

THE LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL JOURNAL



United States Army Barracks at Camp Upton, Yaphank, New York c. 1917

Fall 2003/ Spring 2004
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Starting from fish-shape Paumanok where I was born...

Walt Whitman



Fall 2003/ Spring 2004
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Beginning this year the Center for Regional Policy Studies at SBU became co-publisher of the *Long Island Historical Journal*. Continued publication would not have been possible without this support. The editors thank Dr. Lee E. Koppelman, Executive Director, and Ms. Edy Jones, Ms. Jennifer Jones, and Ms. Melissa Jones, of the Center's staff.

Special thanks to former editor Marsha Hamilton for the continuous help and guidance she has provided to the new editor.

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**THE LONG ISLAND
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EDITORIAL COMMENT

As the new editor I am happy to report that the journal, after several years of transition, appears to be on stable footing. Interest in writing for the journal is strong and the subscription base is growing. We have accumulated, for the first time since founding editor Roger Wunderlich's passing, a solid backlog of articles for future journal issues. This has been made possible primarily by the Stony Brook History Department's continuing commitment to the journal, generous staff and financial support from the Center for Regional Policy Studies at Stony Brook, and financial support from the Gardiner Foundation. The editorial board hopes to revive our twice a year publication schedule, but we are at this point unable to establish a firm date for this event.

I appreciate the opportunity that the editorial board, the Center for Regional Policy Studies, and the History Department gave me when they asked me to take over the journal. It has been a rich and exciting experience so far. The journal will continue to make a significant contribution to our understanding of Long Island history, and to the people, places, institutions, and events that constitute that history.

In this issue we have adopted a new format in which each feature article is given a brief introduction. We have also incorporated two columns we hope to feature regularly. One is a "Place Names" column, the brainchild of associate editor Dick Harmond, in which the history of the names of communities on Long Island will be explored. We are also continuing with our "Lost and Found" column, which seeks to revisit important books, historical documents, and artifacts from Long Island's past.

Please note that the journal now has a special interest in policy related history. In this issue we feature one article on the Central Suffolk Pine Barrens as well as one on the history of the Nassau Hub. We welcome submissions and ideas in these areas, as well as in the broader field of Long Island history.

On behalf of the Editorial Board, we hope you enjoy this issue of the journal. Thank you for your continued support.

Seth Forman
Editor, *Long Island Historical Journal*

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Daniel Winkler and Crystal Vagnier were juniors at Amityville Memorial High School

Vikram Chabra was a senior at Lawrence High School

Alexandra Cella was a junior at Amityville Memorial High School

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**CROSSING THE SOUND: THE RISE OF ATLANTIC
AMERICAN COMMUNITIES IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
EASTERN LONG ISLAND**

By Faren Rhea Siminoff

In this article Faren Rhea Siminoff argues that the development of Long Island's East End in the seventeenth century was part of the broader development of Atlantic American communities in Southern New England. Siminoff challenges the notion that the most relevant characteristic of these communities was the domination of European settler groups over Native Americans. Rather, Siminoff argues that the most interesting aspect of these communities was their complexity, deriving from the curious give and take that occurred between English, Dutch, and Native Americans who were jockeying for the betterment of their respective groups. Most importantly, Siminoff believes that this social interaction, which reflects the fluid nature of early European settlements in the New World generally, is clearly discerned by studying the East End's history, which constitutes the most understudied section of the Southern New England realm. This article was adapted from Siminoff's book Crossing the Sound: The Rise of Atlantic American Communities in Seventeenth-Century Eastern Long Island (NYU Press) to be published this year.

On May 26, 1637, in a short but destructive military engagement, militias comprised of English settlers and spearheaded by the fledgling Massachusetts Bay Colony, destroyed the Pequot Indians' stronghold at Mystic and ended the Pequot War. Militia commander Captain John Underhill proclaimed that the powerful Pequots and their lands were, "fully subdued and fallen into the hands of the English."¹ The southern New England Pequots, whose territory stretched from the Thames to the Connecticut River and whose influence extended to many of the native groups living on the islands in the Long Island Sound, had emerged during the second decade of the seventeenth century as a pivotal economic and political power in the region. While the balance of power in southern New England was forever changed with the Pequots' fall, the victors' proclamation proved inaccurate, as the English settlers' quickly came to realize.²

Three days later, a lone Montaukett Indian from the eastern end of Long Island arrived at Saybrook Fort, which was located close to Mystic, at the mouth of the Connecticut River. He identified himself as Wyandanch, "younger brother" to the powerful Long Island

Manhasset sachem Poggatacut, and requested a hearing with the Fort's young English commander, Lion Gardiner.³ His stated purpose was to ascertain if the English would trade with the peoples residing on Long Island's "East End" or if they were "angry with all the Indians."⁴ This exchange between a minor Montaukett sachem and the commander of Saybrook Fort heralded the incorporation of Long Island's eastern end along with the entire Long Island Sound sub-region, its peoples, and its valuable natural resources, into greater southern New England, as well as the emerging Atlantic world.

The origins of the Atlantic world date back to the fifteenth century when Europeans gained sufficient mastery of the oceans to support continuous and permanent interactions with Africa, the Americas, and Asia. This set in motion a global reshuffling of cultures and ultimately led to the rise of wholly new communities, particularly in the Americas. The Atlantic world, from its inception, was distinct not so much for its physical boundaries, but for the sphere into which ideas, peoples, and cultures were both exchanged and transformed.

The meeting between Wyandanch and Lion Gardiner was typical of recurring exchanges in the region and demonstrated the role that distinct "communities of interest" played in southern New England. "Communities of interest," is a term used here to denote the existence of multiple smaller communities within the larger traditional aggregates of peoples (English, Dutch, Ninnimissinuok) in southern New England; communities that articulated their own specific goals and gave shape to the formation of the Atlantic world. In southern New England these communities included English grandees, Dutch merchants, and local English colonial authorities, as well as aspiring English settlers, along with a wide variety of the communities within the *Ninnimissinuok*.⁵ Community alliances were quite fluid and did not necessarily line up according to common ethnic or national affiliations.

Individuals essential to this process of community building were the "boundary crossers." The new realities unfolding both on the East End and in the entire region, produced this new class of individuals, native and settler, whose success and accomplishments were in large measure rooted in their abilities to cross cultural boundaries, use or create new networks, and move fluidly between native and settler communities.⁶ Wyandanch and Gardiner exemplify this class of person who would rearticulate community in Atlantic America.⁷ They not only moved with relative ease between groups but also used their abilities to facilitate the dissemination of goods and ideas. These boundary crossers were instrumental to land transactions and central

to the individuals' and community's reassessment of their relationship to land. Examples of this appear repeatedly in the colonial records.

The nature and content of the confluence of these peoples in the seventeenth century is of great historical interest. Over time their collective struggle to impose their respective traditions and interests resulted in the creation of Atlantic American communities that flourished across the southern New England region generally, and on the East End of Long Island specifically. These communities were created by and reflected the adaptation of altered ideas, forms, and practices that proved better suited for life in an often chaotic and extremely dynamic region. The identity of an Atlantic American community was not strictly rooted in any particular native or European tradition, but drew on multiple cultural constructions by which these older traditions and identities were reconfigured. By tracing the development of these communities of interest and their networks, the conventional seventeenth-century colonial developmental model that places the Massachusetts Bay Colony at its center is, perforce, recast. The proposed model suggests that the history of the Atlantic American community of southern New England at that time was more than just the product of activities that originated in and then radiated outward from Massachusetts; it involved a complex process of constant renegotiation among a myriad of small settler and native communities of interest that spanned the region. It is helpful in this context to look to Long Island's East End and use it as a prototype for Atlantic American community formation. This area is ideal since it has received relatively little scholarly attention, yet was an early product of the types of dynamic interactions which characterized Atlantic American community building in the region.

Prior to 1637, the native peoples facing the Long Island Sound on the East End had little direct contact with the English and Dutch settlers who resided respectively on the southern New England mainland, the western end of Long Island, and on Manhattan Island. These East End natives also limited their interactions with the other southern New England Ninnimissinuok. For the most part, during this time their contact with the outside world was mediated through their kinsmen, allies, and protectors, the Pequots. The power of their Pequot protectors was rooted in their role as successful middlemen in the lucrative fur trade, which, in turn, was largely predicated on their control of the wampum trade.

Wampum were small, polished beads made from two types of hard-shell clams found and manufactured exclusively by indigenous peoples living along the banks of the Long Island Sound, including

the Pequots, Narragansetts, Mohegans, Shinnecocks, and Montauketts. Within the traditional Indian world these beads were potent objects typically controlled by the local sachems and used in a variety of functions to demonstrate the power and status of the wearer.⁸ They also formed part of diplomatic and ritual exchanges used to assuage individual or community losses and even murder, and had been integral to a pre-contact regional exchange.⁹ However, during the decade of the 1620s, wampum underwent a rapid and remarkable transformation. This was due to its growing centrality to the fur trade, along with its increasing use as an acceptable substitute for specie by settler and native communities. Wampum ultimately became a universally accepted mechanism for propelling goods and peoples into and through the networks of the emerging Atlantic American world.

The growth in wampum's importance produced an intense competition within this area of Atlantic America both to increase wampum's production and control its producers. In particular, it was the fur trade that fueled this struggle. Both the Dutch merchants on Manhattan Island and the English settlers on the mainland acknowledged wampum as the *sine qua non* or "mother" of that lucrative and intensely competitive transatlantic trade.¹⁰ Plymouth's governor, William Bradford, astutely observed that the settlers "could scarce ever get enough [wampum] from [the natives]," while native middlemen and wampum producers, particularly the Pequots whose control over that trade was significant, grew "rich and powerful" thereby.¹¹ Critical to that success was the Pequots' control over and seemingly exclusive access to the wampum manufactured by the Shinnecocks and Montauketts on the East End.¹²

As the quest for this limited resource spread across the region and intensified, many communities cast about to secure sources. In 1628, the Dutch merchants on Manhattan Island turned their gaze to the eastern most tip of Long Island where they learned of the "Sinnecox" (Shinnecocks) who supported themselves by "planting maize and making sewan [wampum]." Their evident interest in these peoples proved insufficient to open direct trade between themselves and the East End wampum minters because, as the Dutch merchant and official Isaack De Rasieres noted, the Shinnecocks were "held in subjection by, and are tributary to, the Pyquans [Pequots]."¹³ A short five years after the Dutch approach, the recently established Massachusetts Bay Colony evinced a similar interest in the East End. The Bay's John Winthrop noted that "the bark [ship] *Blessing*. . . "had been sent to . . . an island over against Connecticut, called Long Island . . . There they had store of

the best wampampeak [wampum], both white and blue.”¹⁴ Similar to the Dutch, their advances were also rebuffed.

Nor were the East End Indians' rejection of outside overtures limited to European communities. Many mainland Indian communities, such as the Mahicans and Narragansetts, poised to challenge the Pequots' position as the premier middlemen in the fur and wampum trades, were also excluded from the lucrative East End wampum trade.¹⁵ Throughout the decade of the twenties, and until the Pequot's defeat in 1637, the wampum minters on the East End were either content or, possibly, coerced to funnel their contact with the outside world through their Pequot protectors. This helped elevate the Pequots to a position of power and influence in the region aroused the envy of many other groups.¹⁶ When the East End's seemingly unassailable isolation was breached at the end of the Pequot War, the result was massive regional changes and a race to secure resources, such as land and wampum, formerly under Pequot control.

The obvious allure of the East End was, of course, wampum, but it was only one attraction. This heightened interest was reflected in comments made by Captain Underhill, who had been active in and around the Long Island Sound during the late conflict. He extolled the virtues of its islands, particularly its largest, Long Island, praising the “excellence of the whole country” as a veritable “garden.”¹⁷ With settler imagination ignited, and Long Island now seen as potentially ripe for new English plantings, mainland English colonists came forward to carry secondary migrations across the Sound. Indeed, in 1640, shortly after the war's end, a group of English settlers moved from Massachusetts to Long Island, eventually establishing a number of towns there. The English settlers' new undertaking did not go unchallenged. The local Dutch authority thwarted the first English attempt to settle on Long Island and later, even after the successful establishment of English towns on the East End, actively opposed these plantings through diplomatic channels. They also competed with the English colonies for settlers and territorial advantage on Long Island.

Dutch and English groups were not the only ones who believed they could elevate their local status after the Pequots' defeat. Certain mainland Indian groups, such as the ambitious Narragansetts, also perceived the wampum-rich, strategically located East End as immensely attractive. Its acquisition would have given them control not only over its wampum banks, but provided a critical base along the Long Island Sound between the English settler communities on the mainland and the Dutch settlements scattered from western Long Island extending northward up along the Hudson River. The Niantics, allied to the Narragansetts, were the first native group to assert their interests on

the East End. In the summer of 1638, the Niantic sachem, Ninigret, crossed the Long Island Sound accompanied by a military attachment of about eighty men who confronted the East End Montaukett sachem Wyandanch and demanded his submission. The attempt failed, but similar challenges from mainland Indian groups to the East End communities' independence followed over the ensuing years.¹⁸ Consequently, the defeat of the East End communities' gatekeepers, the integration of wampum into the Atlantic world, and the quest for land, settlers, and client native communities, changed the entire Long Island Sound sub-region into a truly international arena.

This transformation had other consequences, as well. It not only continued and intensified competition between the existing communities of interests but also further assisted in the reconfiguration of these into genuine Atlantic American communities. These competitors were not allied along the traditional categories of native and settler; as was true throughout Atlantic America, alliances and networks were comprised of a variety of groups that crossed traditional boundaries.

This creative fluidity was seen in all phases of community building. For example, when the first permanent English settlement on the East End was established in 1640, all of Long Island was claimed by the Dutch who actually only occupied its western tip. At the same time, various native communities claimed areas from the west to the eastern end of the Island. Yet, the planting of a permanent English settlement on the East End did not terminate competing Dutch and native claims to the East End. The English settlers could not ignore opposing claimants and this influenced the manner in which the English attempted to secure possession of and ownership rights to land. The reality for the East End (and for all Atlantic American communities) was that while claims were, on occasion, extinguished through force of arms, more typically the goal was accomplished without overt coercion and through (seemingly) voluntary transactions, such as treaties and deeds, between the native and English authorities.

Understanding the role of land, its conceptualization and use, in seventeenth-century southern New England is also crucial to interpreting how these communities changed or adjusted traditional practices in response to this complex new world. On the East End, as elsewhere in Atlantic America, settlers began the difficult process of turning land into property in an environment outside the reach of established English property laws. As a result, unlike what would have occurred in England where an Englishman seeking land was dealing with "property," that is, acreage under an established chain of ownership free from competing non-English claimants and systems, the

settlers faced a dilemma: how to claim and retain land against numerous claimants, native and European alike. This was a complicated and often confusing process since land in Atlantic America was potentially subject to multiple and competing systems, claims, and interests. Unwittingly, the settlers' attempts to turn land into property forced all groups, settlers and natives alike, to each break with certain traditional ideas and relationships about and to land. Consequently, settler groups made a final break with certain English notions of and expectations about the nature of land tenure, while native communities also had to accept altered notions of property. The result was the creation of a landholding system throughout the region in which freeholds became the most common form of ownership.¹⁹

Furthermore, this American-style freehold was not solely dependent on English-derived grants and patents but was deeply rooted in native title and landholding practices, as well. The result was that the underlying settler title was a tacit acknowledgment that native title not only existed but also had intrinsic value and legitimacy, that until properly extinguished, was good against all claimants except the sovereign. This added a new dynamic to the process of actual land acquisition and to the settlers' very notion of the role and nature of land, property rights, and community itself. Ultimately, the process of possessing and owning land in Atlantic America was a triadic process: "peopling and planting," acquiring an Indian deed, and obtaining an English patent or derivative permission, accomplished in no particular order.²⁰ This trinity became the Atlantic American method for land acquisition in areas that were still subject to multiple claims. For these reasons the legal and symbolic constructions of land is particularly illustrative of the transformative processes at work in the region and became a primary tool for negotiating and formulating the precise nature of these communities.

