

THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY REVIEW

A Journal of Regional Studies

MARIST

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The Hudson River Valley Review
(ISSN 1546-3486) is published twice
a year by the Hudson River Valley
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Post: The Hudson River Valley Review

c/o Hudson River Valley Institute

Marist College, 3399 North Road,

Poughkeepsie, NY 12601-1387

Subscription: The annual subscription rate is \$20 a year (2 issues), \$35 for two years (4 issues). A one-year institutional subscription is \$30. Subscribers are urged to inform us promptly of a change of address.

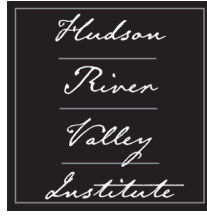
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From the Editors

This marks the bicentennial year of Robert Fulton's maiden voyage aboard the steamboat that would eventually be called the *Clermont*. Fulton's "invention" revolutionized transportation and commerce, forever changing the Hudson River and its surrounding valley. In commemoration of this anniversary, we open this issue with a fascinating recounting of Fulton's achievements written by his foremost biographer. Next, we explore more recent efforts to expand transportation in the region, focusing on the struggles surrounding construction of a Westchester County parkway. Finally, we offer the first glimpse at a recently discovered Dutch account book documenting the eighteenth-century fur trade in Ulster County.

Continuing our nautical theme, our history forums encourage visits to the Albany Institute of History and Art, which has mounted a compelling exhibit about Fulton and steamboats, and the Hudson River Maritime Museum in Kingston. Another forum article proposes a hike along the shoreline below Storm King Mountain, the haunt of a famous nineteenth-century steamboat captain. As usual, we conclude with a book review and a listing of new and noteworthy titles.

Reed Sparling
Christopher Pryslopski



*This issue of The Hudson River Valley Review
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Call for Essays

The Hudson River Valley Review is anxious to consider essays on all aspects of the Hudson Valley—its intellectual, political, economic, social, and cultural history, its prehistory, architecture, literature, art, and music—as well as essays on the ideas and ideologies of regionalism itself. All articles in *The Hudson River Valley Review* undergo peer analysis.

Submission of Essays and Other Materials

HRVR prefers that essays and other written materials be submitted as two double-spaced typescripts, generally no more than thirty pages long with endnotes, along with a computer disk with a clear indication of the operating system, the name and version of the word-processing program, and the names of documents on the disk. Illustrations or photographs that are germane to the writing should accompany the hard copy. Otherwise, the submission of visual materials should be cleared with the editors beforehand. Illustrations and photographs are the responsibility of the authors. No materials will be returned unless a stamped, self-addressed envelope is provided. No responsibility is assumed for their loss. An e-mail address should be included whenever possible.

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Since HRVR is interdisciplinary in its approach to the region and to regionalism, it will honor the forms of citation appropriate to a particular discipline, provided these are applied consistently and supply full information. Endnotes rather than footnotes are preferred. In matters of style and form, HRVR follows *The Chicago Manual of Style*.

