whether reformers or machines were in place), and a fiscal ideology, which justified modest increments was deemed good politics as well as good fiscal policy. These institutional and philosophical rules remained in place until the end of the century when Brooklyn merged with the other four boroughs to form Greater New York.[11]

At first glance, the findings of this study support what many presume to be true that the political machines spent more money than the reformers. However, upon closer examination, it is apparent that larger economic and institutional forces are at work.\Even though there is a statistically significant difference between the city's per capita expenditure in budget terms controlled by machine politicians of $27.77 and comparable expenditures of $23.55 in "independent" budget years, we must take note of the fact that per capita expenditure dropped in near linear fashion as the time period progressed. The tax rate declined, too, in reformer years, but not significantly. The exponentially expanding value of manufactures, firms, and real estate values dwarfed even the large population increases. In other words, as the tax base expanded, the tax rate an per capita expenditures shrank consistently. This phenomenon was not limited to Brooklyn. Rather it was typical of dynamic nineteenth-century American cities.[12]

The study's early years were characterized by political machine dominance of the mayor's office (ten of the first twelve years saw no truly independent or reform-minded mayors (see table 3). The average per capita expenditure for 1870-1881 was $29.90, while comparable spending for 1882-1896, when reformers dominated (six independents, two Democratic machine politicians), was $22.55 per person.[13]

The linear regression between party and expenditures is only marginally significant ($p=.0302$), and any link between election year and expenditure is essentially nonexistent ($p=.6633$). Hence, we conclude that the political cultural theory is of minimal utility as a tool for predicting and explaining municipal spending patterns in the city of Brooklyn. (Remember, of course, that we are explaining levels of expenditure, not spending priorities. Boss McLaughlin and his lieutenants may well have spent the city's money on a different list of items than a reform-minded mayor like Seth Low.) Unfortunately, sparse extant records make this a difficult issue to pursue.

The socioeconomic structural theory is supported by an analysis of the data. Individually, each independent variable associated with this approach (manufactures per capita, number of firms per capita, and real estate value

per capita) was closely correlated with the lagged level of expenditures and the tax rate. Unfortunately, multiple regressions cannot sort out the relative roles of each, as all three are so closely correlated (in one sense, multicolinearity is a problem here). On the other hand, the close relationship of these independent variable means that any one can be viewed as representative of the other two. Thus, the close, near linear relationship of number of firms per capita and expenditure 2, or the similar relationships of manufacture value per capita, RE assessment per capita, or even capital per capita to expenditure 2 must be accepted as causative. That is, more than 77 percent of the change in expenditure 2 is accounted for by the change in the number of firms per capita; more than 70 percent of the change in expenditure 2 is related to the increase in manufactured value per capita, and more than 6 percent of the dependent variable's variance is accounted for by the change in the third independent, capital per capita. Assessed value (RE) is somewhat less predictive, perhaps because of under reporting by citizens who did not want to pay full taxes. Clearly, the unprecedented growth of the Brooklyn economy provided its leaders, regardless of party affiliation, with ever greater resources to spend on services for its citizens.[14]

The bureaucratic-incremental theory is also well-supported by the data. If this year's budget serves as something of a rough draft for next year's spending as the bureaucratic-incremental theory hypothesizes, then expenditure 1 and expenditure 2 (or tax rate) should enjoy a more or less linear relationship. This, in fact, was the case for the city of Brooklyn. The predictive value of the previous years spending level in determining any given year's budget was nearly 74 percent if an increase in Expenditure 2 is considered, and over 70 percent when tax rate is the y variable. Thus, we may fairly conclude that the budgetary process is an inherently conservative process. Last year's budget serves as a model, and in most years changes amount to incremental tinkering. "If it ain't broke, don't fix it" would seem to be a good credo for Brooklyn's political leaders as they sat down to create any given budget.[15]

What, then, can we say about the budgetary process and the municipal spending levels of the city of Brooklyn during the last thirty years of the nineteenth century? Clearly, any direct reference to political parties (Democrats vs. Republicans or machine vs. reform/independent) must be excluded. The notion that spending increased dramatically during election years as a campaign tactic is certainly discredited. Despite McLaughlin's belief that high spending ensured victory at the polls, we must wonder if voters preferred consistent, logical, "necessary" spending patterns—an approach apparently taken by both McLaughlin's machine and his reform

opponents. Perhaps the Boss's words were taken out of context. "Cheap and heartless" politicians who refused to spend when people were in need would be defeated—as New York City machine politician George W. Plunkitt so elegantly explained to journalist William L. Riordon. In the end, McLaughlin may have been discussing spending priorities, rather than spending levels, a subject beyond the scope of this article. Party politics is not unrelated to spending; it is simply not predictive of spending levels.[16]

We are thus left to synthesize the remaining two theories (socioeconomic structural and bureaucratic-incremental), both of which are supported by linear regression at the 99 percent confidence level. The basic outline of McDonald's new synthesis theory emerged intact for the "City of Homes." The spectacular growth of the Brooklyn economy described above provided politicians and bureaucrats with a wealth of tax revenue to spend judiciously (we hope) to meet ever-growing service needs of their constituents. Sewer, gas, and water lines had to be extended; towns such as Flatbush, Flatlands, New Utrecht, and others were annexed; increased crime required additional police and prisons; increased population density required a professional fire department and additional building inspectors; and so on. The link between income (taxes) and spending (expenditure 2) is clear. With state-mandated limits on municipal debt, city budget makers could spend only what they had on hand from the previous year. Last year's budget continued to provide the framework for this year's spending, but, with more money available almost every year due to a mushrooming tax base, the annual increment was almost always positive. In fact, city revenues rose consistently despite a progressively lower tax rate. Politicians of any party had to welcome such an arrangement. As McDonald notes, the supply of municipal resources was finite, and the potential demand for newer and better municipal services was essentially infinite. However, if resources grew at a remarkable rate as they did in Brooklyn between 1870 and1897, then the politician's "tough choices" would be lightened somewhat. We must look to the supply side of the municipal spending equation, but keep in mind the obvious political benefits of a mushrooming supply. By contrast, spending choices must have been tougher in Boston or Baltimore, two older cities, which did not enjoy similar growth during the final quarter of the nineteenth century.[17]

NOTES

1. Maury Klein and Harvey Kantor, *Prisoners of Progress: American Industrial Cities 1850-1920* (New York, 1976), 340.

2. Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted* (New York, 1951), 220; Samuel P. Hays,"The Politics of Reform in Municipal Government in the Progressive Era," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 55 (1964): 157-69; Martin Schiesl, *The Politics of Efficiency: Municipal Administration and Reform in America, 1880-1920* (Berkeley, 1977), 2-3.