Native communities were equally challenged and altered by these emerging realities, and they too adjusted many traditional precontact practices in an effort to adapt to a rapidly changing world. The East End natives confronted this new reality immediately following the defeat of their traditional ally and protector and sought to establish new networks and strategies to meet these demands. Several critical decisions had to be made. Should they pursue a conventional strategy and establish a tributary-style relationship with a powerful mainland Indian group, opt for a policy of total neutrality and non-alignment, or pursue a direct relationship or alliance with one of the mainland English settler communities? They chose the last option. In so choosing they discarded a traditional and formerly successful stratagem for navigating the enormous changes which had engulfed the entire region.

This choice indicates that the native peoples of the East End did not wait passively for these strangers to appear on their shores. Instead, they took the initiative and attempted to implement a direct relationship with the English settlers, on their own terms, in pursuit of their goals and interests. To implement this new policy, they relied both on traditional practices and innovative strategies.

These new strategies were often embedded in the settler-native land agreements. Ironically, these deeds or treaties are often cited as evidence of the natives' rapid capitulation to the settlers' interests. But an examination of these documents demonstrates otherwise. Among most of the region's native groups, it was the sachems and the ahtaskoag (principal men) who acted as their communities' advisors and negotiators. These officials attempted to shape agreements to protect their communities' interests through the inclusion of provisions for exclusive or concurrent use by the native groups of land and sea resources and for mutual defense. These provisions are evidence that sachems and ahtaskoags took deliberative steps to safeguard their communities.²¹

This view runs counter to many contemporary interpretations that interpret these deeds and agreements primarily as reflections of the settlers' greed or patent disregard of native legal and actual interests. The historian Francis Jennings has referred to these transactions as the "deed game," whereby the signatory sachem is characterized either as an unwilling dupe or the self-serving creation of local colonial authorities held hostage to a world in which native peoples neither comprehend or control the unfolding events acquiesce to the colonial entity's interests and demands.²² Yet, the manner in which many of these deeds were negotiated, reflected by these documents' language, belies this conclusion. Instead many of the provisions in these agreements strongly suggest that a number of sachems attempted to honor their traditional duties to their communities and actively sought to turn these deeds, whenever feasible, into instruments of protection. Use of land in this manner was not unknown to the coastal Ninnimissinuok. These groups had traditionally employed land to anchor alliances or signify the existence of tributary-protectorate relationships. Inadvertently, this strategy led all groups to alter their relationship to and perception of land. When these documents are read from this perspective, the native signatories' voice can be more clearly ascertained.

The reinterpretation of these documents also situates these seventeenth-century sachems and counselors more squarely within the context of that era. After all, these were individuals born and bred under the traditions of the sachemship by which they assumed the roles of

community leaders, advocates, and mediators. There is no reason to believe that during the early contact years such officials would suddenly and unilaterally abandon their traditional obligations. The early treaties negotiated by the East End sachems support the continued existence of these time-honored offices, along with their concurrent duties. For example, two East End sachems, the Montauketts' Wyandanch and the Shinnecocks' Nowedonah, each approached the English settlers from this traditional framework. They sought to use land to forge a relationship with the newcomers that would accommodate the latter while simultaneously preserving the Montauketts' and Shinnecocks' way of life and territorial integrity.

The Atlantic American world of the seventeenth century was forged from the convergence into that arena of a multitude of communities of interest - a dynamic far more complex than that of European versus native. In this region, a multitude of communities of interest met and struggled for existence and, sometimes, for dominance. The result was the emergence of communities that adapted, blended, and reworked new and old patterns of life and expectations. This framework alters the telling of early America's history. It becomes a story without a dominant voice or community at its core, one ultimately that is not about winners and losers. Instead, the rise of an Atlantic American world and, with it, the process of community building which took place on the of East End demonstrates that neither static, monolithic groups nor interests existed or prevailed in the region, but rested on and was comprised of a multitude of groups and interests whose interactions together wove a pattern for the emerging Atlantic American society.

Looking at the words, actions, and documents from a variety of groups, including Dutch merchants and officials, English grandees, and a variety of English settler and native communities, it is possible to reconstruct how Atlantic America came into existence. The use of sources from an array of settler and European groups, representing both imperial and local interests, highlights that not all Europeans or even Englishmen spoke or acted from a uniform perspective. Many viewpoints existed within these groups and their writings and artifacts reflect this. Despite the fact that seventeenth-century European settlers and officials produced many of these documents, including the all important settler-native deeds, native voices were clearly present and central. This is particularly so before 1675 when the coastal regions along the Long Island Sound and its corresponding islands served as centers for wampum production and were coveted by many settler and native communities in pursuit of their expansionist ambitions.

It is therefore necessary to bring Long Island's East End, a region long ignored by historians of the colonial era, prominently into the literature of early colonial southern New England and into the growing body of work on the Atlantic world. The historiography of both seventeenth-century southern New England and New York has been relatively silent about the history of the peoples, native and settler, who lived on the islands in the Long Island Sound, treating them and the region generally as a kind of provincial backwater. The reasons for this are numerous. To begin with Long Island, the most populous and largest island in the Sound region, was, until 1637, except on its western tip, relatively isolated. Additionally, the island's political history was relatively anomalous, not being entirely under the official jurisdiction of any one group until the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Indeed, throughout much of that century, parts of the island were (nominally) subject to Dutch, New England settler, and Indian jurisdiction, until the entire island fell under the political dominion of the Duke of York, in 1664. But the issue was not entirely settled until 1674, when the Dutch staged their last attempt to reclaim Long Island from the English and the East End townships finally accepted a new patent for their lands from New York Colony. The result of this shifting jurisdiction and competing claims over and for Long Island has meant that its history has not fit neatly into traditional historical categories. This has contributed to the area being shrouded in a kind of cloak of historical invisibility.

Instead of imagining the making of southern New England as resting on a series of inevitable defeats for the Indians by conquering transplanted English villages, the history can be reinterpreted as the rise of a series of communities of interest, which, in their respective struggles, collectively refashioned themselves and the region they inhabited into Atlantic America. From the vantage point of eastern Long Island, the unfolding events of the early Atlantic American world take on a more nuanced perspective and a different vision from which the dynamic and fluid world of seventeenth-century southern New England can be clearly discerned. What have been seen as monolithic groups and interests emerge as smaller communities of interest, which sometimes collectively and at times individually renegotiated traditional patterns and modes of operation from those found in their respective pre-Atlantic worlds. The result was the creation of an Atlantic American basin, a place into which diverse peoples flowed and emerged transformed.

NOTES

¹ Captain John Underhill, *News From America* (1638), reprinted in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 3rd ser., 6 (Boston: Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1883), 3.

² The geographic subject of this article is southern New England, which is considered the area encompassing present day Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, as well as the Long Island Sound basin that takes in all the islands in the Long Island Sound, including Long Island, New York.

³ Generally, the seventeenth-century southern New England sachem can be described as a political leader whose authority was secured sometimes through hereditary connections, sometimes due to specific skills, and always with the community's tacit approval. However, in all cases the sachem was a member of the institution of the "sachemship" or local polity. Kathleen Bragdon, *Native People of Southern New England, 1500-1650* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 140-141.

⁴ Lion Gardiner, *Leift. Gardener His Relation of the Pequot Warres*, (1660), reprinted in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 3rd ser., 3 (Boston: Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1883), 150.

⁵ The English grandees were men of elevated rank who had taken an active political and /or financial interest in the colonization of North America. A few grandees emigrated to North America, but for the most part they remained in England where their respective interests often diverged from, and sometimes were at odds with, the English settlers' interests and plans.

The Algonquian term "Ninnimissinuok," used by anthropologist Kathleen Bragdon in her book, *Native People of Southern New England*, refers broadly to the indigenous people of southern New England. The word implies "people" who shared a broad common heritage, familial, social and political organization, yet does not necessarily connote membership in a unified polity. Bragdon's use of Ninnimissinuok is here used to convey the existence of people indigenous to southern New England in much the same way the term "English" is used to denote membership in a broader ethnic/cultural community, even when the

individual or group no longer is an English national or even resides in England proper. Because the paradigm I use views America as created through the struggles and relations between a myriad of communities of interest and cross-cultural exchanges between groups from both sides of the Atlantic, it seems that the term “Native American” is inappropriate. After all, America, as we use and understand that term, does not exist in the minds of the native people, or in anyone else’s for that matter, in the seventeenth century. Ninnimissinuok conveys the understanding that as with the Europeans present in southern New England, the native peoples were also further divided into smaller interest groups and polities, while at the same time retaining broad cultural, social, economic and familial connections. When the participants of seventeenth-century southern New England are understood in this context, the emergence of Atlantic American communities becomes more comprehensible.

⁶ Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Indians & English: Facing Off in Early America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), 212; and Greg Dening, *Islands and Beaches, Discourse on a Silent Island: Marquesas 1774-1880* (Chicago: The Dorsey Press, 1980), 157.

⁷ I use the term “Atlantic America” to refer to the new society that emerged in the Americas as a result of the assemblage of peoples, products, and cultures from both sides of the Atlantic.

⁸ The modern day location of these shell banks corresponds to coastal Rhode Island, Connecticut, and the northern shore of Long Island; all front the Long Island Sound. Bragdon, 96-98.

⁹ E.B. O’Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, 2 vols. (New York: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1845), I: 61; Bragdon, 97; U. Vincent Wilcox, “The Manufacture and Use of Wampum in the Northeast,” in *Readings in Archaeological and Ethnohistory*, ed. E. Truex (Stony Brook: Suffolk County Archaeological Association, 1981), 295; Lynn Ceci, “Native Wampum as a Peripheral Resource in the Seventeenth Century World-System,” in Laurence M. Hauptman and James D. Wherry, eds., *The Pequots in Southern New England: The Fall and Rise of an American Indian Nation* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 55; and James W. Bradley, “Native Exchange and European Trade: Cross-Cultural Dynamics in the Sixteenth Century,” in *33 Man in the Northeast* (1987), 39.

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- ¹⁰ Letter from Peter Stuyvesant to the Directors in Holland, April 21, 1660, in *Documents Relative to the History of the State of New York*, ed. E.B. O’Callaghan, 15 vols. (Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1856-1887), 14: 470.
- ¹¹ William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-1647*, ed. Samuel Eliot Morison (reprinted, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), 203.
- ¹² Bert Salwen, “Indians of Southern New England and Long Island: Early Period” in vol. 15 of *Handbook of the North American Indians: The Northeast*, ed. Bruce Trigger (Washington: Smithsonian, D.C., 1978), 172.
- ¹³ The Dutch informant called these Indians “Sinnecox” who were most likely the East End Shinnecocks. Isaack De Rasieres, “Letter to Samuel Blommaert,” in *Narratives of New Netherlands*, ed., J. Franklin Jameson (1628; reprinted, New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1909), 103.
- ¹⁴ Richard Dunn, James Savage, and Laetitia Yeandle, eds. *The Journal of John Winthrop, 1630-1649* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press, 1996), 98.
- ¹⁵ T.J. Brassler, “Mahican” *Handbook of the North American Indians: The Northeast* 15 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian, 1978), 203 and Salwen, “Indians of Southern New England and Long Island: Early Period,” 172.
- ¹⁶ *The Journal of John Winthrop*, 98.
- ¹⁷ Underhill, 13.
- ¹⁸ Roger Ludlow to John Winthrop, June 1638, *The Winthrop Papers*, 4 (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society): 43-48.
- ¹⁹ A freehold is the ownership of real property of undetermined duration, alienable by the owner either through sale, gift or inheritance. It is not subject to traditional feudal obligations and conditions.
- ²⁰ Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe’s Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995). Seed has named and pioneered this concept. It refers to the process by

which the English settlers staked out a claim through fielding settlers and planting and improving the land.

²¹ Examples of this are found in 1640 Southampton Deeds in Southampton Town Archives: Miscellaneous Documents and Indian Deeds; 1648 East Hampton Deed in *Records of the Town of East-Hampton*, I: 3(Sag Harbor: John Hunt, 1887) and 1658 Deed between Wyandanch and Lion Gardiner, in “1658 Gardiner -Wyandanch deed.

²² Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1976), 128-145.

SHIFTING SANDS: LONG ISLAND'S OCEAN BEACHES

By Marsha L. Hamilton

Marsha Hamilton explains that the origins of Long Island's barrier beaches remain almost as much a mystery as their future.

It is a question of some interest . . . whether the territory of Long Island is, or is not constantly diminishing . . . But while in some places, the sea is evidently encroaching on the land, in others, very considerable accessions are made to the shores, by the vast quantities of sand cast up by the waves. . . . it is difficult to determine with precision, whether the land or the water is making the greater strides.¹

The beaches and barrier islands of Long Island's south shore have attracted generations of people. From Native Americans who fished and whaled from the shore, to European colonists who grazed their livestock on the stubby grasses, to modern tourists who search for the perfect seaside vacation, the beaches have been integral to the development of Long Island.

As the use of the beaches has changed over time, so have the beaches themselves. Change is the only constant on a barrier island. Gentle waves wash sand on shore, building the beautiful white strands of summer. Winter nor'easters, however, can rip away this sand, tearing into dunes and the structures behind them. Both processes are part of the natural cycle. A barrier island exists to protect the mainland from storms and waves; the growth of beaches in summer provides more protection from storms in winter. Storms also place sand in the longshore system, where it enters the cycle once again as gentler waves begin the process of rebuilding the beaches.

In the last 150 years, as people have started to build permanent structures on the beaches, this natural cycle has come to be seen as destructive. Native Americans and early colonists knew that the wind and waves were capricious. They used the beaches for their resources, but did not live there; they recognized that the ocean was not a good neighbor. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, however, we have placed our faith in technology to stabilize the beaches so we can place permanent boundaries -- property lines -- on the continually moving sand. This article explores the changing uses and perceptions of the beaches

and barrier islands and the issues that must be considered as we debate how to protect and preserve this ever-changing environment.

Scientists do not know how the barrier beaches formed; any evidence of their formation has been long since drowned by rising sea levels. One theory about Long Island's barrier beaches is that they formed thousands of years ago, when the shoreline was several miles south of its present position. Soil, gravel and sand left by the glaciers and further deposits of eroded material accumulated into dunes along the edge of the shore. As the sea level rose with the melting of the glaciers, the shoreline retreated north. At some point, the sea flooded the low lying outwash plain, separating the dune line from the mainland and forming Great South Bay and the chain of islands that define bay and ocean. Only along the eastern end of Long Island, from Southampton to Montauk, did the dunes remain attached to the mainland. When the land reached its present position, about 3,000 years ago, the barrier system was maintained by sand from offshore sand bars.²

A second theory posits that the barriers were formed by erosion of the terminal moraine that composes much of the south fork of Long Island. As the ocean wore away the massive bluffs, of which Montauk Point is but a small remnant, the sand moved westward, gradually forming sand spits that grew into open water, thus forming a land mass that separated the ocean from the developing bay. These spits were eventually breached by storms, forming inlets into the bays, which separated the land into islands. This kind of barrier formation is also maintained through erosion and sand deposition.