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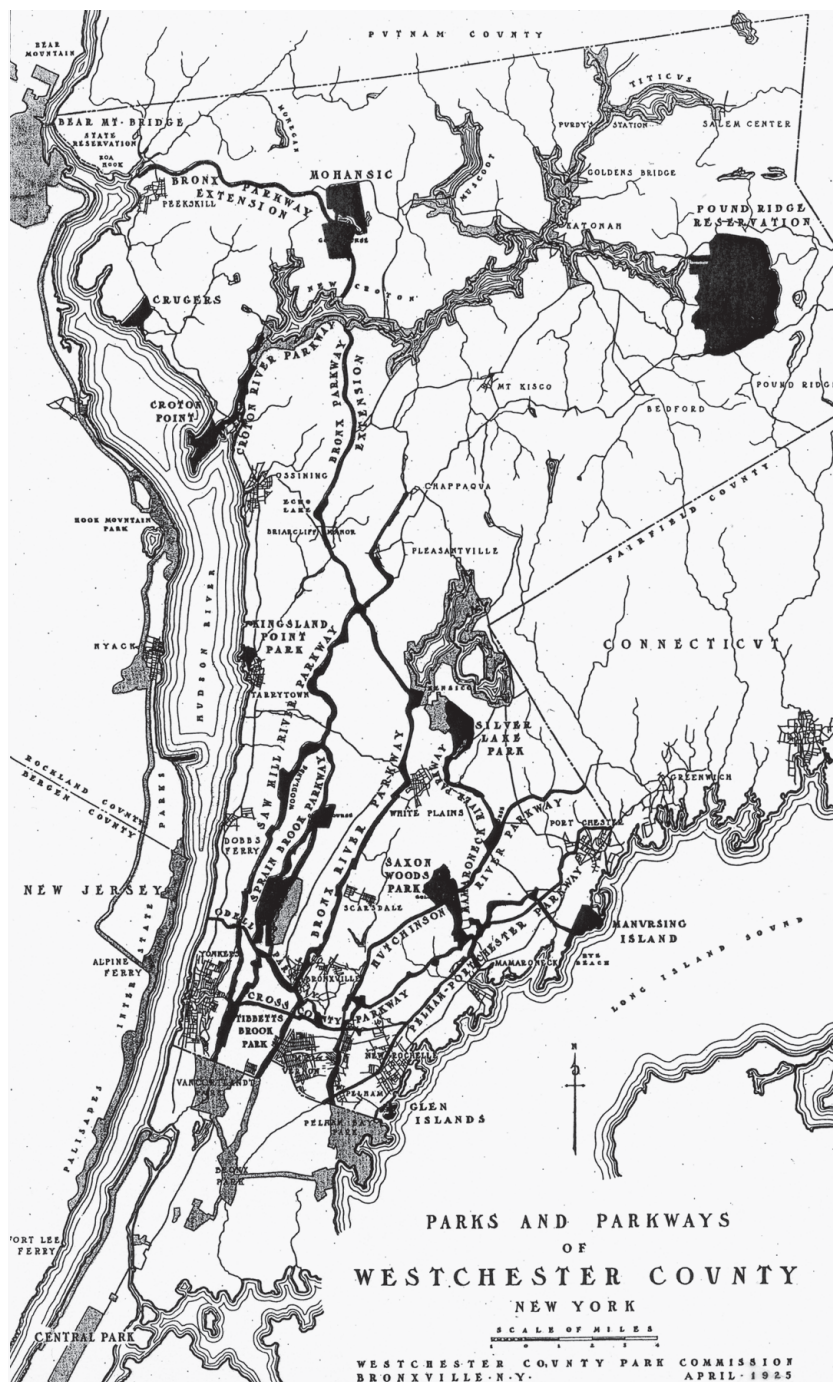
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Parks and Parkways of Westchester County, NY
in Report of the Westchester County Park Commission, 1925

The Westchester County Parkway that Never Was

Eleanor Phillips Brackbill

Shortly after buying a house in Mamaroneck four years ago, I uncovered a building inspector's letter in an immense pile of papers documenting the sale transaction. It indicated that the house had an entirely different address during the first nineteen years of its existence. To find out why, I went in search of the former address. Four blocks away, I found the answer. While the street of the original address still exists, the house number does not. Where the house should be, according to the pattern of the house numbers, is an interstate exit ramp. A bit of deed research in the Westchester County Office of Land Records confirmed what I had suspected—the impending construction of the New England Thruway had required New York State to condemn the house's original lot in 1955. The following year, a new owner ended up moving the house down the street, around the corner, and up a very steep hill. Apparently, fifteen of the immediate neighbors also had their property condemned and their houses relocated. In September 1956, a front-page photograph in the local newspaper showed three of the houses—including the one that inspired this article—separated from their foundations, poised on rollers, and ready for the move.¹

How wrenching it must have been for those homeowners, and others in the many Westchester County towns divided by the coming of the county's first inter-



Three houses stand ready to be moved. The house in the distance inspired this article (*Mamaroneck/Larchmont Daily Times*, September 10, 1956)

state highways. Ned Benton, publisher of the *Larchmont Gazette*, an online newspaper, asked in 2004, “Did Larchmont and Mamaroneck take the wrong path in 1954 when the New England Thruway was being planned? Did we go along when we could have raised a ruckus?”² In fact, public sentiment toward the building of highways through Westchester County has varied markedly over the course of the last eighty years.

When the Westchester County segment of the New England Thruway—officially designated the New England Section of the New York State Thruway, but more commonly known simply as part of Interstate 95—was built between 1950 and 1958, hundreds of buildings had to be either destroyed or moved. As with other highways constructed throughout the New York metropolitan area, it ripped through neighborhoods already well established. The massive highway-building program of New York State Council of Parks Chairman and New York City construction coordinator Robert Moses displaced 250,000 people from their homes, most in New York City, between the 1920s and the 1960s.

In an interview with his biographer, Robert A. Caro, on the challenges of highway building, Moses commented that often there were “people in the way”³; in a 1964 speech, Moses said, “When you operate in an overbuilt metropolis you have to hack your way with a meat ax.”⁴ As vividly described by Caro, “[Robert Moses] tore out the hearts of a score of neighborhoods, communities the size of small cities themselves, communities that had been lively, friendly places to live, the vital part of the city that made New York a home to its people.”⁵

Less densely populated than New York City, Westchester County nonetheless suffered the loss of hundreds of houses, apartment buildings, and businesses. They were destroyed or, in some cases, moved as the building of Interstate 95 progressed northeastward during the 1950s. The journey to that decade of interstate highway construction, though, began more than 200 years ago.