3. Charles N. Glaab and Theodore Brown, *A History of Urban America* (New York, 1976), 168.

4. Alan D. Anderson, "From Economics to Political Economy in the History of Urban Public Policy," *Journal of Urban History* 8 (1982): 355-63.

5. Aaron Wildavsky, *The Politics of the Budgetary Process* (Boston, 1979), 13-15; John P. Crecine, *Government Problem Solving: A Computer Simulation of Municipal Budgeting,* (Chicago, 1969).

6. J. Rogers and Ellen Jane Hollingsworth, *Dimensions in Urban History: Historical and Social Science Perspectives on Middle-Size American Cities* (Madison, Wis.,1979), 157-58.

7. Ira Rosenwaike, *Population History of New York City* (Syracuse, N.Y.,1972), 59.

8. Ibid., 63, 70; *New York City Civil List for 1889* (New York, 1890).

9. Joshua Brown and David Ment, *Factories, Foundries, and Refineries – A History of Five Brooklyn Industries* (Brooklyn, 1980).

10. Harold Coffin Syrett, *The City of Brooklyn 1865-1898* (New York, 1946); U.S. Census Reports for 1870 (Washington, D.C., 1872); U.S. Census Reports for 1880 (Washington, D.C., 1883); U.S. Census Reports for 1890 (Washington, D.C. ,1897); U.S. Census Reports for 1900 (Washington, D.C., 1902); Rosenwaike, 59, 63, 70.

11. Schiesl,, 2-3; Syrett.

12. (t=2.304; p=.0302); (t=1.588; p=.1254).

13. (t=5.28; p=<.0001).

14. (R= .897, p= <.0001); ® squared = .180; p= .0344).

15. (p=<0.001).

16. William L. Riordon, *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall* (New York, 1963).

17. Schiesl; Syrett.

Editorial Comment

We appreciate what the author has attempted here, applaud her ingenuity, and believe that our readers will enjoy the article. Still, we would like to register several reservations.

The "reformers," also called Mugwumps and independents, took aim at the political bosses because, by employing the infamous spoils system, the politicos were able to monopolize city (and state and federal) job

holding. In so doing, the machine bosses prevented the reformers—chiefly independently minded professionals, academics, small business owners, and journalists—from occupying positions in city government. For their part, the reformers were not so much exercised by the level of city expenditures as by who controlled those expenditures, appointed the office holders, and dictated city policy.

In this sense, to measure the level of expenditures is really beside the point because what was at stake was the issue of power. Who would rule—the bosses or the independently minded, educated elite? Moreover, the Mugwumps' major reform priority was not to lower city government expenditures but to substitute the civil service system for the patronage system and this eliminate "corruption" from government. Significantly, during the mayoralty of the reformer, Seth Low, Brooklyn's property tax assessments and tax rate rose, and overall spending increased. Apparently, reform was costly (Gerald Kurland, *Seth Low: The Reformer in an Urban and Industrial Age* [New York: Twayne, 1971], 41-42).

The struggle for power between the middle and lower classes on the one side and the new urban "upper class" on the other, is the central point of Samuel P. Hays's article ("The Politics of Reform in Municipal Government in the Progressive Era," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 55 (1964): 157-69, cited in note 2 above)," not the search for efficiency, economy, and businesslike management of city government. Also, Hays deals with the period between 1900 and 1914, not 1870-1898. This is not a matter of carping, because in the period studied by Perri Thaler, money appreciated in value. The price index fell from 141 in 1870 to 98 in 1890, a drop of more than 30 percent—due to deflation. Money depreciated in value after 1897. As a result, if the city of Brooklyn expended the same absolute sums of money in 1870 and 1890, its residents benefitted from a 30 percent increase in the value of urban services. The opposite was true, of course, for the period covered by Hays. Therefore, a call for economy in government had a rather different impact in 1890 and 1910.

By acknowledging that her interest is in "explaining levels of expenditure, not spending priorities," the author has, in our view, missed an important point about party politics in the period. However, we challenge her assertion that "sparse extant records" make the study of spending priorities "a difficult issue to pursue." There exists a wealth of material to pursue, including correspondence of local and state figures, published speeches and addresses of mayors and other public figures, newspapers such as the *Brooklyn Eagle*, *Brooklyn Times*, and the indexed *New York Times*, and magazines, with the *Nation* a particularly rich source on the Mugwumps. (The standard account of the Mugwumps and civil

service reform is Art Hoogenboom, *Outlawing the Spoils: A History of the Civil Service Reform Movement, 1865-1883* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1961).

Why then, did the author choose the approach that she did? Perhaps she was captivated by the idea of using mathematical formulas, now so favored by political scientists and cliometricians. Mathematically based evidence somehow seems more convincing to certain scholars than documentary style evidence. In our judgment, though, there is no substitute for immersing oneself in the documentary record in order to get an understanding of a period.

For the *LIHJ*, Richard P. Harmond
and Roger Wunderlich

REVIEWS

Joann P. Krieg and Natalie A. Naylor, eds. *Nassau County: From Rural Hinterland to Suburban Metropolis*. Interlaken, N.Y.: Empire State Books, 2000. Illustrations, notes, appendices, index. Pp. 336. $19.99 (paper).

One striking characteristic of Nassau County during its 101-year history has been its importance to the rest of the nation. Nassau was one of the first counties in the United States to attract a large suburban populace—a leader in the dominant settlement pattern of the twentieth century. Political innovations have also been a Nassau County hallmark, such as when it became the first county in the United States to create an elected executive office, in 1936. More vital to national needs has been Nassau's central position in the creation and sustained growth of the American aerospace industry. Finally, Nassau has had more than its share of important celebrity residents—from Theodore Roosevelt to Billy Joel to Jerry Seinfeld. However, while Nassau has often been a harbinger of what is commonly seen as positive for the rest of the nation, it can also be a predictor of problems. If so, "post-suburban" areas across the country face a challenging array of crises including rising property taxes and cost of living, decreasing financial confidence from Wall Street, and residential pockets of poverty—problems which are plaguing Nassau County and other older suburbs around the United States.