A third theory holds that thousands of years ago, offshore sand bars were built by ocean waves. These bars gradually accumulated enough sand to rise above the waves. These emerging beaches migrated west and north over thousands of years as sand accumulated from erosion and deposition, and as the sea level rose and washed over the beaches. When the ocean encountered the moraine on Long Island's south fork, the offshore bars and beaches merged with sand spits from the mainland to form the barrier system we see today.

Each of these scenarios remains only a theory, unproven scientifically. Most scientists studying Long Island today believe that regardless of the origin of the barriers, they are most likely maintained by the circulation of sand from the islands to offshore sand bars and back again, rather than through erosion. Studies have shown that even though the Montauk bluffs seem to be eroding quickly, the erosion material is too large and gravelly to compose the fine white sand of the south shore and the volume of material does not match the amount of sand deposited on the beaches every year.³

Although in geological time the precise processes that shaped the barrier islands are unclear, the seasonal and storm cycles that alter the beach face on a human scale have been well studied. Headlands, islands, and marshes, along with the wind and water that shape them, form a dynamic system of beaches and barrier islands that protect the mainland from the ceaseless activity of the ocean. These features change constantly: headlands erode, ocean beaches disappear in storms only to grow again in calm weather, and marshes are invaded by sand causing the island to move shoreward over long periods of time.⁴

Beaches and barrier islands move in four directions. They change dimension in length and breadth through erosion and accretion of sand, in height as dunes rise or are breached, and laterally, through landward migration. Barriers grow wider (or narrower) and longer through accretion and erosion, as the longshore current, or littoral drift, moves sand along the beach front. Gentle waves deposit sand as they break on shore and pick up loose material as they recede. This loose sand is carried out to sea, only to be deposited on shore again further down the beach. Thus in calm weather, beaches grow wider as the waves deposit more sand than they carry away. During storms, the wind-driven waves carry away more material, cutting into the beach face and dunes. The movement of sand along the beach, from east to west on Long Island's south shore, also results in deposition at the end of a barrier island or at an inlet. This accumulation of sand slowly lengthens the barrier islands. It can also clog inlets, closing them in relatively short periods if they are not dredged or otherwise artificially kept open.

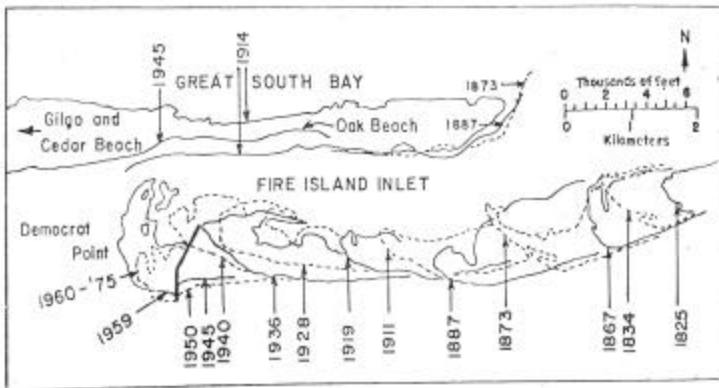


Figure 1: Illustration of the growth of Fire Island due to accretion (deposition of sand). The island has grown more than five miles since 1825, when the first lighthouse was constructed. Image courtesy of New York Sea Grant/Jay Tanski.

Alterations in the shoreline due to erosion and accretion do not occur at steady rates. One stretch of beach may be severely eroded after a storm, while the beach half a mile away may have gained sand. Scientists cannot anticipate where erosion will be worst because there are so many factors involved. Changes in the beach depend on the strength and direction of the waves, the sequence of previous storms, and the shape and elevation of the shoreline, as well as the condition of offshore sand bars. Waves, therefore, can create "hot spots" for erosion, the location and severity of which depend upon the complex interaction of these variables. "Hot spots" may move along the beach or disappear altogether when conditions change.⁵

The vertical growth of beaches occurs mostly through the action of wind. Wind-blown sand accumulates in dunes that are anchored by beach grass and other vegetation. Dunes help protect the area behind them by breaking the force of the wind and waves and by supplying the beach with sand. High dunes with a solid covering of vegetation create an extremely stable barrier environment. A good example of this is the Sunken Forest in the Fire Island National Seashore. The thick growth of trees and bushes behind the dunes has developed over hundreds of years, attesting to the stability of this section of Fire Island. Dunes are only as stable as their covering of vegetation, however. When the beach grass on a dune has been disturbed, frequently through human activity, the wind can cause a blowout, weakening the dune and putting that part of the barrier island at risk during a storm. Destroyed dunes recover far more slowly than beaches, sometimes taking decades to rebuild.

Barrier islands also move shoreward, migrating up the coastal plain in response to rising sea levels.⁶ Beaches move toward land by rolling over or jumping. Rolling over generally begins with a narrowing of the island due to erosion. During severe storms, surges send water and sand washing over the barrier. The sand, coming from leveled dunes and through inlets, builds up behind the barrier, creating sand flats where new marshes can develop. The wind then rebuilds dunes in front of the new marsh. The island has thus moved backwards, "rolling over" on itself. Jumping occurs when a barrier island has been drowned by rising sea levels. The barrier reforms closer to land, using sand from the drowned bar and shoreline erosion.

Most of these island-transforming processes are long-term; storms have the greatest short-term impact on the shape and size of ocean beaches. Although hurricanes dominate popular discussion of storms, severe winter storms, known as nor'easters, can cause greater damage. Hurricanes pass by quickly and the rebuilding process begins. Nor'easters generally last several days, continually tearing away at the beaches and dunes. The Ash Wednesday storm in 1962 and the storms in

the winter of 1992-1993 caused a great deal of damage to the beaches, some of which took years to repair naturally.

Barrier islands can remain stable for hundreds of years under the right conditions. Currently, Long Island's barriers are quite stable and regain sand rapidly after storms, frequently recovering naturally within months of a severe storm. Modern attempts to stabilize the beaches, on the other hand, can hasten erosion and interfere with natural cycles. Such attempts are rather recent, only beginning in the last 150 years with the development of beach communities and the technology to protect them. Before this, people living near the shore had far more respect for the power of the ocean.

It is difficult to say how intensely beaches were used prior to European contact with Native Americans. Most evidence of Native American use has been buried in sand or drowned. Most likely, Native Americans used the beaches and barrier islands seasonally, to catch fish and whales and gather shellfish from the ocean and bays. Shell mounds, consisting of several generations of refuse from oysters, clams and other shellfish, have been noted along the shores. Although they may have set up temporary camps while gathering these resources, long term camps and villages sites were located inland, in more sheltered spots.⁷

By the time European settlers arrived Native Americans had developed a complex relationship with the ocean and beaches. They had become expert shore whalers, paddling dugout canoes up to a mile out to sea to catch whales, as well as utilizing whales that had washed ashore. They also developed wampum, the shell beads that functioned as an exchange medium between Long Island and New England Native American clans. Whales and wampum, along with land, became the primary goods traded among Indians and colonists on Long Island. Settlers quickly saw the value in both whales and wampum and hired Indians, generally through coercion, to procure these items. Thus Europeans also began to exploit the beaches for their resources -- shells, whales, fish and shellfish -- shortly after establishing permanent settlements.⁸

The Dutch arrived on western Long Island in the early 1630s, but not until the settlement of Southampton in 1640 did Europeans start intensively using beach and ocean resources off of the south shore. One of the first activities of English settlers was to exploit drift whales that washed onshore. Merchants later formed whaling companies, providing boats and supplies and hiring mostly Indian crews to hunt whales. Whaling, fishing, and shell fishing became important parts of the colonial economy and subsistence. Whale oil paid part of the salaries of ministers and schoolmasters and whale bone was traded to larger merchants in New

York or Boston, who sent it on to European merchants, while fish and shell fish were routinely used for food and fertilizer.⁹

As intensively as colonists used ocean resources, they also used the beach and carefully controlled the collection of seaweed, shellfish, marsh hay, and beach grass. Every year town leaders passed ordinances regulating the times that residents could gather these products and the amount they could take at any one time. For example, in 1810 the Board of Trustees of Southampton “ordered that no person be entitled to any sea-weed in consequence of having previously heaped it, and that no person shall cart any more than two loads of sea weed in any one day nor shall more than 2 loads be carted in any one day, by any one team; neither shall any person cart any sea weed before sunrise, nor after sunset. . . .” Southampton and East Hampton even fenced in the beaches every summer to prevent animal incursions onto hay and grass lots, removing the fences in the fall so that town residents could graze their livestock. Minor town officers, such as fence viewers and beach pounders, were appointed each year to insure that such regulations were followed.¹⁰

The concern over beach resources stemmed from the fact that ocean frontage was held in common, by the proprietors of the towns, not by individuals. The beach constituted a town resource, at least initially, and was managed collectively. As towns grew, the relationship between proprietors, residents and commons rights became more complicated, finally culminating in a New York state law in 1818 that separated town governments from proprietary interests, opening the way for private ownership of beach property.

In the seventeenth century, colonial assemblies granted large tracts of land for towns to groups of male heads of households who were collectively known as proprietors. These men were responsible for setting up churches, laying out villages, and dividing the land among themselves for farms. Each family received a plot of arable land, a house lot, a woodlot, and rights to meadow lands. The size of the lots was based on the family’s social status and the number of people in the household. In other words, town leaders received the largest and best properties, but a man with lesser social status but many children would be granted enough land to support his family. The division of land within a town was by no means equal, but all proprietors received enough for their immediate use. Most of a town’s land was held in common and each proprietor had certain rights to use this land; each proprietary household could cut a specified amount of wood from woodlots or graze a certain number of cattle or horses on common meadows. These numbers were based on the size of each proprietary landholding. As the town grew, common lands were divided among the proprietors, thus ensuring that at

least the first generation or two of children would receive land and remain in the community.¹¹

Later settlers could purchase land, called freeholds, but they would not necessarily become proprietors. Each town decided when to close admission to proprietorships, some groups closing it within a few years of the town's founding, others allowing new residents to become proprietors for decades. Regardless of when the proprietorship was closed, men could sell their proprietary interests. Proprietary rights, meaning the right to use the common lands and to be included in later divisions of this land, could be included in the sale of farms, but were not necessarily a part of the land transaction.

As town founders, proprietors dominated local governments throughout the colonial period. Continued population growth, as the proprietorships held steady or even declined, meant that by the early 1800s, the men who controlled local governments and undivided common lands constituted a small proportion of the population of a town. Thus the rights to use any remaining common lands were concentrated in this smaller group. And so, as undivided common lands, control of the beaches generally remained with the proprietors, but non-proprietary town residents retained some rights to use the beaches. For example, all residents had access to the ocean and could launch fishing boats and set nets from the shore. They also had the right to gather seaweed or shellfish along the beach face.

The use of barrier beaches differed in various towns. In Southampton, for example, proprietors sold the rights to cut marsh grasses and salt hay yearly, with the profits accruing to the proprietors, not to the town. In Brookhaven, a large portion of the barrier island remained in the possession of the Smith family until the 1960s. The rest of the barrier beach was divided into small plots and assigned to individual proprietors who had the right to cut hay and collect seaweed as they wished. However, leases and allotments were usually north of the dune line; the beachfront was open for public access and beach lots were not sold. The strand south of the dunes, the sand beach itself, generally held no value. It provided no fodder for livestock and it was not appropriate for house lots because of its exposure to the elements.¹²

The 1818 New York State law that separated town governments from proprietary interests gave freeholders a greater voice in local governance. The law granted proprietors title to common and undivided lands, marshes, and millstreams. Proprietorships, in essence, became private corporations with the right to sell, lease, and manage the undivided lands, including the beaches. New town trustees exercised jurisdiction over ponds, bays, and fisheries, and townspeople retained the right of access to the ocean through undivided lands and to use beaches as highways.¹³

In the mid-nineteenth century, however, individuals began to buy beach property from the proprietors for personal uses, either to operate resorts or to build homes. As more land moved into private hands, property owners attempted to restrict access to beaches. Several important court cases in the 1880s and 1890s finally established that private ownership went only to the high water line.¹⁴ This decision is still state law; the public has general access to the strand between the high water and low water marks. The issue under contention is whether the public has access to the beach between the high water mark and the foot of the dunes and whether colonial grants of access applied to specific people for specific purposes, definitions which no longer exist, thus allowing landowners to deny access to the ocean through their property.¹⁵

The idea that beaches and barrier islands should be used for the common good can still be seen in the public safety installations along the shoreline. The lighthouses, life-saving stations, and naval and coast guard stations, as well as the public parks, attest to the attractions and dangers of the shoreline and to various governmental agencies' long-standing presence at the shore. Throughout the colonial era, local governments, regulating economic activity on the beaches and keeping watch for shipwrecked vessels, usually maintained this presence. In the late eighteenth century, however, the new United States government began to take over many of these formerly local functions.

In 1792, the first lighthouse established in New York was commissioned by George Washington to be constructed at Montauk Point. Even at this early date, residents were aware of the erosion of the cliffs below the point. The tower and keeper's house were placed 300 feet back on the bluff; now the station perches precariously about seventy feet from the Atlantic ocean. The erosion of the cliffs has been slowed by placing boulders and gabions (wire mesh baskets filled with rocks) at the water's edge and terracing the cliff face with cedar planks, reeds and beach grass. The Montauk lighthouse is still an active lighthouse, although the coast guard automated it in 1987. The Montauk Historical Society now maintains the buildings, operating a museum in the keeper's quarters and offering tower tours.¹⁶

Two other lighthouses were also constructed on the south shore, at Fire Island in 1825 and Ponquogue in 1858. The Fire Island light was designed to guide ships along the south shore of the island to and from New York harbor. At seventy-four feet, the first tower was not tall enough, and so in 1858 it was replaced by a 150-foot structure with a more powerful light. The Fire Island light was extinguished in 1974. After years of neglect the Fire Island Lighthouse Preservation Society, formed in 1982, entered into an agreement with the National Park Service to restore the building and run public programs from the site. The light

itself was relit in 1986. The Ponquogue lighthouse marked the halfway point between the Montauk and Fire Island lights. The lighthouse was decommissioned in 1931 although the tower stood for another seventeen years, when it was demolished to make way for a new Coast Guard station in 1948.¹⁷

Thirty life saving stations were also built on Long Island, with twenty-seven of them between East Rockaway Inlet and Montauk. Unmanned life saving houses were established along the east coast in 1848 to provide aid to shipwreck victims. As the human and financial cost of shipwrecks increased with the growth of trade in the mid-nineteenth century, Congress authorized the Life Saving Service (LSS) to hire and train keepers and surfmen to staff the stations. Surfmen kept watch from lookout towers and patrolled the beaches between the stations, which were approximately four miles apart. When a wreck was sighted, the watchers lit a signal flare to alert the sailors they had been seen. Surfmen then pulled boats and equipment to the beach and began the rescue.¹⁸

Public safety activities along the barrier beaches and islands increased as trade and shipping increased throughout the nineteenth century. Economic activity also developed on shore at the same time, partly in response to the greater availability of property as proprietary groups divided their holdings into individual lots. One of the earliest industries on the beach was processing of menhaden into fish oil and “guano.” Fish oil was used as an additive in many products, such as paint, leather tanning compounds, and cod liver oil, in the nineteenth century. This additive was obtained primarily from menhaden, an oily fish found in large numbers off of Long Island. Factories steamed and pressed the oil out of the fish while the scrap, also called fish guano, became fertilizer. Many people also consumed fish oil as a health supplement, much like today.¹⁹

Several fish oil factories existed in Napeague and Greenport, on Peconic Bay; the remains of one, the Promised Land Fish Oil Factory, can still be seen. The fish processing industry on the south shore was centered around Sayville. The first factories were built on the north side of Great South Bay in the early 1860s, but the smell of the processing drove them to Fire Island, which was largely uninhabited, by the early 1870s. The new location also gave the factories more direct access to ships. Eventually, at least four processing plants existed on Fire Island, but increasing complaints from resort visitors and summer residents, along with the disappearance of menhaden, caused most of the factories to close in the 1880s.²⁰

The fish oil industry declined in the late nineteenth century as the resort industry began to take off on Fire Island. The beaches and barrier

islands had long been places of recreation, with parties of young people and families sailing across Great South Bay for day trips. Daniel Roe noted in June 1807 that his son Austin had gone “on a beech frolick” to the Great South Beach (Fire Island) with a friend. Daniel Tredwell reminisced about one party in 1842, noting, “we roamed over the beach, bathed in the surf and swam in the still water. Some of our party gathered clams for a clambake. Everybody was enjoying himself generally.” Another group in August 1867 signed their names in a clam shell as a remembrance of their trip, while in 1876, the *South Side Signal* reported on “15 of Yaphank’s noblest sons and daughters [who] took an excursion to Fire Island,” making the trip across Great South Bay in two hours and twenty minutes.²¹ Although such jaunts were exceedingly pleasurable, they were day trips -- visitors rarely stayed overnight unless wind or weather forced them to remain.