The History of Highways

Highway building in the United States dates back prior to 1785, when stagecoaches had come into general use and required better roads. Because states at that time had no funds to pay for highways, private companies built turnpikes and collected tolls. By the mid-1800s, railroads had taken over most long-distance travel. Roads deteriorated quickly. Toward the end of the 1800s, the phenomenal popularity of the bicycle focused attention on the inadequacy of existing roads, and in 1880 the League of American Wheelman began promoting road improvement. The so-called Good Roads Movement gained impetus with the coming of the gasoline-engine automobile, first introduced in 1893. That year the federal government

established the Office of Road Inquiry, later the Bureau of Public Roads.⁶ Then in 1916, with over 3.5 million motor vehicles in use, Congress passed the Federal Aid Road Act, also known as the Good Roads Act, establishing a federally funded highway program.⁷

The rapid growth of suburbs between 1900 and 1920 and the increase in the number of automobile-owning families in the early 1920s⁸ contributed to the development of a new concept in highway building—parkways. Though Calvert Vaux, a collaborator with Frederick Law Olmstead in building Manhattan's Central Park, first used the term "parkway" in 1868,⁹ Westchester County actually pioneered the parkway-system concept. Parkway came to be defined as ribbons of parkland containing roads that enabled the populace to travel easily by automobile to recreational parks, allowing them to remain in aesthetically pleasing surroundings for the entire trip. By definition, they excluded commercial traffic and trucks. Having completed 160 miles of parkways by 1932,¹⁰ Westchester County became the model for parkway development nationwide.

Westchester's First Parkway

Westchester's first parkway, the Bronx River Parkway, developed from a need to clean up the Bronx River, which by 1896 had become a virtual open sewer throughout its course in Westchester and the Bronx. Public pressure to alleviate the situation mounted, and in 1906 the state legislature created the Bronx Parkway Commission.¹¹ The commission recommended the building of a parkway reservation along the Bronx River. By 1912, both the county and New York City had authorized the acquisition of land for the project.¹² The commission's annual report that year presented a grand vision for a comprehensive system of parks linked by parkways. It asked, "Who can pronounce too ambitious our forecast for the World's most magnificent outer park system!" It also described a parkway of the future along Long Island Sound, an early hint of a highway that would eventually become the New England Thruway.¹³

The planning and construction of the Bronx River Parkway proceeded from 1907 to 1923, with a brief hiatus during World War I.¹⁴ At the official dedication in November 1925, in a letter read before a crowd gathered for the occasion,¹⁵ Governor Alfred E. Smith noted that the parkway had set "a standard for all parkways in this country" and would be "of enormous benefit to the millions of people who seek fresh air and recreation and who may now travel from the city streets though a continuous narrow park into the open country."¹⁶ A feature article in *The New York Times* described it as "magical," a "near-miracle," and a "long vista of sylvan charm." Accompanying the article were five artful, scenic photographs

worthy of a book on romantic landscape painting.¹⁷ The new parkway even inspired a poem, also published in the *Times*:

We know your way is smooth and firm
And easy to the tire's tread.
But weren't you planned by hand of God
Instead of any human head?...
Next comes a Corot! Mist and all.
With drooping willows, glade and lawn.
I'm sure I see some dancing nymphs
About an impish, piping faun.¹⁸

House & Garden magazine, with a nationwide circulation of over 130,000, featured the parkway in its July 1926 issue. It praised the entire project as “a splendid example of what a well organized and ably administered commission can accomplish in the beautification of a large area...” The parkway tract, and the several others which will follow it as the operations are extended into other sections of the county, abounds in details, which other improvement associations might well emulate. Taken as a whole, they constitute a remarkable example of town betterment through the raising of real estate standards and the stimulation of community pride.”¹⁹ Illustrated with five photographs and architectural drawings of two footbridges, the article extended to the reader an offer to send away \$1.00 for large-scale blueprints so that the charming, rustic bridges could be replicated elsewhere.²⁰ Even before the Bronx River Parkway’s completion, its enormous success, both practical and aesthetic, was evident to all observers.

In the wake of this achievement, and pursuant to an act of the New York State Legislature, the Westchester County Board of Supervisors formed the Westchester County Park Commission, empowered to acquire land, borrow money, issue bonds, and manage and maintain parks and parkways—a broad authority for which there was ample public support.²¹ The commission submitted a report to



HOUSE & GARDEN, JULY 1926

House & Garden showed the Bronx River Parkway and a nearby footbridge in 1926 (“The Way Westchester Does It,” *House & Garden*, July 1926, 101)

the board of supervisors in May 1923 recommending land purchases for the Hutchinson River Parkway, the Saw Mill River Parkway, and four parks.²² The park commission's work got off to a vigorous and impressive start.