While not ignoring such present and future dilemmas, this collection of essays, the product of a 1999 Long Island Studies Institute and Nassau County Centennial Committee conference, is more focused on the historical trajectory suggested in its subtitle. The book is organized around a set of broad themes, including "National Perspectives," "The Creation of Nassau County," "Governance and Political Leadership," "The Nineteenth Century and Earlier," "Changes and Transformations," "Health Care," "Aerospace Heritage," and "People and Places." The assembled essays are usually insightful and well-researched, with some of the best work to be found on the subject of politics. Jon C. Teaford, history professor at Purdue University and author of the outstanding *Post-Suburbia: Government and Politics in the Edge Cities* (1997), gave the conference keynote address which serves as the book's opening chapter. Teaford makes the plausible argument that Nassau County's political structure has often served as a blueprint for the rest of the na-

tion's suburban enclaves. This trend-setting all began when Nassau's founders created a decentralized system of local government which afforded village autonomy (but also led to some confusion, as Teaford notes, with so many lighting, fire, and water districts). In addition, by avoiding consolidation with greater New York City to preserve a non-urban political and social environment, Nassau County was already charting a groundbreaking path which others would follow. "In the nineteenth century suburban villages incorporated to become cities; in the twentieth century suburban villages incorporated in order to not become cities (31)."

Marjorie Freeman Harrison, a doctoral student at Columbia University writing her dissertation on suburban political identity in postwar Nassau County, is the author of two fine essays in this book. In "Myths and Realities of Suburban Politics," Harrison surveys the recent historiography which shatters the simplistic assumptions of previous scholars, including their tendency to ignore racial and class diversity within suburbia and their typical emphasis on suburban political conservatism and apathy. Harrison provides her own more realistic assessments of suburban politics in a chapter titled "Italian-American Inwood and the Making of the Modern Nassau Republican Party." One key to the Republican party's long-lived success in Nassau was the party's synergistic relationship with Italian-American immigrants who helped it become "a modern, majority, multiethnic party (97)." A mix of southern Italian and Albanian immigrants living in Inwood by the 1920s provided the GOP with a modus operandi that worked well on the local level: using community networks to forge lasting political bonds. In reciprocation, the party provided patronage and a shared allegiance for the immigrant newcomers.

There are a number of other essays not to be missed in this volume. Thomas Kelly, the chief designer and the "Father of the Lunar Module" at Grumman, tells the exciting inside story of the 1962-1972 Grumman contract with NASA to build the Apollo Lunar Module. Richard Winsche illustrates one way Brooklyn and New York City utilized Long Island for their needs in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—to supply precious water for their burgeoning populations. Patricia Caro retraces the origins and the evolution of the Nassau-Queens borderline in well-documented detail. Finally, Natalie Naylor provides a rich account of Theodore Roosevelt's local life in Nassau County. True to his rhetoric on the civic duties of upstanding citizens, Roosevelt was himself a responsible and active neighbor. He chaired a fund-raising drive for the Nassau County Red Cross, regularly made the seven- to ten-hour

commute to Oyster Bay from the White House just to vote, and even responded to the call for jury duty in 1912. Roosevelt was unsuccessful only on this last count, according to Naylor, as lawyers did all they could to keep his powerful personality barred from the courtroom. One lawyer reportedly said: "Mr. President, my client is entitled to a jury of twelve men. If you go into the jury box, there will be only one (258)."

There are many other fine essays in *Nassau County* not mentioned above, covering topics such as education, welfare, early Jewish communities, and the area's important literary achievers. In addition, evocative illustrations and photographs are used effectively throughout the book. One of the best is a cartoon from a 1957 issue of the *Hempstead Record*, entitled "The Dream of the Tiger." In it, a threatening "Tammany Tiger" dreams of making Nassau County an outer borough of New York City prior to the New York State Constitutional Convention which failed to do just this. The cartoon suggests how vehemently Nassau residents were in their wish to remain apart from their metropolitan neighbors.

Despite these significant strengths, the volume suffers at times from an uneven level of scholarship. A group of essays on Nassau County's health care history tend to be repetitive and function more as a celebration of contemporary technological triumphs than as real histories. An article on funnymen Alan King and Billy Crystal, each of whom spent parts of their lives here, is disjointed and provides little more than what fans would already have known about these two. This article was disappointing especially because, as noted in the book's introduction, Nassau County has been the childhood home of many flamboyant comedians and entertainers; something a little deeper was probably warranted.

These shortcomings aside, the book is an important and welcome addition to Long Island history—both in the valuable insights and information it provides as well as in the great range of possibilities it suggests for future work.

JOSHUA RUFF
The Long Island Museum of American Art, History & Carriages

Tom Twomey, ed. *Tracing the Past: Writings of Henry P. Hedges 1817-1911 Relating to the East End.* New York: Newmarket Press, 2000. Notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xix, 394. $40.00. Available from Book Hampton, 631-324-4939: entire proceeds donated to the Long Island Collection of the East Hampton Library.

This is the second of two very useful collections relating to the history of Eastern Long Island, prepared as a part of the 350th anniversary of East Hampton. A third collection of historical writings by East Hampton lay historians will be published later this year. All three are edited by Tom Twomey, an East Hampton resident who shares Henry Hedges's deep interest and pride in the history of his hometown. The first, *Awakening the Past*, was a series of lectures given by lay and professional historians during the year long celebration in 1998. This second volume compliments the first by bringing to the public the life work of Henry P. Hedges, who began writing and lecturing about East Hampton history at the age of thirty-two in 1849. His speech at the two-hundredth anniversary of the town began a prolific career that lasted until his 93d year when he delivered an address on the history of Bridgehampton at the courthouse in Riverhead in 1910. With a discerning eye Tom Twomey selected sixteen of these lectures and essays for the volume.