As leisure time for the middle and upper classes increased in the nineteenth century, resorts became fashionable. Although ocean resorts dotted the Atlantic coastline since the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Long Island’s first resorts can only be documented to around 1850. These beach resorts took advantage of new trends in public health that advocated fresh air and recreational activities, advertising the fresh sea air and the healthfulness of sea bathing. Bathing in particular became popular as resorts extended guide ropes into the ocean so that swimmers, in their neck-to-ankle wool bathing costumes, could “take the water” safely. Family resorts also offered beach walks, sailing, and tennis while private men’s clubs promoted hunting and fishing.

One of Fire Island’s earliest resorts, the Surf Hotel, opened on Fire Island in 1856 and soon became the premier resort. Located near the Fire Island lighthouse at the western end of the island, the Surf Hotel advertised throughout the region and expanded quickly. The owner, D.S.S. Sammis, added a new feature each year, such as cottages, pavilions, and covered walkways to the beach. At its height, the hotel could house 1,500 guests. The popularity of the hotel encouraged other local entrepreneurs to open their own establishments, and soon resorts dotted the western end of the Great South Beach and the surrounding islands.²² The Surf Hotel remained popular until the end of the century, but in 1895, a cholera scare on the ship *Normania*, sailing from Europe to New York, changed its fate. State officials decided to quarantine the passengers and purchased the Surf Hotel, which was closed for the season, to house them. Residents of Islip and Babylon feared an epidemic and attempted to keep the passengers from landing on the island, but to no avail. The state retained ownership of the property after the quarantine period, much to the dismay of locals who pressed the state to sell the land. The government, however, leased the hotel to private

innkeepers, but it never regained its popularity, even though there is no record of *Normania* passengers contracting cholera. In 1908 the area became Fire Island State Park, now Robert Moses State Park, the first state park on Long Island.²³

Other parts of the Great South Beach, however, remained undeveloped a few years longer. Until 1878, the central section of Fire Island was owned by Brookhaven Town, the proprietors of the town in common, and the Smith family. In that year however, Fire Island west of Long Cove (in Brookhaven Town) was partitioned among the holders of shares in the undivided common land. Known as the Great Partition, the division opened the barrier island to private, individual ownership. Summer communities developed shortly thereafter, beginning a building boom that continues today.²⁴

Each community on Fire Island developed a distinctive character, depending on the group of investors the promoter targeted. Point O' Woods, for example, began as a Chautauqua assembly in 1894. Chautauqua organizations, which focused on education and cultural improvement, were extremely popular in the late nineteenth century among the middle and upper-middle classes. Members of the organization could attend any number of events during the summer, thereby improving themselves while also associating with like-minded people. In Point O' Woods, the organization owned the land and leased lots to its members who constructed private houses. The Chautauqua failed in 1898, but members quickly reorganized as the Point O' Woods Association, which retained ownership of the property. As a private corporation, admission to the community was carefully controlled, and potential homeowners were carefully screened. Even today, only families with children are allowed to purchase homes in the community.²⁵

Other communities, such as Cherry Grove, simply appeared, with cottages built around a popular restaurant or hotel on the beach. Archer and Elizabeth Perkinson, for instance, purchased the property for their restaurant near a grove of black cherry trees in 1868. As the restaurant grew in popularity a few residents from Sayville built small cottages, but the community grew slowly until after World War I. In the 1920s and 1930s, artists from New York City, including many gay men and lesbians who felt uncomfortable in the other communities, began thronging to Cherry Grove. The pace of life quickened, especially since the isolation of Fire Island made it an ideal place for smuggling during Prohibition. Cherry Grove gained a reputation for wild and flamboyant parties, which remains intact today.²⁶

Currently there are eighteen communities on Fire Island, all within the confines of the Fire Island National Seashore (FINS). The impetus for the National Seashore came from the damage caused by the Ash

Wednesday storm in 1962. The destruction of property that year led to renewed calls for a parkway, first proposed by Robert Moses after the 1938 hurricane, along the length of Fire Island, which would help to stabilize the beach. Proponents of the road pointed to the stability of the beaches along Ocean Parkway as proof that a road would best serve the interests of Fire Island property owners. Residents of Fire Island strongly disagreed and supported the establishment of a national seashore, arguing that only federal protection of Fire Island could stop Moses' road. This belief, and a perceived need to limit further development of the island, resulted in high local support for a national park. President Lyndon Johnson signed the bill authorizing the park in 1964. In 1980, Congress designated a portion of Fire Island from Watch Hill to Smith Point as the Otis Pike Wilderness Area, the only federally managed wilderness area in New York State.²⁷



Park Commissioner Moses is not popular on Fire Island as this drawing posted on the community bulletin board indicates.

Figure 2: Poster for a meeting to discuss a road on Fire Island. The caricature is of Robert Moses. From *Suffolk County News*, September 6, 1962. Photo courtesy of Suffolk County Historical Society.

Within the national park, however, are the eighteen communities as well as land owned by Suffolk County and several town governments.

This patchwork of ownership leads to a web of competing interests, laws and regulations. The towns, for instance, are responsible for enforcing zoning laws and issuing construction permits within the bounds of the private communities, while the National Park Service is responsible for protecting the island. Developing a comprehensive management plan for the island, therefore, is very difficult. Competing interest groups have different goals: property owners want to protect their houses, beachgoers want access to wide, sandy beaches, environmentalists want to conserve the wilderness, and local governments want the revenue from tourism and property taxes. Overlapping layers of authority also make venue shopping possible, giving interest groups the ability to obtain a sympathetic hearing in one or another forum.

Controversy over the barrier beaches and islands may never end. Too much valuable property and tax money is at stake, and the construction of houses and resorts has created a different perception of the barrier beaches and islands. The natural movement of sand is seen as threatening. Homeowners watch helplessly as storms eat away at the beaches and, eventually, at the foundations of their houses. This need to protect property has resulted in a long effort to control the shape of the beaches. Instead of accepting a barrier island for what it is, a constantly changing sandbar, property owners and government officials are trying to build permanence.

Throughout the twentieth century coastal engineers have attempted to find new and better designs for shoreline protection. When properly planned and executed, such attempts to preserve property can work, but there is always a price. Shore protection is expensive, must be maintained, and must be an appropriate solution to the problem. Advocates of shoreline protection need to be very clear about their goals. Effective policies necessitate determining whether the objective is to protect beach houses, preserve the beach and dunes, or protect the mainland. In addition, any shore protection project may have unintended effects on the natural system that could exacerbate problems elsewhere.

Structures designed to protect the shoreline can be divided by function, as “shore armoring” or “process altering.” “Shore armoring” structures include seawalls, bulkheads and revetments, and are generally placed parallel to the beach. They are designed to harden the shoreline landward of the beach to protect it from the waves. While these structures may protect the land behind them, in areas of chronic shoreline recession, they can prevent the beach from migrating landward, resulting in the loss of dry beach. The consequences can be seen in many areas of the Jersey shore, where the ocean beats against seawalls, the sand beach completely gone but property behind the seawalls protected. In such areas, the beach must be rebuilt and then continually replenished.²⁸

“Process altering” structures, such as jetties and groins, interrupt natural processes. Jetties stabilize inlets for navigation; groins are designed to control erosion. Placed perpendicular to the beach, both structures modify the movement of sand in the longshore transport system, causing beaches on the updrift side to grow wider while those on the downdrift side diminish. Although a well designed groin field can stabilize a long stretch of beach, poorly planned or incomplete groin fields can shift erosion down the beach. The Westhampton groin field provides an example of this problem. The groin field was left unfinished in the late 1960s due to funding cuts. The beach west of the field was slowly starved of sand and during the severe winter storms of December 1992 and January 1993, two inlets were opened, washing away much of the island and around forty-five houses. The Army Corps of Engineers managed to close the first inlet fairly quickly, but the other, Little Pike’s Inlet, continued to grow. It was finally closed in the summer of 1993, and the village of Westhampton Dunes began to grow on the rebuilt beach. To prevent a recurrence of the problem, the Corps shortened the two western groins to allow some sand to bypass the structures, bringing this stretch of beach back into the cycle of littoral drift.²⁹

Environmentalists tend to favor “soft solutions” to beach protection. These methods are designed not to interfere with natural process and to keep development out of the ocean’s way. Such solutions include constructing buildings behind the dunes, rather than on the beach proper, building houses on stilts to allow sand and water to pass beneath, and regulating activity on the dunes to keep them intact. Building dunes, by using snow fencing and beach grass to capture and anchor wind blown sand or scraping sand from a wide beach back to the dune line, can also provide protection from storm flooding. Soft solutions do not stop or slow erosion -- they attempt to minimize the damage caused by erosion and flooding.³⁰

Many property owners groups advocate beach replenishment projects, which dredge sand from the ocean or bay floor and deposit it on the beach face. Such projects restore property previously lost to the ocean, as in the case of Westhampton Dunes, and provide beautiful wide beaches for recreation. Many property owners groups also argue that beach replenishment protects the mainland from flooding by reducing the threat of a breach in the barrier island. But replenishment projects are very expensive and require a long-term commitment. A replenished beach is as much a part of the dynamic longshore transport system as a natural beach. Eventually it will erode and need additional deposits of sand.³¹

Fire Island property owners have proposed many beach replenishment projects. A recent example is the Fire Island Interim Project, in which the

Army Corps of Engineers planned to rebuild eleven miles of beach along Fire Island to protect communities from further erosion while they studied a comprehensive approach to protecting Long Island's barrier beaches and islands. The Corps cancelled the Interim Project in 2001, deciding to delay any work on Long Island, except for emergencies, until the Montauk to Fire Island Reformulation Study, a long term project to develop a comprehensive approach to the south shore beaches, is completed (due in 2004). Several property owner groups sued the Corps to reinstate the Interim Project, but the courts later dismissed the suit. Several communities are now offering to impose a special tax on residents to pay for beach replenishment, but these projects still need the approval of National Park Service officials.³²

Studies of Long Island's beaches and barrier islands abound, funded by state, local, and private sources. Such projects include aerial laser mapping of the shoreline to facilitate coastal flood plain management, which is a joint project of the International Hurricane Center at Florida International University and the Eastern Long Island Coastal Conservation Alliance. The State University of New York and Cornell University jointly operate the New York Sea Grant Institute in cooperation with the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. Sea Grant supports projects to better understand, conserve, and use New York's coastal resources. Many Long Island universities also conduct studies of the ocean beaches to better understand the dynamics of the barrier system.³³

Studies conducted by these and other research institutions provide the data that Long Islanders can use to make better, more informed decisions concerning the management of the barrier beaches and islands. As more people move to coastal areas, we must seriously consider our relationship to the beaches and barrier islands. Do we want to conserve these areas as wilderness, as in the Fire Island National Seashore? Do we want recreational access open to all? Do we want to maintain the current combination of public and private ownership? And who should pay to replace property lost or damaged by storms and flooding? In short, what do we want our beaches and barrier islands to be and how far are we willing to go to obtain that ideal? Before making these decisions, we must recognize that we cannot change nature. The dynamics of wind, waves, and sand will defeat technology. The best decision about the barrier beaches and islands will be one that works with natural forces, recognizing their power, rather than trying to tame or control them.

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Riverhead, New York, of the same title, which opened July 25, 2003 and will remain open through October 30, 2004. Please call for closing dates. The SCHS is open Tuesday through Saturday, 12:30 to 4:30; phone 631-727-2881. I would like to thank the SCHS and Mr. Wallace Broege, Director, for permission to use the research. The New York State Council on the Arts generously supported the exhibit, in both the research and installation phases. The Suffolk County Historical Society is an authorized agency of Suffolk County, the Honorable Steven Levy, County Executive. Wally Broege also provided invaluable assistance tracking down citations, since the article was written in Alabama, while the research files were in New York. I also thank Dr. Henry Bokuniewicz, SUNY Stony Brook, Mr. Jay Tanski, New York Sea Grant, SUNY Stony Brook, and Mr. Fred Mushacke, New York State Department of Environmental Conservation, for their help in clarifying the environmental issues at stake with the barrier beaches and islands. Any errors remain my own.

NOTES

¹ Nathaniel Prime, *History of Long Island: From Its First Settlement to the Year 1845* (New York: R. Carter, 1845), 8.

² This paragraph and the following two were taken from descriptions of barrier beach formation found in Stephen P. Leatherman, *Barrier Island Handbook*, 2nd edition (College Park, MD: S.P. Leatherman, 1982), 4-6.

³ Interview with Dr. Henry Bokuniewicz, Marine Sciences, SUNY Stony Brook, Stony Brook, New York (hereafter SUNY Stony Brook) April 4, 2001; Jay Tanski, Henry Bokuniewicz and Christopher Schubert, eds., "An Overview and Assessment of the Coastal Processes Data Base for the South Shore of Long Island," (New York Sea Grant Program, Special Report No. 104, 1990), 49. Copy available at the Suffolk County Historical Society (SCHS), *Shifting Sands* exhibit research file.

⁴ More details about the natural processes that alter a barrier island can be found in Leatherman, *Barrier Island Handbook*, 47-74; Stephen P. Leatherman, Sandra E. Shumway and Douglas W. Christel, *The Hampton's South Shore: A History of Beach Changes and Storm Impacts* (Southampton, NY: Eastern Long Island Coastal Conservation Alliance and Southampton College of Long Island University, 1999).

⁵ Interview, Henry Bokuniewicz, April 4, 2001.