In its 1924 annual report, the commission set forth the rationale for the development of a county park and parkway system. The key points included: the growth of suburbs made possible by improved transit; the development of the automobile, with a consequent demand for good roads; a growing interest in town and city planning; and the Bronx River Parkway, which had greatly influenced public sentiment in favor of additional parkways.²³ At the time, the commission believed that the projects it had authorized the previous year comprised a comprehensive park program. But after experiencing pressure from businesses and residents to relieve traffic congestion and fearing that the rapid subdivision and development of land in the southern part of the county would leave little land available for public use,²⁴ the commission planned a dozen new park and parkway projects, the Pelham-Port Chester Parkway among them.

A Parkway Never Built— The Pelham-Port Chester Parkway

A March 17, 1925 article in *The New York Times* reported the Westchester County Park Commission's request to the board of supervisors to purchase 6,000 acres for new parks and forty-five miles of parkways. This included the construction of the Pelham-Port Chester Parkway, which would create a through route from New York City to Connecticut.²⁵ The county eventually built most of the parks and parkways proposed that year, but this is the story of one that was never built, a parkway plan with a long, convoluted, tortured, and politicized demise—and a subsequent gradual reincarnation.²⁶

The thirteen-mile stretch of the Pelham-Port Chester Parkway was to traverse Pelham, New Rochelle, Larchmont, Mamaroneck, Rye, and Port Chester. It would parallel the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad line and the Boston Post Road—one of the country's oldest thoroughfares, and long considered inadequate. Described in the park commission's 1925 annual report as "originally built in separate links from town to town, [the Boston Post Road] was constituted as one continuous road by act of the Legislature, in 1703, directing that 'one Public Common Highway be laid out and kept in repair from New York through that county and the county of Westchester four rods, English, wide, to be forever a Public Road to the Colony of Connecticut.'"²⁷ By the start of the twentieth century, it carried a large number of vehicles traveling between New York City and New England, as well as local traffic, which was increasing rapidly with devel-

opment along the Long Island Sound. The park commission planned the Pelham-Port Chester Parkway to decrease the volume of traffic on the Boston Post Road.

Within months, the commission began buying land to create the parkway's right-of-way. Frequent acquisitions took place from early 1926 through 1927.²⁸ They were newsworthy enough to warrant coverage in *The New York Times* a number of times during 1926.²⁹ By early 1928, however, the momentum seems to have slowed, and various private and civic groups—the League of Neighborhood Associations of the City of New Rochelle, the Association of the Woods of Larchmont, the Planning Board of the City of New Rochelle, the Common Council of the City of New Rochelle, and the Town Board of Mamaroneck—began lobbying for construction to begin.³⁰

Perhaps to assuage the citizenry, the commission had one underpass built in Larchmont. It carried Murray Avenue over the nonexistent parkway.³¹ Completed by the spring of 1930,³² the structure is still in evidence today beneath Murray Avenue. Incorporated into the Memorial Park playground, it now serves as a shuffleboard court. It is the only part of the Pelham-Port Chester Parkway ever actually built.



MICHAEL TORLEN

The unused parkway underpass is today a part of Memorial Park Playground

The Boston Post Road Needs Relief, but Obstacles Abound

A front-page article in the *Daily Times* reported that during the Fourth of July holiday weekend in 1926, 1,400 cars per hour passed though Larchmont and Mamaroneck. It also noted that “at the traffic intersections not on the Post Road, traffic is reported to be normal.”³³ Clearly, the situation on the Boston Post Road was an issue. Park commission annual reports throughout the 1920s cited the urgent need for a highway along Long Island Sound; the same theme appeared in newspaper coverage for decades to follow. For example, the author of a 1937 article in *The New York Times* observed, “to relieve the Boston Post Road, now much overcrowded, the agitation has been renewed” to complete the parkway.³⁴ Thirteen years later, an editorial writer remarked on the ongoing pressure of traffic on the Boston Post Road: “Doubtless there is justification for a feeling that the incongruity of the Model T highway doing the job of a 1950 streamliner leaves Westchester atop a small volcano.”³⁵ The commission continued to conduct studies and produce architectural plans for the Pelham-Port Chester Parkway, but numerous obstacles hindered actual progress.