Although Hedges was not a trained historian, he was a well-educated scholar who studied at Yale College and practiced law in Sag Harbor. Enthusiastic lay historians such as Hedges often bring to light documents and other related information which serve to enrich our understanding of local events. In order for the modern reader to appreciate the value of Hedges's work, however, he or she has to get past his 19th century mind-set and quaint provincial boosterism.

Hedges presented a view of the past which was engaging, but lacked a critical edge. Twomey notes in his introduction that Hedges's style was a bit florid because his addresses to popular audiences served as one of the few public entertainments of the time. The listeners expected a good show that would celebrate the accomplishments of their ancestors.[1]

This celebration, however, was for white males only. Hedges and the other respected local historians of the time, such as Silas Wood, William Pelletreau, Benjamin F. Thompson, Gabriel Furman, Nathaniel S. Prime, George L. Weeks, and Martha Flint, ignored or glossed over the historical experiences of African Americans, Native Americans, and women.[2]

Hedges's concept of a community was exclusively white. Indians were no more than a colorful background for the drama of white colonization and settlement. Wyandanch is mentioned briefly and then the Montauketts drop out of sight, reinforcing the popular notion, held by many at the end of the 19th century, that the Indians were a vanishing race. Hedges is silent about the well-documented efforts of his ancestors

and his contemporaries in East Hampton to squeeze the Montauketts off their land at Montauk.

Hedges does, however, provide important insights into the historical experiences of the white majority on the East End. Twomey has included four important sources for those interested in the history of East Hampton Town, three essays on Bridgehampton, two on Sag Harbor, one on Southampton, one on Southold and one on the controversy between the last two over which had the better claim to be the first English colony on Long Island. He has also included two interesting essays on agriculture in Suffolk County and one on the ocean and its mysteries.

The first East Hampton source is a speech delivered at the bicentennial celebration in 1849. At this time Hedges believed that the probable date of the founding was 1649, a year after governors Theophilius Easton of New Haven and Edward Hopkins of Connecticut purchased the land from the Indians. Hedges said he chose this date because the earliest record of residence was a letter of attorney signed on 1 October 1649 by John Hand, one of the first East Hampton settlers. In this speech he listed the first groups of settlers and included several fascinating selections from the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century town records. Hedges's speeches seldom had unifying themes; they were more a collage of anecdotal nuggets. His speech for the 250th anniversary in 1899 is similar in structure, but in place of quotes from the records he includes short discussions of such topics as Indian relations, characteristics of the settlers, the half-way covenant and the virtues of "the Puritan life."

The remaining documents in the East Hampton group are Hedges's introductions to the first two volumes of the town records. These short essays provide a useful guide to the records, but can stand by themselves as windows into the past. In the first volume (1649-1680) he begins with some general comments and then presents a series of short essays on such diverse local topics as witchcraft, whaling, the church, and the town proprietors. In his introduction to the second volume (1680-1720), he writes about the formation of Suffolk County, the Dongan Patent (1686), the town's resistance to Leisler's administration (1689-90), and the use of the unallotted common lands.

One of the concerns which local historians often find compelling is the determination of a date for the "founding" of their communities. Hedges gave this a great deal of thought. In his introduction to volume one of the East Hampton Records, published in 1887, he repeats the conclusion that the town was founded in 1649. In his 250th anniversary speech in 1899, however, He argued that the weight of circumstantial evidence

now indicated that the first homesteads were occupied in 1648. Hedges felt that the settlers must have begun constructing their homes very soon after the land was purchased by Eaton and Edwards in April that year. This must have caused some embarrassment to the organizers of the celebration. Hedges apparently came to this conclusion after the preparations for the 1899 celebrations were well under way. Morton Pennypacker, whose contributions to the preservation of East Hampton history are also very impressive, set the date for the 300th anniversary in 1948, in accordance with Hedges's new conclusion, thereby establishing the precedent which was followed for the 350th anniversary in 1998.

The question of origin became a hotly contested issue between Southampton and Southold, which both claimed to be the first English settlement on Long Island. Southold officials argued that the date of founding was 1639, when Matthew Sunderland built his house there. Southampton rejected this argument, stating that one house does not make a community and argued that, in contrast, its claim was verified in the town records that indicated that a company of settlers planted crops in late spring 1640. In spite of its claim, Southold did not schedule its 250th anniversary in 1889. Perhaps anticipating that a conflict over this issue was bound to emerge, Henry Hedges was asked to resolve the question.

Speaking in fall 1889, Hedges delivered a carefully constructed presentation that reads like a lawyer's brief. He rejected the Southold claim and argued that the weight of historical evidence gave full support to Southampton's. Hedges began by establishing a criterion for determining the founding of a community: "The real question is, when was a settlement made in the name of and for the colonizing company by themselves or representatives of their number?" In other words, a community was founded when there was a collective effort made to achieve a communal goal. In the case of Southampton, said Hedges, this effort was the 10 March 1639 agreement called the "Disposal of the Vessel," in which the Southampton founders agreed in writing to cooperate in a venture to move their goods from Lynn, Massachusetts, to Long Island. Southold, no doubt, looked with raised eyebrows at Hedges attempt to fix Southampton's founding at a time when there were no settlers in what was to be Southampton.

Unfortunately, the focus on a specific date for the "founding" often ignores the complexities inherent in the concept of community. Hedges, to his credit, did try to formulate a rational criterion which defined a community as more than a group of buildings. Hedges made an important contribution to the study of local history by moving the discussion

beyond the simplistic focus on physical structures to a concern for the social, economic, and political bonds which more truly define a community.

Hedges was also concerned with the relationship between the local environment and inhabitants of the East End. He delivered two speeches on agriculture that reflect his love of the agrarian life. He recalled that although he was a professional man, he was not afraid of putting in a hard days work on his own farm in Bridgehampton. In the speech on the development of agriculture in 1883, he included a fascinating account of typical farmhouses in 1683 and 1783. He also took the opportunity to advise local farmers to apply modern scientific techniques to their farms, fertilize liberally, and till thoroughly. The fertilizer he advocated, however, was manure, not chemically based substances.

His speech on the sea rambles a bit, but native Long Islanders will appreciate his fascination for the "mysterious ocean." It is particularly unsettling to read of Hedges's love for the farmland, the open spaces and the sea, at a time when these gifts of nature are under assault by ruthless developers who are transforming the landscape.