⁶ Rising sea level is another issue that causes concern for coastal scientists. The melting of the polar ice caps places more water in the oceans, which threatens barrier islands, their associated wetlands, and any structures on the barriers. Henry J. Bokuniewicz, "Tailoring Local Responses to Rising Sea Level: A Suggestion for Long Island, NY," *Shore and Beach* 58, no. 3 (July 1990), 22-25; John Rather, "Global Problem, Local Alarm," *New York Times*, Long Island Section, March 4, 2001.

⁷ John F. Vetter and Bert Salwen, "Report on an Archaeological Reconnaissance of Fire Island, Suffolk County, New York," October 29, 1979, unpublished manuscript, SCHS, *Shifting Sands* exhibit research files; Marion Fisher Ales, *A History of the Indians on Montauk, Long Island*, reprinted in vol. 3 of *History and Archaeology of the Montauk Indians, Readings in Long Island Archaeology and Ethnohistory*, ed. Gaynell Stone (Stony Brook, NY: Suffolk County Archaeological Association, 1993), 14. For camp and villages sites, see Kent Lightfoot, "Archaeological Investigations of Prehistoric Sites on Eastern Long Island," in *Evoking a Sense of Place*, ed. Joann P. Krieg (Interlaken, NY: Heart of the Lakes, 1988), 31-44.

⁸ Ales, 82-87; John Strong, "Sharecropping the Sea: Shinnecock Whalers in the Seventeenth Century," in *The Shinnecock Indians: A Culture History*, vol. 6 of *Readings in Long Island Archaeology and Ethnohistory*, ed. Gaynell Stone (Stony Brook, NY: Suffolk County Archaeological Association, 1983), 231-234.

⁹ John A. Strong, "The Pigskin Book: Records of Native American Whalers, 1696-1721," *Long Island Historical Journal* 3 (Fall, 1990), 17-28.

¹⁰ *Trustees Records of the Town of Southampton, New York*, 5 vols. (Sag Harbor, NY: John Hunt, 1931), June 26, 1810, 2: 587, (hereafter *Southampton Trustees*). Although this particular order was made in the nineteenth century, it is very similar to orders made throughout the colonial period. See, for example, *Southampton Trustees*, 1: 12 (Aug 10, 1742), 83 (Aug 28, 1750), 106 (May 1, 1753); *East Hampton Town Records*, 6 vols. (Sag Harbor, NY: John H. Hunt, 1887), 1:227 (May 1, 1665), 4:304 (April 3, 1798) (hereafter *East Hampton Recs.*).

¹¹ This process generally applies to New England and eastern Long Island, since colonists from Massachusetts and New Haven settled these towns. Land distribution on western Long Island, under Dutch control until 1664, was different. For a description of the formation of New England towns, see John Frederick Martin, *Profits in the Wilderness: Entrepreneurship and the Founding of New England Towns in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), particularly chapters 4,5, and 6.

¹² For Southampton, see the information in note 11; for Brookhaven, see "Cultural Resource Study of Fire Island National Seashore, 1979," Vol. 1: Historic Resources, unpublished manuscript, 15-16, and 17,19-20. Copy at Fire Island National Seashore, William Floyd Estate, Mastic, New York.

¹³ My understanding of the effects of the 1818 law and the division between proprietary and town rights was greatly enhanced by conversations with Dr. David Goddard, a volunteer at the Southampton Historical Society who has researched land issues in Southampton Town. Any errors, however, remain my own. For more information on public ownership of the beaches, see *Book of Records of the Town of Southampton* 8 vols. (Sag Harbor, NY: John Hunt, 1874), 7: 414-483 (hereafter *Southampton Town Recs.*).

¹⁴ *Southampton Town Recs.*, 7: 414-483.

¹⁵ John Riley, "A Walk on the Beach: Threats to Birthright," *Newsday*, www.newsday.com/news/shore/shorsid1.htm. Accessed June 28, 2000.

¹⁶ Van Field, *Wrecks and Rescues on Long Island: The Story of the U.S. Life-Saving Service* (East Patchogue, NY: Searles Graphics, 1997), 32-35; George De Wan, "Life in the East End," *Newsday*, June 2, 1996.

¹⁷ Madeleine C. Johnson, *Fire Island, 1650s-1980s* (Mountainside, NJ: Shoreline Press, 1983), 48-51; *The County Review*, December 30, 1948.

¹⁸ Van Field, 1-30.

¹⁹ John Fry, *The Men All Singing: The Story of Menhaden Fishing* (Virginia Beach, VA: Donning Company, 1978), 23-30.

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- ²⁰ Carl F. Nielsen, "A Little Story About Bunkers," Long Island Collection, East Hampton Free Library, Oct 24, 1935; Johnson, 24-25.
- ²¹ Daniel Roe, *Diary of Captain Daniel Roe* (Worcester, MA: Blanchard Press, 1904), 35; Daniel Tredwell, *Personal Reminiscences of Men and Things on Long Island*, 2 vols. (Brooklyn, NY: C.A. Ditmas, 1912-1917), 1: 128; clams hell in the collection of the SCHS; *South Side Signal*, September 2, 1876.
- ²² *History of Suffolk County, New York* (New York: W.W. Munsell, 1882), 22-23; Johnson, 32-40; see also various reports and advertisements in the *South Side Signal* for these years, such as July 7, 1869, July 15, 1876, July 29, 1876, May 26 1877, June 18, 1881.
- ²³ Johnson, 36-40.
- ²⁴ "Cultural Resource Study," 21.
- ²⁵ Johnson, 112-117.
- ²⁶ Johnson, 129-131; Ruth Dougherty, "Then and Now," manuscript memoirs, Sayville Historical Society, Sayville, New York.
- ²⁷ W. Earle Andrews, "Restoration and Protection of Fire Island," (New York: W. Earle Andrews, 1938), n. p.; Virginia Bennett Moore, "Fire Island: A Possible National Seashore," *National Parks Magazine* 37 (February 1963): 185; Citizens Committee for a Fire Island National Seashore, "Let's Save Great South Bay," pamphlet, n.d., Fire Island N.Y., Folder 133, Special Collections, Melville Library, SUNY Stony Brook, Stony Brook, New York (hereafter Spec. Coll, SUNY SB); "Briefing Statement—Fire Island," Jacob K. Javits Collection, Collection # 285, Series 2, Subseries 4, Box 174, Amend Fire Island National Seashore Act, Spec. Coll., SUNY SB.
- ²⁸ Leatherman, *Barrier Beach Handbook*, 96-104; Aram V. Terchunian, "Permitting Coastal Armoring Structures: Can Seawalls and Beaches Co-exist?," *Journal of Coastal Research* Special Issue No. 4 (Autumn 1988), 65-75.
- ²⁹ Interview with Mr. Fred Mushacke, Marine Biologist, Bureau of Marine Resources, GIS Unit, New York State Department of Environmental Conservation, July 22, 2002; Bob Spencer and Aram V.

Terchunian, "Sand Thieves of Long Island's South Shore," *Shore and Beach*, 65, no. 3 (July 1997): 4-12; A.V. Terchunian and C. L. Merkert, "Little Pike's Inlet, Westhampton, New York," *Journal of Coastal Research*, 11, no. 3 (Summer 1995): 697-703.

³⁰ Interview with Mr. Jay Tanski, Coastal Processes and Facilities Specialist, New York Sea Grant, SUNY Stony Brook, July 18, 2002; interview, Dr. Henry Bokuniewicz, April 4, 2001; Larry R. McCormick, Orrin H. Pilkey, Jr., William J. Neal, and Orrin H. Pilkey, Sr., *Living With Long Island's South Shore* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1984).

³¹ Gerard Stoddard, "Sand Is More Plentiful Than Sense," *New York Times*, Long Island Section, June 1, 2003; John Rather, "Raw Nerves on Fire Island," *New York Times*, Long Island Section, June 23, 2002; see also the website of the Fire Island Association for the viewpoint of one property owners group, www.fireislandassn.org.

³² John Rather, "Corps Drops Sand-Replenishment Plan for Fire I.," *New York Times*, Long Island Section, April 15, 2001; interview with Mr. Constantine Dillon, Supervisor (former), Fire Island National Seashore, April 15, 2002.

³³ Mitchell Freeman, "For Good Measure," *Newsday* July 24, 2002; Interview, Dr. Henry Bokuniewicz, April 4 2001; interview, Mr. Jay Tanski, July 18, 2002; New York Sea Grant, www.nyseagrant.org.

CENTRAL SUFFOLK PINE BARRENS PRESERVATION: PART ONE

By Lee E. Koppelman

*The history of the Pine Barrens as a forest setting reflects a mixture of neglect and appreciation. Of all the forests throughout the world the Pine Barrens holds the dubious distinction of having a negative modifier as part of its title: only the Pine Barrens of New York and New Jersey have been linked to a word synonymous with uselessness. One partial explanation for this form of verbal discrimination relates directly to economics. Forests have been valued in direct proportion to their commercial utility, not their ecological value, be it for construction of housing, ships, furniture, paper, or telephone poles. All of the hard woods and many of the soft woods served a human need, with the exception of *Pinus Rigida*, or the pitch pine that constitutes the major species within the Barrens.¹*

The term "Barrens" does not relate or refer to the pine species, but to the sandy, acidic and nutrient lacking soils. Since the pine species were unsuitable for any commercial use, even for fuel, due to the pitch content, and the land was considered too poor for agriculture, the combination easily led to its early negative stereotype.

Nineteenth Century Development Efforts

During the more than three centuries of Suffolk County's existence, the portion of the landmass containing the pine forest was largely void of human settlement. The early settlers wanted the loam rich soils suitable for agricultural use, which was an accidental, but saving grace for the Pine Barrens. Otherwise, there would be no current discussion about saving pine forests. One exception to this avoidance of the Barrens was the effort of Austin Corbin, the president of the privately held Long Island Rail Road (LIRR). In 1883, he was concerned about making the railroad profitable. He wanted to create a population base that could become commuters. To further this objective, Corbin attempted to initiate a development corporation of approximately 2,500 acres, or roughly four square miles, at Medford in the Town of Brookhaven. The attempt languished because no one took advantage of the opportunity to settle there. Between 1897 and 1898 the Schwenke Land and Investment Company purchased the tract from the LIRR and attempted to attract settlers under the aegis of the German-American Colonizing Society. Initial development was extremely slow, in part because the original settlers desired land suitable for profitable agriculture. In order to dispel

the notion that the Barrens were unsuitable for farming, the railroad hired an agronomist, Hal B. Fullerton, to establish the Medford Demonstration Farm on an eighty acre tract. Although the experiment proved that crops could be raised in a sandy moraine, the contrast with the cost of such production with more arable lands doomed the effort.² Even during the explosive growth following World War II, when Suffolk County was transformed from a rural, relatively undeveloped area of 900 square miles into the fastest growing county in the United States, developers avoided the Central Suffolk Pine Barrens. The area was considered unattractive and possessed limited road access. Western Suffolk County, in the Towns of Babylon, Huntington, Islip, and Smithtown, which also contained areas of Pine Barrens forest, was in the path of development because of convenient access to jobs in Nassau County and New York City. These lands were rapidly developed for suburban housing. The developers expanded their reach in an eastern direction until reaching the Town of Brookhaven. They then “leapfrogged” over the Central Suffolk Pine Barrens to find more suitable lands further east and along the peripheral north and south shores. This was a serendipitous event. It would be erroneous to state that planners and other public officials in the 1950s were so brilliant as to recognize the ecological value of the Pine Barrens. The truth is more complicated.

Drainage Concerns

The confluence of several governmental and planning concerns, including road flooding and compatibility among conflicting uses of land development, generated a set of responses which proved harmonious for Pine Barrens preservation, and led to the effort to save the pine forest. In 1957, before Suffolk County established its charter form of government, the Department of Highways (which preceded the creation of the Department of Public Works), was very concerned about mounting drainage problems on the county road network. The problem was exacerbated partly by the fact that not a single mile of permanent highway had been constructed since 1945, despite spending of more than \$200 million. One result of this practice was that drainage was not adequately provided for. The County retained the engineering firm of Nussbaumer, Clarke and Velsey to do a drainage study of Suffolk County.³ One of the most salient findings of the study was that the four river valleys located in Suffolk County were identified as major watersheds. These watersheds covered an area of more than 200 miles of drainage and were an important component for improving drainage problems, not because of their ecological value, but because of their drainage engineering value. Two of the four river valleys, the Peconic

and the Carmen's, are located in the Central Suffolk Pine Barrens (see Figure 1).

The initial effort to preserve these watersheds commenced with the establishment of a new charter form of government for Suffolk County in 1960, under the leadership of a County Executive. The Suffolk County Planning Board was reconstituted into a Commission with new powers. Where to place initial emphasis in the development of a plan for a county undergoing explosive population growth arose as the first planning issue. The list of additional problems included the need for schools, a community college, hospital facilities, road and transportation improvements, affordable housing, recreation, conservation, economic development, sewers, and social welfare. The preservation of open space was selected as the first priority due to the recognition that developers, often in league with political forces, were promoting unplanned development. The Planning Commission believed that in contrast to the usual planning practice, where provision for open space was often last in the development process, preservation had to be the top priority. Government did not have to promote development, but rather control it. Initially, Nussbaumer, Clarke and Velsey's findings were the guiding inputs for a series of plans developed in 1960 linking the four river valleys.⁴

River Basin Planning

The Nissequogue River and the Connetquot River valley's, which run from Smithtown through the Town of Islip, had the potential to provide a continuous greenbelt from the Long Island Sound on the north shore, almost to Great South Bay on the south shore. Similarly, in Brookhaven, Riverhead and Southampton, the Peconic River could provide a continuous greenbelt from the north near the Long Island Sound east into the Flanders Bay. If the property known as the Maple Swamp were added, another continuous greenbelt would lead into the Moriches Bay at Tiana Beach. The motivation for these greenbelts was partially to achieve open space objectives, not necessarily because there were pine trees in the area. The main objectives were to preserve the drainage watershed and to build community buffers as a relief from suburban sprawl, which had already spread from the New York City line all the way to western Suffolk County. The greenbelts would separate the localities and become community articulators. Other planning objectives unrelated to the ecosystem of the Pine Barrens included important transportation issues related to aviation.