Impediments to the project’s advancement fell into four categories: construction problems, increasing costs, World War II, and opposition from a variety of government, corporate, and private quarters. Construction and design challenges included the large number of required grade-separation bridges or underpasses, the proximity to the railroad line, and the projected pavement width of eighty feet, which, at the time, would have been the widest in Westchester County.³⁶ The original 1925 estimated cost for land acquisition of 250 acres was \$1 million, a sum that turned out to be (not surprisingly) grossly insufficient.³⁷ Financing became increasingly difficult as the prices of real estate and construction inflated. As early as 1927, the commission stated its hesitancy to recommend expenditures large enough to begin construction.³⁸ After 1929 and the onset of the Depression, it adopted a very conservative fiscal policy.³⁹ In the next decade, due to the war emergency, New York State withheld funds on which Westchester was depending for parkway repairs. The commission indicated it might have to recommend closing the Bronx River Parkway as a result.⁴⁰ If the government could not maintain existing highways, it was unlikely that it would allocate any funds to new highway construction.

Opposition to plans for building the Pelham-Port Chester Parkway took various forms. In 1926, three railroad companies with lines in Westchester lodged a formal protest over a park commission recommendation that the railroads pay one-half the cost of the construction of crossovers.⁴¹ The following year, village

authorities in Port Chester raised objections to the proposed path of the roadway. The park commission agreed it would not proceed on any planned route without village approval.⁴² Late in 1929, the Larchmont Gardens Association and the League of Civic Associations of the Unincorporated Section of the Town of Mamaronock protested the proposed use of the Pelham-Port Chester Parkway by commercial vehicles.⁴³ More strident opposition lay ahead as the entire vision for the highway along the Sound began to change in the 1930s.

From Parkway to Thruway—Out of County Hands

The dream of a highway to connect New York City with New England and relieve pressure on the much-used Boston Post Road went through a conceptual transition from its inception as a parkway in 1925 to the groundbreaking of the New England Thruway in Westchester County in 1950. At the same time, the vision for possible funding sources for it changed, first shifting from a county to a state undertaking, and eventually becoming part of a vast federal system.

An early hint that some believed New York State should take over the Pelham-Port Chester Parkway project appeared in 1929, just before the stock market crash. *The New York Times* reported: "Since the parkway is outlined on State highway maps and follows a State highway route, the county has taken the stand that the state must build the road."⁴⁴ Perhaps Westchester County leaders were looking for a more equitable distribution of state funds given that in 1929 seventy percent of state funding allocated to the metropolitan region for parks and parkways was going to Robert Moses' projects on Long Island.⁴⁵ In spite of a recommendation by the New York State Council of Parks that \$1 million of state funds be allocated for construction of the Pelham-Port Chester Parkway in the 1933 budget year,⁴⁶ no aid was forthcoming.

The New York State Legislature soon created the Pelham-Port Chester Parkway Authority, which submitted a loan application to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, created by Congress to aid self-supporting public works projects. Ultimately, the loan was denied.⁴⁷ In the view of the New York State Superintendent of Public Works in 1937, the Pelham-Port Chester Parkway topped a list of ten highways that the state most needed to build.⁴⁸ The same year, the chairman of the Westchester County Budget Committee publicly insisted that the state undertake any new parkway development;⁴⁹ according to the press, county officials generally were resolved not to take on any major highway work at the expense of local taxpayers.⁵⁰ That the state should pay for the parkway's construction was a recurring theme in newspaper coverage from 1936 through 1938.

By December 1936, the ribbon of parkland once deemed exclusively for pleasure traffic, with the potential for becoming another “vista of sylvan charm,” had become the locus for a “freeway,” defined in a *New York Times* article as a new type of highway “based on a right of way to which abutting property owners do not have access.” The article bluntly asserted, “The Pelham-Port Chester Parkway will be a freeway,” part of an extensive system of new highways around New York City recommended by the Regional Plan Association to ease traffic congestion.⁵¹

Envisioning a “truck toll route” that would be financed through a private authority created by the New York State Legislature, Robert Moses announced fourteen months later: “the railroad right-of-way and Westchester County’s unused Pelham-Port Chester Parkway right-of-way alone would provide a possible route” for an express highway out of the city. The *Times* article reporting his announcement flatly stated, “The [Pelham-Port Chester] parkway project was abandoned because of the depression.”⁵² Now the parkway was to be a truck and bus toll artery.

By 1938, federal aid was becoming part of the funding-source expectation.⁵³ By 1940—with a plan for a national interregional highway system in its infancy—a combination of state and federal aid was squarely part of the vision. World War II brought yet another identity for the Pelham-Port Chester Parkway—a federal defense highway. Creating such a highway meant that state and federal governments would take over building a mixed-traffic road on the Pelham-Port Chester Parkway right-of-way.⁵⁴ In fact, that is what happened.

The 1920s and 1930s—Public Sentiment Pro

Despite the periodic mild opposition discussed earlier, the public’s attitude toward the building of the Pelham-Port Chester Parkway was generally positive in the 1920s and 1930s. Broad support for the development of parklands for conservation and recreation, appreciation of parkways such as the Bronx River Parkway as works of great beauty, and desire for ease of automobile travel all contributed to the early universal positive regard for parkway construction. According to Caro, although “almost all public works arouse some opposition,” until the 1960s the majority of American voters “worshiped public works projects in and for themselves.”⁵⁵

Many people viewed parkways as economic growth stimulators. *The New York Times* quoted one real estate developer in October 1930:

Westchester is one of the few counties in and around New York that has already come out of the building slump into which the entire country was plunged in November of last year....