The most striking piece in the book is Hedges's "Memories of a Long Life," an autobiographical essay which provides the reader with rich insights into a bygone era. He speaks again of his love for the farm life and his awe of the ocean. He describes his neighbors, his school days, a typical workday on a farm, his days at Clinton Academy and Yale College, his political career, his religious feelings, and his lifelong commitment to the Christian Temperance Movement.

Tom Twomey is to be congratulated for his dedication to local history and for his discerning selections in this volume. The first two volumes are invaluable resources and required reading for anyone who wants to understand the evolution of community on the East End. We look forward to the publication of the third volume.

NOTES

1. T. H. Breen refers to Hedges as the "evangelist of local history," who addressed audiences at major town anniversaries, "in the muscular spread-eagle style of nineteenth-century politicians"; Hedges's view of history "contained no ambiguities, no doubts, and, certainly, no guilt" (*Imagining the Past* [New York: Addison Wesley, 1989], 49-53)

2. Richard P. Harmond, in his classic critique of Long Island historians, "Doing and Not Doing Long Island History: The Long Island Historians From Wood to Weeks" (*Journal of Long Island History* 15 [Fall 1978]: 16-22), said that the lay historians "have given us many facts, and a considerable amount of pleasure," but argued that they have a significant deficiency. They seldom organized their work into an interpretive pattern that would shed light on the "meaning of Long Island's historical experience."

William Sidney Mount: Family, Friends, and Ideas. Elizabeth Kahn Kaplan, Robert W. Kenny, and Roger Wunderlich, eds. Setauket: Three Village Historical Society, 1999. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. 97. $15 (8 ½" x 11" paperback).

A quarter century has passed since Alfred Frankenstein's compilation of William Sidney Mount's art, correspondence, and diaries was widely distributed in hard cover, giving scholars ready access to a broad range of somewhat fragile primary sources. This convenience bolstered historical investigations already underway, led to new and original studies, and encouraged the kind of assessments that were outside the perimeters of Frankenstein's project, but in any event, could be best and most thoroughly accomplished by specialists in Long Island's history and genealogy. The fifteen essays in *William Sidney Mount: Family, Friends, and Ideas* represent a broad range of this research.

For the most part, the new material deals with Mount in the context of the Stony Brook /Setauket area where he spent almost his entire life. There is significance in the way these investigations shed light in two directions: on a fuller and more accurate reading of Mount's paintings and on the community itself as experienced and shaped by its residents. A number of essays also incorporate contacts and attitudes associated with New York City and other geographic locales. Many, too, delve into the lives of Mount's sitters and reflect politics, economics, and specific educational and environmental issues as well as the commonplace details of everyday life.

Genre paintings, filled with activities, description, and narrative, always benefit from the strengthened interpretations provided by historical investigations. In a far-reaching essay that underscores the important role music and dance had in nineteenth-century social interaction, Elizabeth Kahn Kaplan analyzes Mount's depictions of these subjects as well as his personal commitment to the violin. Theodore A. Green also starts with a Mount subject, *Eel Spearing at Setauket* (1845), and develops a richly layered analysis that includes the significance of the eel as a foodstuff, the practice of spearing, and the identification and genealogical data for the principal figure portrayed, Rachel Hart. Data relating to Hart family members, their histories. and their residences in Setauket is an especially valuable contribution.

Essays that situate Mount's idiosyncrasies within a larger context are especially useful. Examining the artist's vision of a portable painting studio, Frank C. Erk reveals much about nineteenth-century vehicle construction practices. Robert W. Kenny's investigation of the artist's flirtation with spiritualism gives insight into the specifics of his expo-

sure to supernatural beliefs and how the spread of these musings paralleled scientific pursuits of hypnotism. The material offers a better perspective for evaluating Mount's imaginary contacts with Rembrandt and other old masters, which are often quoted by art historians.

Roxana Scripture Swearingen's "In Sickness or in Health: How William Sidney Mount's Well-Being Shaped His Work and Life" sets out fascinating information about patent remedies and mid-nineteenth-century medical ideas, and underscores speculation concerning Mount's adjustments to his personal and painting habits based on his physical condition. Excerpts from Mount's diaries reveal him to be a borderline hypochondriac, but also reveal a number of worries over alcohol, tea, coffee, pure air, and exercise that are still debated today.

Other essayists have concentrated on research projects designed to identify Mount's sitters or to give further information about his patrons. Careful attention has been given to genealogies and to establishing direct interactions with the artist. In every case the documentation is rich. Estelle D. Lockwood's "Saga of the Strong Family" provides data that helps to clarify Mount's *Boys Caught Napping in a Field* (1848), commissioned by George Washington Strong, and reinforces thoughts about how Mount's pictorial philosophy served the needs of successful, progressive businessmen nostalgic for the rural days of their boyhood.

In a wide-reaching study, Laurence W. Ehrhardt's "Colonel William Satterly Williamson and Family: Neighbors of William Sidney Mount" discusses the likely identity of the figures in *Coming to the Point* (1854), and weaves in illuminating issues centering on the local school board, its trustees, and Mount's involvement. The Williamson family material also gives an engaging view of various career occupations and their dynamics. Professor Kenny's discussions of the boys portrayed in *Catching Rabbits* (1839) and the Jonas and Nancy Smith portraits is also an interesting reflection of the region's shipbuilding industry. Cathy Nelson's "William Sidney Mount and the Thompson Family" will be especially fascinating for art historians for its references to the artist's searches in the local countryside for suitable pigments.

Mount's place in American art history as the painter who perfectly summarized national traits by dignifying common people and everyday lifestyles in a straightforward manner gives special importance to this volume's community details. The range of new material will likely fuel and clarify other nineteenth-century research projects.

PHYLLIS BRAFF
East Hampton

James Driscoll, Derek M. Gray, Richard J. Hourahan, and Kathleen G. Velsor. *Angels of Deliverance: The Underground Railroad in Queens, Long Island, and Beyond.* Edited by Wini Warren. Flushing: Queens Historical Society, 1998. Illustrations, notes, bibliographies, index. Pp. xiv, 103. $14.95, plus $3.00 s.h. (paper).