The Grumman Corporation and the United States Navy operated a major military testing facility at Riverhead's Calverton Airport. The Suffolk County Air Force Base, located in the Hampton Bays area, was a

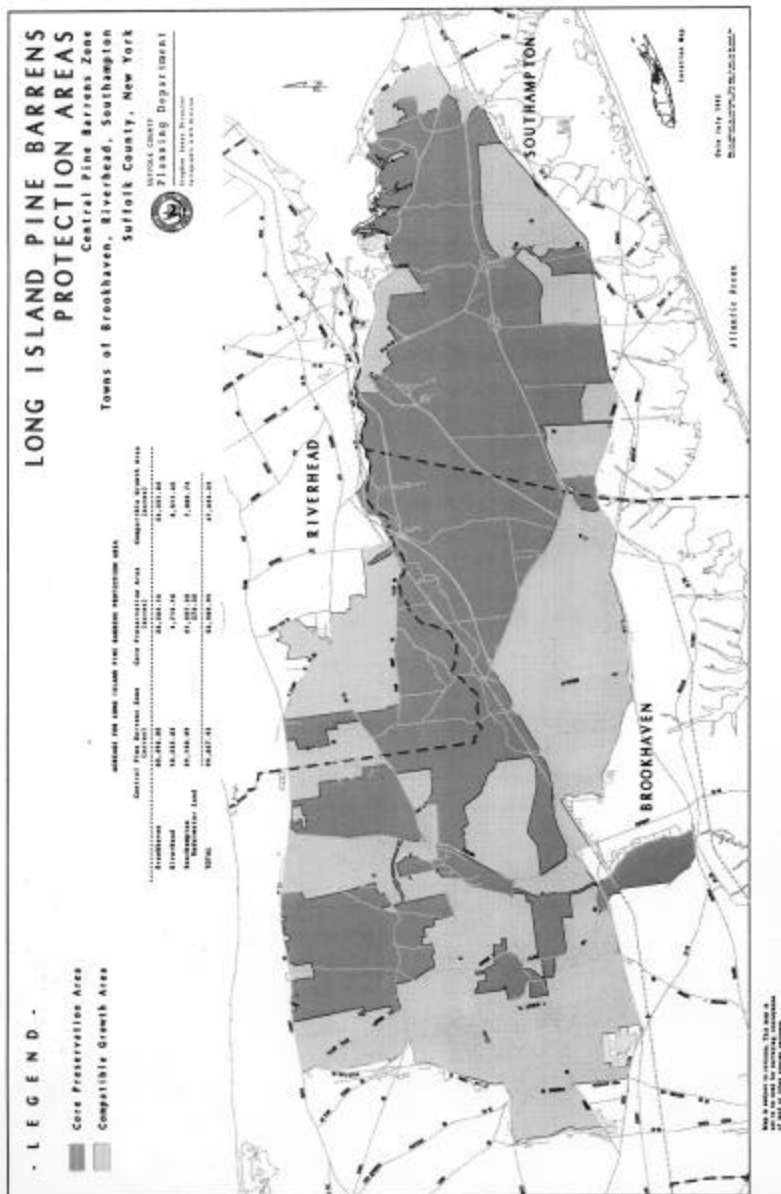


Figure 1: Long Island Pine Barrens Protection Areas. (Dark areas are core preservation areas, light areas are compatible growth areas).

second large aviation facility. Simultaneous to initiating an open space study, County Executive H. Lee Dennison retained Malcolm Spellman, an aviation consultant, to analyze all of the airports in Suffolk County.⁵ Spellman's report noted the importance of aviation to the economic well-being and future of the County. Shortly thereafter, the federal government put the Hampton Bays Field in surplus, and transferred its ownership to the county. It is now named after Colonel Frances Gabreski, the most decorated pilot of World War II.

These two airports were on a north/south axis. The primary planning concern was not protecting the Pine Barrens, but limiting residential encroachment of the airports. The Planning Commission wanted to obviate the creation of a situation analogous to that of Kennedy or LaGuardia Airports, where housing exists in the crash hazard zone for takeoff and landings. An open space corridor from Calverton Airport to the Hampton Airport would provide ample protection for residential communities from aviation activities, while reinforcing the plan for a continuous buffer. This was an additional justification for preserving the Maple Swamp.

Open Space and Hydrogeological Planning

Between 1960 and 1993, county and state actions have resulted in the preservation of approximately twenty-five thousand acres of Central Suffolk Pine Barrens. During this period, public policies adopted by the State and Suffolk County governments for the Central Suffolk Pine Barrens gradually evolved. Initial emphasis on watershed protection for drainage purposes, community buffering and general conservation, and airport protection, gave way to consideration for habitat preservation and hydrogeological protection. These shifts of emphasis and direction are not inherently incompatible, yet they have resulted in significantly different policy and implementation outcomes.

The Congressional Amendments to the Federal Water Control Act in 1972 led to the first reexamination of public policy affecting the Pine Barrens.⁶ From the passage of the Act in 1899 until 1972, the Federal response to water pollution (and other environmental problems) was to seek engineering solutions. Such approaches are akin to conventional medicine whose emphasis is on cure, rather than prevention of disease.

A new direction, in part a response to the burgeoning environmental movement following "Earth Day" in 1967, was the requirement that planning as well as engineering solutions must also be sought.⁷ In other words, prevention might be more cost-effective and beneficial than remediation.

One of the first planning grants awarded nationally, and the first received in New York State from the United States Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), was a \$5.2 million grant to the Nassau-Suffolk Regional Planning Board. Several important findings were produced by the study (later known as the “208” study) that had direct consequences for the Pine Barrens of Suffolk county.⁸

A major finding of the 208 study was the development of the concept of “hydrogeological zones.”⁹ Prior programs placed emphasis on political geographical boundaries. Since underground aquifers do not bear any relationship to jurisdictional entities, to succeed watershed planning had to contravene town and county boundaries. Once the study team discarded municipal boundaries, a new map of Nassau and Suffolk counties emerged. It depicted the location of eight distinct areas by which the aquifers could be characterized according to depth (i.e. deep vertical vs. shallow recharge), water quality, and relationships to the marine environment (see Figure 2).

The first three zones represented the deep recharge areas of Nassau and Suffolk counties. Zone I is the overall vertical deep recharge area throughout the two counties that provides the maximum opportunity for rainfall to infiltrate the ground and replenish the groundwater supply. Zone II is a sub-set of Zone I in the Bethpage area that was significantly polluted and not used for potable purposes. The area referred to as Zone III underlay portions of the Towns of Brookhaven, Southampton, and Riverhead and has been generally free from the impacts of human perturbation, and the quality of the aquifers is almost pristine.

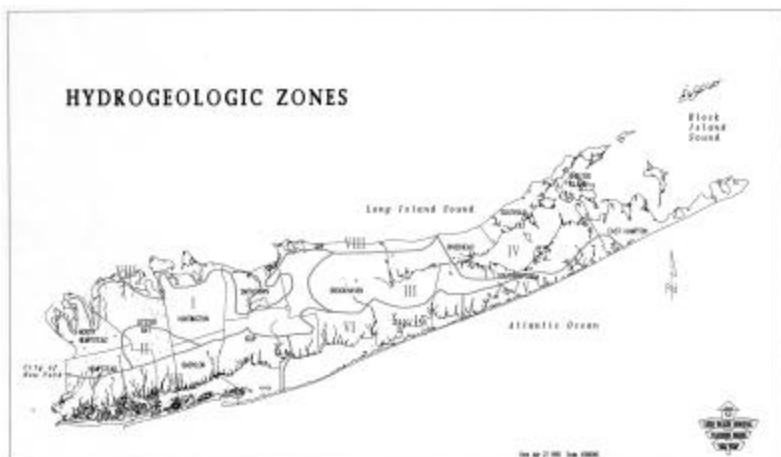


Figure 2: Long Island Hydrogeologic Zones (numbered in light roman numerals).

Zone III is also known as the Central Suffolk Pine Barrens. The presence of pine forest coterminous with the highest quality groundwater does not mean that the pine trees are necessary for water quality. Rather, its pristine nature derives from lack of using development here because developers preferred locations on the north and south shores in proximity to the marine environment. Even if every tree were removed, the vertical recharge into the sandy moraine would be functionally unchanged as long as development continued to be prohibited.

The 208 study made ten recommendations designed to provide aquifer protection within Zone III.¹⁰ Two were structural or engineered options. The first required developers to provide for the collection and treatment of sewage if housing units exceeded one or more per acre, as the use of in-ground cesspool or septic tank systems at these densities would elevate the contaminants entering the groundwater. An extension of the first recommendation called for advanced wastewater treatment, including nitrogen removal for any treatment plants that recharged effluent to ground or surface waters.

This structural approach tightened the typical development practices, which resulted in Long Island's suburban sprawl. Its main deficiency, though, lay in its justification of the feasibility to develop the entire Zone III area, without contravening health standards. The obvious negatives to this policy included the loss of a unique ecosystem; the loss of pristine groundwater, albeit, within nitrogen limits; and the increased cost to government and homeowners for the collection, treatment and disposal of sewage.

The study's non-structural or planning recommendations dealt mainly with land use controls, including large lot zoning of two acre minimum size, public acquisition of large land holdings for open space preservation, control of storm water runoff and the prohibition of establishing new landfills.

The 208 study recommended that the developed portions of Zone III should be subject to careful monitoring to provide early indications of water quality problems, and to permit timely corrective measures. The study also suggested that the use of fertilizers on turf should be reduced, low-maintenance lawns be promoted, home chemical cleaners prohibited, and recommended the vigorous enforcement and strengthening of environmental regulations pertaining to industrial waste disposal, product storage and transportation of residual contaminants.

A clear distinction between those in favor of development versus those favoring strict non-development soon emerged. On one side, builders, public elected officials and sanitary engineers working for the Suffolk County Health Services Department agreed that development could occur at one and two acre zoning density without exceeding the

water quality standards of ten milligrams of nitrate-nitrogen per liter. The planners countered that if development were to occur, the standard for Zone III should be reduced to six mg. per liter, on the grounds that if nitrate-nitrogen levels reached ten mg. the area would be beyond redemption. The adopted plan followed the planners' position.

Two additional findings emerged from the 208 study. The first was the result of actions taken by the Citizens' Advisory Committee (CAC). Academics, conservationists, civic leaders, and business representatives created this organization to offer citizen input to the technical specialists. Many within the CAC vigorously insisted that the plan address the feasibility of recharging treated sewage effluents into the ground, instead of discharging them into the ocean. Their prime concern was the potential loss of groundwater, which would initially be manifest in a lowering of fresh surface waters and result in a deleterious impact on surficial eco-systems.

The CAC contended that the removal of nitrogen with proper sewage treatment would provide a clean effluent. However, the more than one thousand test wells used to monitor aquifer pressures and quality revealed the ubiquitous presence of organics, including petroleum products, in the glacial or uppermost aquifer. It would only be a matter of time before these contaminants would penetrate into the Magothy stratum.

Unfortunately, the significance to human health from organics was relatively unknown at the time, although tests on animals did indicate the potential for carcinogenic effects. There were no required, well-defined, water quality standards. In fact, measurement of organics in trace quantities (parts per billion, as contrasted with nitrate-nitrogen in parts per million) was not yet perfected. Only two laboratories in the United States were developing the ability to conduct such measurements, often with unreliable results. The first was EPA's laboratory at Ada, Oklahoma. The second involved scientists at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) sponsored by EPA, ostensibly as a control for EPA's research.

An inescapable conclusion drawn from this knowledge was that much of the land within the deep recharge area (Zones I and II) was already developed, and the negative impacts on the aquifer were clearly apparent. There were only two areas in Nassau County and seven in Suffolk County that remained relatively undeveloped, and free of these impacts. These nine areas were named "Special Groundwater Protection Areas" (SGPAs).¹¹ The acreage of the Central Suffolk Pine Barrens (Zone III) constituted one-half of the entire nine SGPAs.

The location and designation of the SGPAs was relatively straightforward. Land use analyses identified the undeveloped properties.

Water quality testing of water supply wells, and the installation of test wells for the 208 study identified the quality status of the aquifers.

The development of programs for the management and protection of these areas proved elusive. Would new legislation have to be enacted by the federal and state governments? Would additional administrative entities be required to manage the areas? What financial sources were available to fund these initiatives and would new sources be required? How would these new mechanisms be formulated, and which governmental levels should bear the responsibility for funding and implementation? Could, in fact, such programs be formulated? The only response to these questions was further research.

Federal and New York State funding in 1986 enabled the Long Island Regional Planning Board (LIRPB) to undertake a pilot study for two of the SGPAs.¹² One was located in the Town of Oyster Bay. The other was Zone III. The successful completion of that work led to a special enactment of the New York State Legislature in 1987 to enable the LIRPB to comprehensively study all nine SGPAs.¹³

Article 55 of New York State Conservation Law, known as the Sole Source Aquifer Protection Act, stated in its declaration of policy that the public policy of the state is to maintain or improve existing water quality in special groundwater protection areas within federally designated sole source aquifer areas. This clearly and unambiguously sets the parameters which planning and implementation efforts must strive to meet.

This declaration implied that the aquifers could not be allowed to degrade; and therefore, one objective of the SGPA planning had to be adherence to a nondegradation policy. The implementation actions that flow from this objective must, therefore, include the maximum retention and protection of the undeveloped portions still extant within the area.

The most effective, the most complete, and often the most costly strategy for maintenance of aquifer quality in the SGPAs is to protect the overlying watershed land surfaces by placing the undeveloped lands in the public domain, fencing them in, and then providing adequate policing to insure against pollution.

The second best approach is to limit the density of future development within the larger undeveloped or open tracts that cannot be preserved through governmental acquisition. At this juncture of the SGPA study debate arose over the definition of density. The original 208 study concluded that one and two acre residential zoning was adequate to maintain water quality. This was the position taken by the sanitary engineers and water supply companies' personnel, who were participants in the Technical Advisory Committee (TAC) established by the LIRPB to assist planners in devising the SGPA plan.

The planners, supported by the Citizen's Advisory Committee (CAC), argued that if development must be allowed it should be subject to mandatory cluster zoning based on five acre residential zoning. The housing units could be single-family detached structures located on one acre lots, with the total yield not exceeding that which could be obtained through conventional subdivision of the entire parcel at five acres per dwelling unit. The undeveloped portion of the parcel, which could amount at least to four-fifths of the property, would remain undeveloped in perpetuity. Coordinated development of clustered housing on adjacent parcels could maximize contiguous open space and protected environmentally sensitive habitat.

The intensive debate over the blanket recommendation for five acre zoning reflected the professional backgrounds of the participants. Representatives from governmental regulatory agencies expressed the view that they had to be guided by current requirements and standards. For example, nitrate-nitrogen concentration was the legally enforceable standard that guided the New York State Department of Environmental Conservation (DEC) and the County Health Departments. Environmental organization representatives argued that while this might be true for nitrogen, it was not necessarily true for contamination from organics. Improper use and disposal of hazardous or toxic products from a single household could imperil portions of the aquifer.

Since the relationship between the organic contamination of drinking water and the potential that consumption by humans would result in carcinomas was unknown, the planning view was one of prudence. If the planners were correct, the public would have been protected. Conversely, if the planners were too conservative more development could be allowed in future years.

The engineers and health specialists who participated in the study agreed not to attack the five-acre recommendation, as long as its justification was couched in planning terms and not on impairment to health.

The SGPA plan sought to achieve a proper balance between development and preserving natural resources. Although the objectives were clear, the ability to achieve a working consensus between competing interests was far less clear. Builders and landowners desired relative freedom to develop property. Environmentalists, conversely, wanted to maximize preservation. Thus, the developers and landowners were concerned that the SGPA proposals were too inhibiting to meet their interests. It was somewhat disappointing for the planners that several of the environmental organizations also expressed opposition, stating that the plan, by not recommending more stringent controls, did not go far

enough. The solution to this dilemma provides an interesting case study regarding the quest to preserve the Central Suffolk Pine Barrens.

The Path to Litigation

Prior to the initiation of the SGPA study in 1987, developers had filed over 220 subdivision applications throughout the Brookhaven portion of Zone III. None of these proposed developments were consummated due to various factors. The main deterrent was caused by an economic slowdown in the real estate market. If these developments had proceeded, urban sprawl would have eviscerated any coherent effort to produce a sensible growth scenario for the area.