The chief increase of building activity has been on the Sound shore, in such villages as Rye, Harrison, Mamaroneck and Larchmont. This is largely due to the...impending construction of the Pelham-Port Chester Parkway...⁵⁶

The real estate industry regarded the planned parkway as a residential sales asset. A newspaper article concerning a model home open for public viewing in conjunction with the New Rochelle Chamber of Commerce Better Home Show of 1935 touted the fact that the house “overlooks the Pelham-Port Chester Parkway” in “one of the choice residential sections.”⁵⁷ Even before the Depression, an elaborate sales promotion brochure for the 1927 development of the immediate neighborhood (near what is now my property) included parkway proximity as a major selling point. The development, it stated, “is located in the hub of the new Westchester County Parkway System.” Nearby was the Pelham-Port Chester Parkway—“more or less similar to the Bronx River Parkway, which is one of the wonders of Westchester County.”⁵⁸ After acquiring the land for a subdivision, Harry Rich Mooney had his sales director write an article stating that the developer had deeded a portion of the property to the Westchester County Park Commission “at a nominal price, thereby showing his fine spirit toward the County, as well as securing for his development, or MAMARONECK KNOLLS, as it is called, an immediate link... [to] the parkway system.”⁵⁹ These real estate perspectives indicate that people viewed parkways favorably, but as the depressed economy of the 1930s slowed road construction at a time when automobile usage was increasing and the suburbs were expanding, pressure to alleviate crowded roadways emerged as the single strongest driving force behind support for parkway construction.

The 1940s—Public Sentiment Con

Although widespread support for highways persisted, in the early 1940s people began to raise questions about the wisdom of some aspects of their construction. For the Pelham-Port Chester Parkway, the parkway concept had since given way to the freeway concept, and more specifically to a defense highway concept. Though Westchester residents who lived along the parkway route supported the war effort, they objected to the change in the road's purpose. Words like “betrayed,” “revolt,” and “protest” began to appear in the press. “The residents are strongly opposed to any truck highway plan,” declared the Town of Mamaroneck supervisor. He contended that Westchester residents felt betrayed because the property originally had been purchased to create a pleasure car route, a parkway, not a commercial

truck highway. He also asserted that Robert Moses wanted to create feeder highways for New York City rather than help Westchester solve its traffic problems, and that, if the road were built, property values would drop significantly.⁶⁰

The New York Times called the reaction of the Westchester County Board of Supervisors to the Pelham-Port Chester Parkway plans “a revolt against having expensive parkway plans made public and forced upon them without prior submission for revision.” County leaders were being kept in the dark on project details. “People with life savings invested in homes suddenly” were learning that a parkway was “going to shoot past them,”⁶¹ according to the Yonkers supervisor. Signaling the development of a grassroots movement against Moses’ “mixed-traffic” plans for the Pelham-Port Chester Parkway, the Larchmont Gardens Association held a mass meeting to rally for a parkway limited to pleasure cars.⁶² The objections seemed to quiet during the war, only to be revived as the war’s end approached and plans for road construction were revitalized.

Once again, the issue among protesters was truck traffic and the resulting loss of property values. “The truck road would ‘slaughter real estate values’ and benefit only non-residents,” remarked one town supervisor in March 1944. A number of civic organizations, as well as several individuals, submitted written protests to the county board of supervisors.⁶³ Later in the year, a Rye Neck woman filed a lawsuit in federal court to prevent the county from turning over the parkway land to the state because “use of the property for a ‘thruway’ would injure property values, and at the same time bring on increased taxes for Westchester residents.”⁶⁴ As construction moved across the state line into Connecticut, residents there also began to raise objections. A Westport citizen cited Port Chester as “an example of a town ‘well-nigh ruined’ by main highways and inter-connecting roads.”⁶⁵ Throughout the 1940s, those living near the parkway right-of-way continued to object sporadically to its use for mixed traffic.

A few astute observers began to recognize that in their fury to alleviate traffic conditions, government officials were overlooking the drawbacks to massive road building, particularly when done without adequate planning. Lewis Mumford, a vocal advocate of urban planning and a longtime critic of New York City development, commented in an interview, “A large part of the money we are spending on highways right now is wasted because we don’t know whether we want people where the highways are going. But highways are an impressive, flashy thing to build. No one is against highways.”⁶⁶

Expressing an opposing point of view, Robert Moses wrote dramatically (and for many, persuasively) of the highways he was building: “Our new arteries will give us a better city, more accessible, less congested, more comfortable and convenient

for living and working than it was before, and, as an important incident, we shall have the finest collection of land bridges, intersections, clover leaves, chicken guts, ever conceived, since Daedalus built the labyrinth for Minos of Crete, 'a mighty maze,' as the poet said, 'but not without a plan.'"⁶⁷ Few were against the "impressive, flashy" highways being planned and built everywhere.