In recent years, the Underground Railroad has received much attention from historians and the general public. This is reflected in interest at the local level by two Long Island historical societies. The Cow Neck Peninsula Historical Society in Port Washington had an exhibition in 1998-1999 and published *A Hidden History: Slavery, Abolition, and the Underground Railroad in Cow Neck and on Long Island*, by Mary Feeney Vahey (reviewed in *LIHJ* 12 [Fall 1999]: 123-24). *Angels of Deliverance* is from the Queens Historical Society, which secured a number of grants and assembled a team of researchers to investigate the topic.

Derek Gray, in the opening chapter, "Slavery and Resistance in the Empire State," provides an overview of slavery, focusing on the colonial period. He contrasts the harsher situation under English rule with the earlier more humane Dutch policy toward blacks. His examples indicate blacks had greater legal and social status in New Netherland, but he attributes the policy of the Dutch West India Company as a "way of controlling slaves' anger" and preventing violent revolt (2). This interpretation glosses over basic differences in attitudes toward blacks and slavery between the Dutch and English.

New York City experienced a slave revolt in 1712, but the more common means of resistance by slaves was to run away. Gray quotes a number of newspaper advertisements for Long Island runaways. He does not mention the Revolutionary War, when both sides offered freedom to African Americans who enlisted and the disruption of war made it easier for slaves to escape. In the early years after the war, Gray claims the situation did not improve significantly, either for the enslaved or free blacks, although this period was the beginning of more widespread anti-slavery activity. He does mention that the federal government enacted a Fugitive Slave Law in 1793, though it was not as effective nor as well enforced as the more familiar 1850legislation.

Finally, Gray discusses two New York City leaders. David Ruggles, a free black, helped organize the New York City Vigilance Committee in 1835, which assisted runaways; he is sometimes known as the"Father of the Underground Railroad." Henry Highland Garnet's family had escaped slavery in Maryland, but later barely escaped slave catchers in

New York City. Garnet became an outspoken abolitionist minister, but served a church in upstate Troy in the 1840s and was not a minister in New York City until 1855, by which time he was supporting the American Civilization Society and emigration to Africa. The connections of Ruggles and Garnet with abolitionist leaders on Long Island are discussed in other chapters.

Kathleen G. Velsor is the author of two chapters, "Quaker Families and their Connections: The Long Island Origins of the Anti-slavery Movement," and "The Queens Freedom Trail." She begins with the arrival of Quakers in New Netherland in 1657, their persecution by Governor Stuyvesant, the Flushing Remonstrance (1657), and John Bowne's resistance when arrested for holding Quaker meetings in his home (1663). Velsor then briefly traces the evolving attitude of Friends on Long Island toward slavery in the eighteenth century. By the time of the Revolution, Quakers had begun to manumit their own slaves. Elias Hicks was the most outspoken of Long Island Quakers who opposed slavery. It is not accurate, however, to attribute manumissions in 1776 to "Hicksite Quakers," who do not emerge as an identifiable group until decades later, nor to characterize all Hicksites as abolitionists.

The Quakers certainly were the first group to take a stand against slavery, but anti-slavery in the antebellum years involved a range of positions. This study (similar to many others), erroneously identifies anti-slavery as synonymous with abolitionism—the radical wing of the movement which emerged under William Lloyd Garrison in the 1830s.

In 1759, New York Quakers (including those on Long Island) agreed not to import slaves and by 1775, Friends were expected to free any slaves they owned. Many Quakers as individuals were involved in the New York Society for Promoting the Manumission of Slaves (1785-1849), helped blacks secure an education, or participated in the Free Produce Movement (not using the products of slave labor). Such activities received widespread support among Quakers, and sometimes Meetings even endorsed such activities; the Jericho and Westbury Friends Monthly Meeting organized a Charity Society in 1794 to educate Blacks. Many Quakers supported the gradual ending of slavery, which was the policy adopted by New York State in its 1799 legislation. The abolitionist position of immediate, uncompensated emancipation—and sometimes illegal actions to free slaves—did not receive full endorsement even by Hicksite Quakers. Velsor glosses over the variety of responses Christopher Densmore and others carefully describe in Hugh Barbour et al., *Quaker Crosscurrents: Three Hundred Years of Friends in the New York Yearly Meeting* (Syracuse: Syracuse Univer-

sity Press,1995). Densmore states that "Quakers were not unified in attitude toward the abolitionist movement," and those "misgivings" became a "public issue" in the use of meeting houses by agents of the Anti-Slavery Society in the 1830s. Their denials, however, were because the speakers were being paid or were based on a decision not to be involved in "worldly politics" (184). Velsor cites *Quaker Crosscurrents* selectively at a number of points, but without always summarizing its information accurately. (Readers might also be interested in Lynda R. Day's article, "Friends in the Spirit: African Americans and the Challenge to Quaker Liberalism, 1776-1915," in *LIHJ* 10 (Fall 1997): 1-15.

In the "Queens Freedom Trail," Professor Velsor attempts to document "stations" on the Underground Railroad in Flushing, Jericho, Jerusalem (present-day Wantagh), and Westbury. Since the Underground Railroad by definition was illegal, solid evidence is exceedingly scanty. Oral tradition within a few families, usually not emerging until generations later, and the connections of Long Island Quakers with a variety of anti-slavery activities are the slender threads she has for weaving a "Queens Freedom Trail." Some individual Quakers on Long Island probably did aid runaway slaves, but authentic documentation of the Underground Railroad is still elusive and not conclusively proven. Unfortunately, a number of factual errors mar Velsor's account, the most egregious being "the Declaration of Independence was signed in 1777" (32).

The most important original contribution is by Richard J. Hourahan in "African Americans in Flushing, New York: 1800 to 1860." He carefully examines federal census returns to trace the growth and subsequent decline of the black population in the town of Flushing and the changing percentages of slaves and free African Americans. In 1800, there were three hundred non-whites, three-quarters of whom were enslaved. Starting with the 1790 census and tracking individual Flushing families through the manuscript census might provide additional insights. Hourahan does note that "Quaker enthusiasm for Abolitionism began to wane" by 1840 (43), although he does not connect this to the emergence of Garrisonian radicalism. He attributes the decline in the black population in Flushing in the 1850s to the passage and enforcement of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Law. Hourahan also mentions the Flushing "Colored School" and an 1840 meeting at the Macedonia A.M.E. Church in Flushing seeking expanded political rights.