Planners and environmentalists recognized that a reversal in the market would reactivate many of the subdivision projects that were held in abeyance. Public officials recognized that the filed subdivisions, either with preliminary or final approvals, gave standing to the developers. Officials were also aware of the shift in attitude by the United States Supreme Court over the "takings" issue.¹⁴ Environmental activists, particularly those active in the Pine Barrens Society and the Open Space Council, were vehemently opposed to compromise. They sought total acquisition, correctly perceiving that the first task had to be the reversal of already filed subdivisions. This meant that they had to seek judicial support through litigation.

The legal option available to citizens in New York State is contained in the law known as Article 78 or Mandamus Action. This is the means available to any citizen or group of citizens to use the courts to overturn a governmental action that the petitioners feel is injurious to their interests. The main reasons for its limited use is the cost in hiring lawyers which precludes the majority of opponents from litigation, and also the fairly narrow range of governmental decisions that can be attacked. For example, the strategy to obtain a judicial remedy cannot be used to challenge the validity of a legislative act, such as the adoption of a zoning ordinance - even if the ordinance is obviously lacking in support from the general population. An Article 78 can be taken however if the relief is sought from the procedures of adoption rather than the substance of the zoning ordinance. The strictly enforced statute of limitations, which requires that the filing of the lawsuit must occur within four months of the governmental decision, further limits such challenges. This requirement is often difficult for affluent communities, and virtually impossible for less affluent ones to meet. The time involved in community organization and fund raising necessary to approve of the hiring of lawyers can be considerable.

The experience of an environmental organization in the City of Albany whose efforts to preserve the Pine Bush forest was occurring

simultaneously to the efforts on Long Island served as the direct model and precedent for the litigative strategy in this case. The case of *Save-Bush, Inc. versus the City of Albany* involved the approval of new zoning provisions allowing for the construction of one story commercial office buildings on an almost 600 acre tract known as the Albany Pine Bush by the Albany Common Council, the City of Albany's governing body. This land had environmental attributes similar to the Pine Barrens on Long Island. Ultimately, with the help of a citizen's groups called *Save Pine Bush, Inc.*, the City of Albany was taken to court and its proposed zoning change was struck down, primarily because the law did not require a full environmental impact statement for developments as required by the New York State Environmental Quality Review Act.¹⁵ The clear victory achieved by Save Pine Bush, Inc. was a clarion call to the environmental activists on Long Island who emulated a similar strategy in their quest to preserve Long Island's Pine Barrens.

Although Suffolk County had been acquiring properties in the central Suffolk County Pine Barrens since 1960, the attempt to save the area from development by means of litigation would not have occurred without the existence of citizen based environmental organizations willing and committed to explore every legal means to achieve their objectives.

In fact, if it were not for the presence of such dedicated organizations the ultimate history of the Pine Barrens would undoubtedly be much different. It is entirely possible that the total number of acres preserved might ultimately be greater as the result of the County's several approaches to land preservation. But it is also probable that there would be fewer contiguous areas in the overall acquisition program. Thus, the actions taken by the Pine Barrens Society were instrumental in all that ensued from their legal challenges.

The Pine Barrens Society

The Pine Barrens Society originated in the summer of 1976. The Hoyt Farm Preserve located in Hauppauge in the Town of Smithtown was under the supervision of Mr. Robert Giffen who hired three young naturalists, John Turner, John Cryan, and Robert McGrath. John Cryan had a deep interest in buck moths and directed his research focus within the Pine Barrens. He shared the experiences of his frequent field trips with his colleagues at the Preserve. Stories about carnivorous plants, tiger salamanders, shadowy cedar bogs, and the dwarf pine trees whetted the appetite of both Turner and McGrath, who followed Cryan's field work example for the following eighteen months and went out almost every weekend. This enabled them to explore many areas throughout the Pine Barrens.

During this time period, from 1975 through 1978, the LIRPB was completing the 208 Plan, which identified the Central Suffolk Pine Barrens as an area of deep recharge of rainfall where the aquifers were of pristine quality. This information added a new dimension to the thinking and interests of Cryan, Turner and McGrath, who now realized a clear convergence of opportunity between watershed and the terrestrial ecosystem. They became increasingly committed to translating their dedication to the Pine Barrens into finding some institutional means of preserving the area.

Their concerns coalesced one evening in February 1978 at a meeting held at the Steven Weitz Museum at the State University at Stony Brook. The director of the museum at the time was Steven Englebright, who later became a member of the New York State Assembly. John Turner and John Cryan were the other attendees. After lengthy discussion they concluded that the only solution would be the creation of an organization whose primary purpose would be focused on the Pine Barrens. During the spring of 1978 they filed organizational papers with the Supreme Court at Hauppauge, which officially launched the Suffolk County Pine Barrens Society.

Over the following decade, this group concentrated on promoting the value of the Pine Barrens by presenting informational seminars, and building alliances with other environmental organizations such as The Group for the South Fork and the North Fork Environmental Council. Their efforts were productive in garnering a constituency who supported the objectives of the Society.

It was not until 1987 when a confluence of developments changed the direction of the Society. The first was related to the increasingly active real estate market. The first half of the 1980's was one of tremendous inflationary growth in real estate values, which spurred a large increase in development projects. This overheated market created great concerns among environmentalists and governmental planners, who viewed these development pressures as inimical to sound planning and the need to save important areas of undeveloped land for watershed and recreation purposes.

A second factor was the proposal by Acting County Executive, Michael LoGrande, to submit to referendum the conversion of a quarter cent sales tax, originally created to alleviate the tax burden on homeowners within the Southwest Sewer District, for the purchase of areas of critical environmental significance.¹⁶ Eighty-three percent of the electorate supported the referendum. The potential advent of several hundred million dollars was seen by members of the Society as a major opportunity to increase the purchase of lands in the Pine Barrens.

LoGrande, who was appointed to fill the last year of County Executive Peter Fox Cohalan's term of office in 1987, lost his election bid in November 1987 to Patrick Halpin. The new County Executive raised concerns about several provisions in the initial referendum, especially the lack of direct financial sharing of a portion of the sales tax receipts with the municipalities. Halpin, though, had a strong environmental commitment. The issue was not one of scuttling the program, but the recasting of provisions contained in the original bill to satisfy his concerns. A second referendum was submitted to the voters for the election held the following November. Once again more than 80 percent of the electorate supported the proposal.¹⁷

The third factor, which was entirely fortuitous, occurred during this time of developmental ferment and growing environmental activism. The members of the Pine Barrens Society were contacted by Richard Amper, a resident at Lake Panamoka, who wanted to tap the expertise of the Society's members in his local battle to stop the development of a parcel of land on the east side of Lake Panamoka. Amper wanted to learn about Pine Barren systems including plant and animal species, and hydrogeological data that would be useful to him. Amper's professional skills were in public relations - a specialty that the members of the Society lacked. A symbiotic relationship was immediately apparent, and by March of 1989 he was employed as a consultant to the Society and has served as its Executive Director since that time.

Hiring a full-time employee created new opportunities unavailable to a totally volunteer-based organization. Having a full-time person enabled the Society to seek grants and conduct fund raising, as well as attract new volunteers. The move from total reliance on volunteers in contrast to the use of professional staff meant the difference between success and failure, as the main problem with most volunteer organizations is the lack of continuity. If key volunteers depart it is quite difficult to find suitable replacements. Paid personnel are more easily replaced.

Emboldened by the Albany Pine Bush decision and the reality of 224 development projects proposed and/or pending throughout the of Central Suffolk Pine Barrens, the Society initiated a suit in the Suffolk County Supreme Court on November 21, 1989.¹⁸ The major contention was that the approval by the towns was a direct contradiction of the requirements of SEQRA, by granting negative declarations instead of requiring a cumulative impact analysis as called for in the law. Judge Baisley ruled against the Society on the grounds that a cumulative impact study was not required since no plan existed that explicitly defined the management for the entire Pine Barrens covering portions of three individual towns.¹⁹

The Society immediately appealed the decision to the five member Appellate Court with Judge Thompson presiding. Baisley's decision was

reversed, with the Court supporting the Society's contention that a cumulative impact analysis was required.²⁰ However, it was a split decision of 3-2.

The developers now mounted an appeal to New York State's highest court, the Court of Appeals. Judge Leon D. Laser, a former Supreme and Appellate judge and then a professor of law at the Tuoro College Law School, was the Appellate Counsel for the intervener-respondents-appellants, Brekel Shopping Center Associates, Brekel Realty, Beau Bres Realty and Havenbrook Associates. The other respondents included the planning board, town boards, zoning boards of appeal of the Towns of Riverhead, Brookhaven, and Southampton, and the Suffolk County Department of Health Services.

The law firm of Berle, Kass and Case represented the Long Island Pine Barrens Society and several individual citizens. Berle had served as New York State Department of Environmental Conservation Commissioner during the Carey Administration. Once again, the decision was reversed unanimously in favor of the developers.²¹ Logic would have dictated that the Society had reached a dead end. In retrospect, although the legal battle was lost, the war was won.

The Suffolk County Pine Barrens Act of 1993

Although the developers were victorious in overcoming the requirement for a cumulative impact study, they nevertheless assumed they would be confronted with litigation as each specific application came due for consideration. Thus, the stage for compromise was set.

Members of the New York State Legislature convened face-to-face meetings with both parties to the dispute and crafted legislation to afford each side a potential victory.²²

A compromise divided the 100,000 acre tract under contention into two halves. The northern portion, which contained almost 30,000 acres of lands already in the public domain through earlier acquisitions, formed the nucleus of the 50,000 acre "Pine Barrens Core" in which no construction would be allowed. The second portion designated the "Compatible Growth Area" (CGA) would allow development according to existing zoning without threat of future legal challenge.

In order to obviate the potential problem of each of the three towns taking independent zoning and subdivision actions that might contravene the intent of the compromise, the Act provided for the creation of a five member Pine Barrens Commission, consisting of the three supervisors from Brookhaven, Southampton, and Riverhead, the Suffolk County Executive, and a representative from the Governor's office. The Commission was charged with the responsibility to devise a comprehensive plan to delineate how the Act would be implemented.

Recognizing the strong adherence to local home rule exercised by individual municipalities, the Act set forth a strict timetable to develop the plan, and stipulated that the three towns had to adopt the plan. If any town refused to accept the plan, the Act would become null and void. The initial deadline of March 15, 1995, was unachievable. The New York State Legislature amended the Act, granting an extension to June 30, 1995.

The plan was virtually completed with the release of the draft plan in January 1995. A key stumbling block in meeting the original deadline was the opposition by the Riverhead Town Board, who did not want the Suffolk County Pine Barrens Commission (SCPBC) to exercise any land use jurisdiction over the former United States Navy-Grumman Corporation airfield and industrial complex at Calverton. The Town Board wanted the law to be amended to exclude the Calverton facility from the designated core area. However, the legislative sponsors of the Act, Assemblyman Thomas DiNapoli and Senator Kenneth LaValle, refused.

Another issue was the conflict between the town and the DEC over the boundaries set by the State to protect the Peconic River as provided for in the passage of the Wild, Scenic and Recreational Rivers Act of 1983.²³ This Act impinged on the Riverhead Central Business District (CBD) and a portion of the Calverton facility.

Ray Cowen, Regional Director of the DEC, and the state representative on the Pine Barrens Commission, defused this dispute by agreeing to compromise in order to secure the town's support for the plan. This, however, was not sufficient to overcome Riverhead's other objections. And so, the dispute persisted until the last hours of the June 30th deadline. The logjam was broken when the SCPBC acknowledged that development at the Calverton facility would not contravene the intent of the plan if the town followed proper planned criteria for the site. The Riverhead Town Board relented and voted to ratify the plan.

The Brookhaven Town Board raised a separate issue at this time. The Board was concerned about the implementation strategies proposed by several of the environmental enthusiasts on the Commission's Citizen's Advisory Council (CAC). James Tripp, legal counsel to the Environmental Defense Fund, was strongly advocating that the transfer of development rights (TDR) be aggressively pursued.²⁴ TDR is a mechanism that allows the development potential of one property to be transferred to another property, thereby protecting the value of the parcel for the owner. In exchange for governmental approval of the transfer, the title of the sending property would become publicly owned. The owner receives full value, and government is able to acquire desirable open space without having to financially compensate the owner.

However, with the divergence between theory and practice, several potentially negative aspects render TDR of limited practicality. The first conflict is that the law would allow the TDR to be shifted from any lands within the core to anywhere else designated as receiving areas. This raises the immediate objection from property owners and school boards in receiving areas to added density in their community and additional tax burdens associated with additional population.

Another concern was the initial absence of a funded land bank. TDR can only succeed if there is an immediate market for developers who desire the additional yield they would obtain. Since the realty market is cyclical, the ebb and flow of ready sellers and reluctant buyers is a major disincentive. Fortunately, initial funding became available from a \$5 million portion of the Natural Resource Damage Assessment (NRDA) levied against Consolidated for gasoline leakage at their tank farm located in Setauket.²⁵ Having a land bank meant that in any slow market for TDR credits, an owner could receive immediate payment from the fund. These lands would then be held until the private market would competitively seek these credits.

Without the option of a quick sale for those anxious to sell their parcels within the core, the Pine Barrens Commission would be faced with continuing litigation based on the "taking issue." Simply put, governmental actions cannot totally deprive a property owner of some reasonable economic use of that property without fair market compensation. In recognition of this concern, Brookhaven's Supervisor proposed a stipulation that the plan had to recommend that seventy-five percent of the lands acquired by direct purchase. This demand, which the Commission agreed with, reduced the problems inherent in TDR.

The Proposed Final Central Pine Barrens Plan was then submitted on April 26, 1995. Subsequent to public hearings the Plan was adopted.²⁶

Editor's Note: Part II of this two part series will appear in our next issue.

NOTES

¹ Central Pine Barrens Joint Planning and Policy Commission, *Central Pine Barrens Comprehensive Land Use Plan 2*, January 13, 1995, 69-71.

² The Plan Committee of the Medford Taxpayers and Civic Association, *The Medford Community Comprehensive Plan*, October 1994, 1-2. For a more complete review of the overall efforts of Neal B. Fullerton and his experimental farms see Chet Chorzempo, "The

Fullertons and the Experimental Farms of the Long Island Railroad,” *The Long Island Historical Journal* 6 (Spring 1994).

³ Nussbaumer, Clarke and Velzy, *Summary of Drainage Report* (Suffolk County, N.Y., July 1957).

⁴ William N. Leonard and Lee E. Koppelman, *People and Parks* (Hauppauge, N.Y.: Suffolk County Department of Planning, 1960); Lee E. Koppelman, *Report on the Need and Feasibility for County Park Facilities in Suffolk County* (Hauppauge, N.Y.:1962); *Planning for Open Space in Suffolk County* (Hauppauge, N.Y.: Suffolk County Department of Planning: 1964).

⁵ Malcolm S. Spellman Associates, *Comprehensive Plan and Development Program for Airports and Air Terminals in Suffolk County*, County of Suffolk, December, 1960.

⁶ Federal Water Pollution Control Act Amendments of 1972, Section 208(PL 92-500).

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Federal Environmental Protection Agency Grant Number P002103-01-0.

⁹ Lee E. Koppelman, et al., *The Long Island Comprehensive Waste Treatment Management Plan*, Hauppauge, New York, Nassau-Suffolk Regional Planning Board, Volume 1, July 1978, 44-46.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 164.

¹¹ Lee E. Koppelman and Carole Swick, *Nonpoint Source Management Handbook*, Long Island Regional Planning Board, Hauppauge, New York, 1984.