Some elected officials even accused other officials of falsely claiming credit for the Thruway for political gain. Republican State Assembly representative Hunter Meighan of Mamaroneck asserted in a newspaper interview in 1954 that "it was the Republican brains that brought up the idea" for the Thruway and "now [Democrats] claim that the Thruway was started by the Democrats after all!"⁶⁸ Despite recurring objections from a few average citizens and outspoken critics like Mumford, a majority of the public continued to support highway building throughout the 1940s and into the 1950s; public officials did as well, both within the county and at the state and federal levels.

New England Thruway Groundbreaking

In 1942, the Westchester County Park Commission passed a resolution approving the county's gift of the Pelham-Port Chester Parkway right-of-way to New York State for construction of a mixed-traffic express highway.⁶⁹ Six months later, the board of supervisors pledged to donate the land to the state after the war.⁷⁰ Meanwhile, Robert Moses had disclosed that the federal and state governments had finally granted modest appropriations to study the project, and highway officials from New York and Connecticut announced they would meet to discuss "post-war reconstruction of the Boston Post Road."⁷¹ By the summer of 1944, the press was referring to the planned highway as the New England Thruway.⁷² The same year, the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1944 laid the groundwork for the Interstate Highway System,⁷³ today the Dwight D. Eisenhower System of Interstate and Defense Highways,⁷⁴ of which the New England Thruway was destined to be a part.

In September 1949, construction began on the Bronx segment of the New England Thruway, while the Westchester portion remained in the planning and contract-bidding stage.⁷⁵ With many Westchester County residents becoming impatient over the delays and uncertainty, the county board of supervisors began waging an all-out campaign to commence construction and thereby relieve traffic on the Boston Post Road, "the second most heavily traveled road in the nation."⁷⁶ At last, by the mid-1950 workers had broken ground in Pelham and New Rochelle,⁷⁷ and the New England Thruway finally began its slow advance through the county. Westchester officially handed over the thirteen-mile-long

property to New York State in February 1952,⁷⁸ completing the transition from parkway to Thruway and from county control to state and federal control.

The 1950s—The Greater Good, Resignation, and Acceptance

By the time construction on the New England Thruway and the New York-Buffalo Thruway, later known as the Major Deegan Expressway, began in earnest, what opposition remained had diminished to resigned sadness in those directly affected. *The New York Times* reported in 1953:

Residents of this city [New Rochelle] and Yonkers, two of the communities hardest hit by the state's new Thruway construction, shook their heads disconsolately today as they told of dislocations in business and social life caused by the loss of shops, offices, factories, homes, churches, parks and local streets in the paths of the Thruways... .

Besides cutting broad swaths through old business areas of New Rochelle and Yonkers, with a loss of 450 structures, the Thruways will cause scattered business dislocations and home demolitions elsewhere.⁷⁹

Two years later, the same author wrote an article entitled “Thruway to Cut a Painful Gash Across Heart of New Rochelle.” He cited 300 homes, churches, and commercial buildings scheduled for demolition and 260 graves from two cemeteries slated for relocation.⁸⁰ (He failed to mention reports regarding the blasting of caves beneath the city where Native Americans had once buried their dead.)⁸¹ In the face of what the New Rochelle City Affairs Committee called the “catastrophic” effect of the construction and another claim that the city was being “needlessly blown to pieces,” the mayor recognized the highway’s long-term value:

Despite present difficulties, he declared, the Thruway is essential to relieve the Boston Post Road of a daily traffic load of 25,000 pleasure cars and gargantuan interstate trucks.

“We’ll have a renaissance in downtown business when the new road is completed next year,” the mayor said.⁸²

Whether or not his prediction was accurate is debatable, but his comments are representative of the attitudes of many during the mid-1950s.