In the final chapter, "Flushing in the Early Nineteenth Century," James Driscoll presents an interesting and enlightening picture of the

village and its growing religious and ethnic diversity. He focuses on the Quaker Parsons family in Flushing and their connections to antislavery (again, characterized as "abolitionism"). Samuel Parsons, for example, was clerk of the New York Friends Yearly Meeting in 1837, which denounced slavery. Although Driscoll speculates about some of these connections, he is careful to qualify his statements when the evidence is limited. He also notes that there was anti-abolitionist sentiment, citing the local response to the "extreme position on slavery" advocated by the abolitionist Abby Kelley Foster in speeches in Flushing and Hempstead in 1849.

Many Long Islanders are surprised to learn that slavery existed here. African Americans have been invisible in most of the traditional Long Island histories. Hence, grass roots investigations of the black experience and anti-slavery efforts are welcome. The authors do connect local activities to regional and national activities, but perhaps understandably, overstate the significance of local efforts. Wini Warren, in her introduction, claims this is "a new view of the history of Queens and Long Island" which will "ultimately prove" that they were "the birthplace of the abolitionist movement in the United States, and that local sites were the first stations on what came to be known as the Underground Railroad" (x). "Firsts" are notoriously difficult to document, but my judgment is that this is not yet proven and is an exaggerated claim. Evidence on the existence of the Underground Railroad on Long Island is flimsy and lacking even in approximate dates. While Long Islanders were among the earliest to speak and write against slavery, it is an unwarranted leap to claim that "an abiding commitment to the cause of abolitionism and a tradition of providing freedom routesfor escaping slaves were established in Queens and on Long Island earlier than in any other area of the United States" (63).

The exhibition growing out of this research, *Angels of Deliverance: The Struggle Against Slavery in Queens and Long Island*, is more appropriately titled than the book, and less focused on abolitionism and the Underground Railroad. Tracing the black community from colonial times and various anti-slavery efforts, the exhibition, curated by James Driscoll, includes some of the archival illustrations and documents reproduced in the book. Geraldine Hazel's interesting quilt has panels in the various patterns which, according to oral tradition, were designed to guide slaves to freedom.

The exhibition at the society's headquarters in the Kingsland Homestead (143 35-37th Avenue, Flushing) opened in June 2000 and continues through early March 2001. It is well worth a visit.

Angels of Deliverance is a welcome investigation into topics about which too little has been known. It has considerable information presented in a readable and attractive format. It is unfortunate that the book is marred by a number of factual and interpretative errors, but the society plans to make some corrections in its next reprinting.

The Queens Historical Society is to be commended for tackling a difficult subject. Their work will pave the way for additional research on the role of African Americans and anti-slavery in Queens and on Long Island.

NATALIE A. NAYLOR
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Arnold A. Bocksel. *Rice, Men and Barbed Wire*. Hempstead: Michael B. Glass, 1989. Illustrations, index. Pp. 157. $18.95 (paperback). Available from Arnold A. Bocksel, 78 Miller Boulevard, Syosset, NY 11791.

At a time in their lives when their days and nights should have been filled with innocent adventure, love, and the lessons of the workaday world, they were fighting in the most primitive conditions possible across the bloodied landscape of France, Belgium, Italy, Austria, and the coral islands of the Pacific. They answered the call to save the world from the two most powerful and ruthless military machines ever assembled, instruments of conquest in the hands of fascist maniacs. They faced great odds and a late start, but they did not protest. They succeeded on every front. They won the war; they saved the world.

—Tom Brokaw, *The Greatest Generation*
(New York: Random House, 1998)

Long Island was home to many participants in the Great Depression and World War II, the generation Tom Brokaw calls "the Greatest." The Island sent its young men to fight tyranny in Europe and the Pacific, while its women worked in the factories that produced the needed weapons. Through times of desperation and glory, Long Islanders answered the call of a grateful nation to ensure the preservation of the American way of life.

Arnold A. Bocksel, of Syosset, is a member of this generation. In 1941, Bocksel enlisted in the Army and became a Chief Warrant Officer-4. As with many of his contemporaries, Bocksel's sense of patriotism led him to volunteer, aware that war was imminent and wanting to serve when it did. After attending the Submarine Mine Depot School, Bocksel was sent to the Philippines as the chief engineer of the mine planter *Harrison*, stationed at Corregidor to lay mines against the threat

of Japanese attacks on Manila and Subic Bays.

Rice, Men and Barbed Wire is an unannotated but nonetheless authentic account of the war in the Pacific, an eyewitness memoir written in a plain and earthy style laced with the language of soldiers. Through his own experience, Bocksel tells the story of American soldiers facing barbaric treatment as prisoners of war. The book, which presents many different elements to hold the reader's attention, is an emotional roller coaster. It speaks of an episode in our history that is often overlooked, the plight of the American troops who survived the Bataan Death March and internment in Japanese prison camps. The story is sad, witty, and disturbing, because it is true.

After the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Japanese set out to destroy US capability to wage war from the Philippines. Fighter planes from Formosa inflicted staggering losses on the American planes that were still on the ground at Clark and Nicholls fields. The United States lost more than half its air power in the islands, and its largest concentration of air power in the world was decimated. Bocksel, together with the other eighty thousand Americans, was surprised by the attack and now found himself caught in the middle of the fighting. Remembering a November 1941 article in *Life* magazine that contended how, should war erupt, Americans easily would defeat the weak and inferior Japanese forces, he drily recalls that,

> Somebody must have had a 'red face' on December 7, 1941. The Japanese turned out to be well-trained, fearless, and rigidly disciplined, with splendid military hardware and a spiritual quality to their militarism related to the deity like figure of their emperor. They were tough bastards (3).