As construction moved northeastward, the state announced various design changes instigating intermittent protest. In 1954, upon learning of plans to construct a cloverleaf interchange that would create eight separate crossings near

an elementary school, the Mamaroneck Board of Education voted to formally protest.⁸³ Eight school-related organizations, as well as the Rye Neck School Board and the Mamaroneck Village Board, added their formal disapproval. Devaluation of nearby property was obviously a concern, but typical of the objections was the one from the Mamaroneck Heights Association, a group representing my house's neighborhood: "While recognizing the 'thruway proper' as a major step in the progress of transportation for the eastern seaboard, the association based its request 'primarily upon the potential hazard to elementary school children.'"⁸⁴ By January 1955, community members had submitted to the Thruway Authority at least six alternative designs to reduce the number of crossings. Indeed, it seems the effort to alter the highway entrance and exit plans near the school was partially successful. Today, the cloverleaf has but five crossings along Mamaroneck Avenue. Among the changes residents could not stop were the two cloverleaf loops that plowed directly through the spot where my house once stood, necessitating its removal.⁸⁵ (see below)



ELEANOR PHILLIPS BRACKBILL

**The house once stood in the area between the two cars,
where today there are interstate entrance and exit ramps**

Though residents directly affected by major highway construction were still asserting their will to try to control certain small design aspects, by this time they had acquiesced to the disruptions and property loss. Even people inconvenienced by the construction on a daily basis accepted, for the most part, the necessity of progress. After four people were injured and a forty-seven-pound rock was hurled 1,000 feet into a vacant house—the results of dynamite blasting to clear rock ledges for the Thruway's roadbed—Mamaroneck village officials and contractors met to

plan an alternative blasting method. For days, residents were subjected to the constant noise of drilling, dust, and dirt. They were required to evacuate their houses before scheduled detonations, sometimes in the middle of meal preparations. One man living directly behind the blast site pointed out numerous cracks in his house to a newspaper reporter, then stated that no matter what the compensation was, his house would never be the same. Nevertheless, he acknowledged that he recognized “that such roads as the Thruway must be built.” The article noted that the man’s daughter “struck a new note when she declared that she did not feel that ‘they have any right to subject people to such indignities.’” Her point of view was the exception rather than the rule.⁸⁶



Mamaroneck family members evacuate their house before a dynamite detonation.
(Mamaroneck/Larchmont Daily Times, September 28, 1956)

The Mohican Path Opens

The New England Thruway officially opened on October 18, 1958; for much of its length, it followed the Pelham-Port Chester Parkway right-of-way. Newspaper coverage noted that despite its name, the fifteen-mile, six-lane superhighway did not actually go through any part of New England, but connected highways in New York City’s Bronx with the Connecticut Turnpike. Governors Averell Harriman of New York and Abraham Ribicoff of Connecticut presided over a ceremony held at the border between the two states. An article in *The New York Times* featured a highlighted inset informing readers: “The New York Legislature decided at its latest session to bestow upon” the New England Section of the New York Thruway the “inspiring historic” name, The Mohican Path, in honor of the region’s first residents.⁸⁷ This was quite ironic given the Native American burial sites that had been blasted during the highway’s construction.

“We” 50 Years Ago and “We” Today

Considering Ned Benton’s questions—“Did Larchmont and Mamaroneck take the wrong path in 1954 when the New England Thruway was being planned? Did we go along when we could have raised a ruckus?”—it seems that we did raise a ruckus at times, but not enough of one to alter the course of events. Moreover,

and perhaps more significantly, the “we” of the 1950s was different from the “we” of today. Not only did public attitudes toward the building of highways change in the thirty years from the conception of the Pelham-Port Chester Parkway to the realization of the New England Thruway, but they also have changed in the fifty years since those first interstates tore through established communities all over the United States. Broadly speaking, throughout most of the twentieth century the public’s attitudes toward highway construction have been shaped by government policies and subsidies that favored the development of an automobile-based transportation system and the roads it required.⁸⁸

No area of this country, particularly in the 1950s, was immune to these pressures and to the “march of progress” and its concomitant disruption. Federal and state governments were building highways everywhere, and the public was generally pleased about it. In the 1950s, Westchester County citizens, like their counterparts elsewhere, came to embrace the concepts of the greater good and progress in the modern world. Marshall Berman, in *All That Is Solid Melts into Air*, explores the experience of modernity and how it produced an atmosphere in the mid-twentieth century that repeatedly sacrificed the past and present to make way for the future. He wrote: “The developers and devotees of the expressway world [the modern environment that emerged after World War II] presented it as the only possible modern world: to oppose them and their works was to oppose modernity itself, to fight history and progress, to be a Luddite, an escapist, afraid of life and adventure and change and growth. This strategy was effective because, in fact, the vast majority of modern men and women do not want to resist modernity: they feel its excitement and believe in its promise, even when they find themselves in its way.”⁸⁹ Thus, in assessing a large public work such as the New England Thruway—as well as its progenitor, the Pelham-Port Chester Parkway—we are wise to detach ourselves from the perspective of our own time and consider the prevailing attitudes, values, and circumstances of an earlier time.

Endnotes

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4. Helen Leavitt, *Superhighway—Superhoax* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1970), 53. The quote comes from a May 1964 speech before the National Highway Users Conference.
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 35. "Boston Post Road," *NYT*, March 6, 1950.
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