Bocksel discusses the role of General Douglass MacArthur, who was criticized for spreading American troops too thinly through the vast Philippine archipelago, rather than focus on the defense of Bataan until reinforcements could arrive. Finally, with most US forces pushed back to the Bataan Peninsula, Bocksel recalls being only a few feet from MacArthur during an intense enemy artillery barrage against Corregidor. As the soldiers took cover, the general stood while the shells were being fired. Although some might interpret this gesture as reputation-enhancing bravado, Bocksel cites it as proof of MacArthur's valor: upon seeing an American icon up close, he thought, "If he was selling morale that day, he did one hell of a job, but you know what I felt...that he wasn't one goddamned bit frightened. When it was over, he

smiled and waved at us. I don t think he knew the meaning of fear" (14).

Bocksel vividly recalls the intense fighting in the Philippines, and wonders how the Americans held out as long as they did. The Japanese had cut off all supply lines, and the Philippine nation stood alone in a state of despair. Although American forces were growing weak because their food, medicine, and ammunition were diminishing, they were able to disrupt the Japanese timetable to conquer the Pacific. When General Jonathan M. Wainwright finally did surrender on 5 May 1942, the Americans who now were prisoners of war would feel the full brunt of their captors' aggression. Bocksel reveals how he and his fellow prisoners were treated as trophies of conquest. He, along with thousands of others, was forced to march in the streets of Manila, the capital of the Philippines. If prisoners moved to slowly they received blows from rifle butts or jabs from bayonets. Bocksel believes that these actions were cruel and ridiculous efforts by the Japanese to assert their authority (20).

Internment in Japanese prisons was a horrifying experience. There was little food, water, or medicine. Bocksel recalls how sickness and disease spread, killing those who were sick and wounded. Men were buried every day, as dysentery and beriberi swept through the camps. Given that there was a war in progress and supplies were in great demand, the Japanese made a minimal effort to feed Americans starving to death.

Bocksel reminds us how death, whether that of a fellow soldier, a buddy, or yourself, was always a reality. Most camps did not have doctors or medicine, with their infrequent presence a matter of luck. Toothache was no problem, as the only procedure was "to extract the tooth...using an ordinary pair of pliers, just like the kind you have in your toolbox—you will get nightmare of instant relief...anesthesia is just a word in the dictionary. Hospital is just a delay on the way to your grave" (36). Primitive living conditions in the camps, combined with unsanitary conditions of food, water, and waste, helped finish off those soldiers who already were close to death.

While recalling the suffering that he endured, Bocksel shows a sense of humor. When transferred from the Philippines to a camp in Manchuria, he and his fellow prisoners had an unusual encounter with man's best friend. At the Mukden prison camp it was common for dogs to roam in wild packs, unaware of the presence of other equally hungry creatures. One day, the dogs ran into the camp and were in for a rude surprise when the prisoners attacked them as sources of food. "Let me assure you," muses Bocksel, "that dog meat is mouth watering and delicious if you are that hungry, even if it is a little tough to chew" (64).

Rice, Men and Barbed Wire, has many other stories that will make a reader laugh or perhaps bring a tear to his or her eye. The author writes unselfishly and never seeks sympathy, his powerful story always focused on his buddies and fallen comrades. It is an important book for Long Islanders, because it exposes the enormous sacrifices that members of our community made to ensure the freedom of future generations.

After his repatriation and two years of recuperation at a veteran's hospital in Brooklyn, Bocksel settled down in Syosett to marry and raise a family. Eventually, he became the world-wide sales manager of the FMC Corporation's Turbo Prop Division. His book, unpretentious but gripping, demonstrates that he, along with many other veterans of World War II, is a genuine hero who truly represents Long Island's Greatest Generation

RICHARD V. ACRITELLI
SUNY at Stony Brook

Editorial note: Richard V. Acritelli's amplified story of Arnold A. Bocksel and other Long Islanders taken prisoner in World War II will be featured in our Spring 2001 issue.

A COMMUNICATION

Several readers have asked us to explain how New York became known as the Empire State. In response., we are pleased to present this analysis by a noted historian, Professor Milton M. Klein, of the University of Tennessee.

I have spent considerable time researching the origin of the term "Empire State" for a new History of New York State which I have been editing for five years under the auspices of the New York State Historical Association. ...There are six authors, covering various chronological periods. I, too, naively asked the author of the section "1820-1860" to include a brief footnote as to how the term originated. He had difficulty, so I began researching it. There are various explanations, none satisfactory.

One explanation is that George Washington first originated the phrase. The editors of the Washington Papers tell me that on 10 April 1785, Washington sent as an enclosure to New York City mayor James Duane his reply to an earlier address that Duane had sent to Washington on 16 December 1784. In it Washington referred to New York State as "the Seat of the Empire." Note: he did not use the phrase "Empire State." Someone else volunteered that Washington in the 1790s was at Saratoga Springs and traveled to Little Falls where he noted that the Mohawk Valley and River were natural gateways to the West, whereupon he told Governor Clinton that New York State was a "Pathway to Empire." Again, note he did not use the phrase "Empire State." There was no source given to this speculative answer to my question.

In Volume 6 of Alexander Flick's multivolume history of New York State, the concluding chapter is entitled "New York Becomes the Empire State," noting on p. 319 that as early as 1819 New York was being referred to as the Empire State because its population had exceeded that of Virginia, but no source is given. Flick added that by the time the Erie Canal was completed, the name Empire State was universally acknowledged and accepted (no source given for this statement). In 1849, a book was written by one R. L. Christopher called an *Empire State Book of Practical Forms* and, in 1871, a Mrs. S. S. Colt authored a travel book entitled *The Tourist's Guide to the Empire State*. In 1888, Benson J. Lossing entitled his book *The Empire State: A Compendious History of the Commonwealth of New York*. In 1891, the New York Central introduced a fast train between New York City and Buffalo and called it the "Empire State Express."

David Ellis wrote an article in *New York History* 56 (1975) entitled "Rise of the Empire State," but he does not give the origin of the term. Another explanation is that New York City first began being called the "Empire City" because of its commercial ascendancy after the completion of the Erie Canal, and the state adopted the name from the city.

From my view, the last word was said by Paul Eldridge in a book titled *Crown of Empire: The Story of New York State* (1957), where on page 14, he raised the question humorously: "Who was the merry wag who crowned the State...(as the Empire State)? New York would certainly raise a monument to his memory, but he made his grandiose gesture and vanished forever."

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