¹² *Special Groundwater Protection Area Project*, Long Island Regional Planning Board, Hauppauge, New York, 1986.

¹³ Chapter 628 of the Laws of 1987, Article 55 of Environmental Conservation Laws.

¹⁴ The “takings” issue involves an interpretation of how far government can go in regulating private property before compensation has to be made reflective of the loss of value incurred by the owner.

¹⁵ *Save the Pine Bush v. City of Albany*, supra, 70 N.Y. 2d at 205; Ordinance Number 7.11.84 Section 3; Ordinance Number 7.11.84 Section 3; Environmental Conservation Law Section 8-0101 et seq.; McKinney’s CPLR 7801 et seq.

¹⁶ Proposition No. 2, November 11, 1987. Proceedings of the County Legislature of Suffolk County, N.Y., 1987.

¹⁷ Proposition No. 1, November 7, 1988. Proceedings of the County Legislature of Suffolk County, N.Y., 1987.

¹⁸ N.Y.S. 2d 982, 80 N.Y. 2d 500, *Long Island Pine Barrens Society, Inc. v. Planning Board of Town of Brookhaven, et al*, (N.Y. 1992).

¹⁹ Suffolk County Justice Paul J. Baisley decision of November 30, 1990.

²⁰ Suffolk County Justice J. P. Thomson of the Supreme Court Appellate decision of March 2, 1992.

²¹ The Court of Appeals of New York rendered its decision; 982 591 N.Y.S. 2d 982-80 N.Y. 2d 500, 606 N.E. 2d 1373 Nov. 24, 1992, reversal of the Supreme Court, Appellate Division, 178 A.D. 2d 18, 581 N.Y.S. 2d 803.

²² The Long Island Pine Barrens Protection Act (Chapter 263 of the New York State Laws of 1993).

²³ Title 27 of Article 15; Environmental Conservation Law, Part 666.

²⁴ Mr. Tripp successfully had incorporated TDR into the Plan and was appointed as Chair of the Pine Barrens Clearinghouse.

²⁵ Langdon Marsh and William Spitz, *Resource Restoration and Replacement Plan*, NYSDEC Spill Number 87-6573, NYSDEC Order on Consent Number R1-5375-93-06, January 1995.

²⁶ Central Pine Barrens Joint Planning and Policy Commission, *Proposed Final Central Pine Barrens Plan and Supplemental Draft Generic Environmental Impact Statement*, Great River, N.Y., April 26, 1995, 257 pp.

MILITARY TRAINING AT CAMP UPTON DURING THE GREAT WAR: THE DIARY OF OSCAR I. OSTROW

*Edited by Margery Cohen-Willard
Introduction by Charles F. Howlett*

Shortly after Congress declared war on Germany in April of 1917, preparations were already underway to build “the largest city on Long Island.” It was built on “10,000 acres of mosquito-infested scrub oak and pine in central Brookhaven.” The proposed setting became the temporary home to some 30,000 draftees. It was named Camp Upton and it was situated “in an uninhabited area northeast of Yaphank.”

Camp Upton was named for Civil War Major General Emery Upton. Upton, who was born in Batavia, New York, and graduated eighth in the United States Military Academy Class of 1861. He achieved special distinction at Spotsylvania on May 10, 1864 when “his twelve-regiment assaulting column successfully pierced the Confederate salient, the deployment offering an alternative to traditional and costly linear tactics.” Later, he served as Commandant of the Cadets at West Point (1870-75) and superintendent of the Artillery School at Fort Monroe (1877-80). While at Fort Monroe, Upton introduced “combined arms training and theory-based case studies to add intellectual rigor to its limited practical curriculum.” His institution later became the model for advanced officer education throughout the army. Upton’s most noted work, the Military Policy of the United States (1904), promoted the notion of a professional army, headed by a General Staff, as the basis for America’s national defense.

Camp Upton opened in the summer of 1917. It was home to the soon-to-be-famous 77th Infantry Division, composed of New York draftees. During the war over “a half million men passed through the camp, either for training or as a short-term stop either going overseas or returning home.” One of the camp’s most famous draftees was a Russian-born, 29-year-old from New York City’s Lower East Side, Irving Berlin. While at Upton, Berlin wrote a musical, “Yip, Yip, Yaphank” with a classic song, “Oh! How I hate to Get Up in the Morning.” Aside from training for war, Berlin and the other draftees scrubbed floors, cut firewood, stood guard duty, and worked in the kitchen (KP duty). Camp Upton was one of the sixteen newly created cantonments. The trees and scrub had been cleared by early fall of 1917, and a rail spur connected the camp with the Yaphank station of the Long Island Rail Road. At Upton, modern trench warfare was taught during a sixteen Week training

period. According to the *New York Times*, "Trench raiding, scouting, trench building and operations of all kinds which may be called for in actual combat will be duplicated at the camps throughout the night hours." In November 1917, former President Teddy Roosevelt received a rousing ovation from the soldiers at Upton when he attacked isolationists for their opposition to the war: "The nation that won't fight when its women and children are killed stands on a level with the man who won't fight when his wife is knocked down or his daughter kidnapped." When World War I ended on November 11, 1918 the camp served as a demobilization site for veterans. A public auction was held after the camp's deactivation in August 1921. Everything was removed from the base. Once more, the scrub oak and pines grew back. A new camp would be established as an Army induction center at the start of World War II. Later it was converted into a convalescent hospital. In January 1947, the one-time city of soldiers became the permanent home of Brookhaven National Laboratory.

Dr. Oscar Ostrow (1895-1972) was born in Russia in 1895 and came to the United States as a young child. He graduated from Manual Training High School in Brooklyn and was a young man when the United States entered World War I. He was drafted into the army in the fall of 1917 and soon after found himself being trained at Camp Upton. In the spring of 1918 he set sail aboard the *Justicia*, bound for Europe and war. He served with the heavily decorated 77th Division. Wounded in action, he was awarded the Purple Heart as well as the Silver Star. Serving with distinction, Ostrow was a proud member of the so-called Liberty Division, which had an insignia of a Statue of Liberty in gold with a "7" on each side on a blue background. The division suffered 2,275 men killed and over 4,930 wounded. During an extended stay in France, due to a leg wound and hearing loss, an attending physician offered him the opportunity to assist in treating patients. At war's end Ostrow returned to Camp Upton for his discharge from the military, a discharge that was delayed due to his medical condition. Upon returning to civilian life Ostrow decided to pursue a medical career. After the war he married and graduated from New York University's School of Dentistry. He practiced dentistry throughout his life and lived in Baldwin where he and his wife raised three children.

The excerpts from the diary of Corporal Ostrow describe in detail the daily routine of military training during World War I. Much of what Ostrow recorded is repetitive and uneventful - fatigue duty, rifle training, bayonet drilling, KP duty, gas mask training, and drill. There were some light moments, including weekend and holiday leaves. But boredom and monotony was generally the order of the day. Yet the diary sheds light on what it was like training at Camp Upton, what the weather conditions

were like, how friendships developed, and whether or not trainees accepted the role of the United States as the “defender of democracy?” These issues and the purpose for military training in preparation for war are part of this diary, part of Long Island’s past, and part of the nation’s history.

I greatly appreciate Margery Willard Cohen sharing her grandfather’s memoir. The diary appears here in its original grammatical form.

SOURCES

George DeWan, “From Long Island to Over There,” Long Island: Our Story (Melville, NY: Newsday, 1998): 270; Carol Reardon, “Emory Upton” in John W. Chambers II, editor, The Oxford Companion to American Military History (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999): 745. At Brookhaven National Laboratory there is a small museum devoted to Camp Upton.

Oscar Ostrow’s Diary:

Sunday, October 7, 1917

I was given a surprise and farewell reception by Frances Altschuler and Herman Linde. After a wonderful evening and many farewell greetings by everybody present, we adjourned about midnight.

Monday, October 8

At 7 A.M. I was at the office of Local Board #25 at York and Bridge Sts. Where we prepared for entrainment for camp. I was No. 1 of that quota and led the parade to the L.I.R.R. at Flatbush Ave. Manny, Bessie, Charlie and Lou went to the station with me. Mother broke down and was unable to be with us. Pa remained at home with her. At about 10 A.M. we entrained and after an hour or more of cheering by the throngs at the station, we were off for Yaphank. After a long and tiresome journey we finally arrived in camp about 2 P.M. We were welcomed by the military band and the boys already in camp. After being shown to the casual barracks we were equipped with bedding and mess kits. About 3:30 P.M. we had our first meal in camp. The rest of the day I spent getting things straightened out and getting acquainted with the place.

5:30 P.M. Retreat

6:00 P.M. Mess

10:00 P.M. Taps



Figure 1: Inductees at Camp Upton. Courtesy of Brookhaven National Laboratory - Camp Upton Historical Collection.

Tuesday, October 9

My second day in Camp. Up at 5:45 A.M.

Reveille

Mess

We were then taken to the mustering office and after being mustered in, we were vaccinated and received our first inoculation. Returned to the barracks and was then transferred to Company L, 307th Infantry. After getting settled, I took it easy for the rest of the day.

Wednesday, October 10

After mess started to drill. In the afternoon, given fatigue duty.

Thursday, October 11

Drilled in the morning. Fatigue duty in the afternoon.

Friday, October 12

Fatigue duty all day.

Saturday, October 13

Fatigue duty in the morning. 12:20 P.M. I left Yaphank on my first furlough. I arrived home about 3:45 P.M. In the evening I

went to the Criterion in N.Y. with S.S. and saw Robert Hilliard in The Scrap of Paper. Enjoyed it very much.

Sunday, October 14

Up at 10:30 A.M. Home discussing camp life, etc. until about 2:30 P.M. 3 P.M. at home of F. A. Had a very enjoyable walk. Then met H.L. at the Triangle Theatre and saw the show there. Had supper at a Chinese Restaurant and returned home about 10 P.M. accompanied by F.A. and H.L. About 10:30 P.M. started back for camp and was accompanied to the station by Mother, Lou, Bess, F.A. and H.L. Manny and a few of his friends were also at the station, but I missed them. Returned in camp about 3:45 A.M. Monday.

Monday, October 15

Fatigue duty all day. In camp just a week.

Tuesday, October 16

Drilled in the morning. Fatigue duty in the afternoon.

Wednesday, October 17

After mess received the second inoculation. Fatigue duty right after it and for the remainder of the day. I walked to the post office and received twelve letters and post cards. A record breaker.

Thursday, October 18

Fatigue duty all day.

Friday, October 19

Drilled in the morning. Fatigue in the afternoon.

Saturday, October 20

Drilled in the morning. Off in the afternoon but could not obtain pass to go home so had to remain in camp. Called up home and spoke to Bess on the phone. Played ball a good part of the time, wrote several letters and took it easy. My first Saturday afternoon in camp.

Sunday, October 21

My first Sunday in camp. Wrote some mail. Played ball. Listened to the regimental band. Expected D.P., Bess, Joe Altman and others down to see me but was disappointed. There were thousands of visitors in camp and it was a great day.

Monday, October 22

Started regular drilling, eight hours each day except Wednesdays and Saturdays. Also started rifle drilling.

Tuesday, October 23

Regular drill in the morning. In the afternoon we went on a hike. We walked about eight miles through woods and dusty roads. Returned in time for retreat. I purchased \$150.00 worth of Liberty Bonds.

Wednesday, October 24

Regular drill and review of the entire company by General Johnson, Major Rich and others. I was assigned as a regular member of the fourth platoon under Lieut. Weil. Liberty Loan Day proclaimed by President Wilson, a Legal Holiday.

Thursday, October 25

Regular drill in the morning and afternoon.

Friday, October 26

Regular drill in the morning. Up at 5 A.M. In the afternoon Companies I, K, L, M reviewed by Major Rich and praised for their good work. In the evening I attended the services of the Jewish Welfare Board. After the services I heard an address on Judaism by Mr. Joseph Goodman and Rev. Jacob Goldstein of New York. At 8:15 P.M. I attended the entertainment at the Y.M.C.A. The noted Mr. Spinner, the magician, entertained us for the evening and sure showed us an enjoyable time. Eleven Company L men were transferred to Camp Gordon, Atlanta, Ga.

Saturday, October 27

Regular drill until 9:30 A.M. From then until 11 A.M. we had a discussion by Lieut. Cahill on insurance and compensation for American soldiers. I could obtain leave to go home. I wrote up diary to date. At 6:15 P.M. I called up home, but no one answered. I called again at about 7:20 and the line was busy. After calling back again three times I spoke to Manny. Returned to the barracks

for taps. I was awakened several times during the night by the heaviest rainstorm we had here. The thundering and lightning was awful and I had to get up and move my bed because the rain leaked in on it.

Sunday, October 28

I lounged around the barracks until about 10:30 A.M. One of the boys then asked me to take a walk to the depot to see the visitors coming in, and we did. Two trains pulled in carrying thousands of visitors into camp and everybody wore a smile. There were hundreds of soldiers sitting and standing on the top of three freight cars which were standing on a side track. A third passenger train was approaching on the same track. I was one of the crowd on the freight train looking for familiar faces amongst the crowds of visitors. Suddenly all you could hear was, "Hold on! Hold tight!" Then smash. The passenger train had hit the freight on which we were standing and with such force that it sent the first car on which I was standing right over the bumper. I expected every second to see the car tip over and everybody hollered, "Look out! She's going to tip." But it did not tip, and stopped just in front of the station and a little ticket office about two feet away. There was great commotion and excitement. I did not know what to do for the minute but the roof of the station was the nearest thing to the car so I jumped onto that for safety. From that I jumped onto the ticket office and then onto the ground. The excitement was awful! As soon as I landed on the ground I looked under the derailed car and there two soldiers were struggling for dear life. One had his both legs caught and sat perfectly still. The other had his head caught and kicked as hard as he could trying to release himself. They were both released in about five minutes only after hundreds of men got on one side of the car and tipped it completely over. The trucks of the car did not move, but after the car was tipped, I saw an officer near the front wheel with one leg completely severed and the other jammed in the truck. It was the most terrible sight I ever saw. By this time almost the entire camp was on the scene. All the ambulances and medical men were on the job and in about fifteen minutes they released the most unfortunate officer and rushed him to the hospital. There was also one injured woman taken to the hospital with the other two soldiers. I left the awful scene after the excitement subsided and returned to the barracks about 12:45 P.M. I was unnerved almost for the rest of the day so stayed in and

listened to the band outside of the barracks. Had ice cream for supper. First time in camp.

Monday, October 29

Regular drill during the day and first lecture and drill on bayonet warfare. After mess I received my regular uniform.

Tuesday, October 30

Drilled for about an hour and on account of the terrible rain had to stop. I attended a meeting and heard a talk by Lieut. Cahill on insurance of Soldiers and Sailors. I signed up for a \$5000 insurance policy. In the evening Jack Lind who heard of me through R.J. looked me up and introduced himself. I spent a very pleasant evening with him and arranged to meet him again.

Wednesday, October 31

Mustered for the first months salary. I raised my insurance to \$10,000 and cancelled a \$50 bond. I took some pictures and took a walk to Upton.

Thursday, November 1

Drilled in the morning. Sixteen men from our company left for France. In the afternoon I hiked to Rifle Range about 10 miles and did fatigue.

Friday, November 2

Drilled in the morning. I was picked by Lieut. Weil to command the platoon and was praised highly for very good work. In the afternoon we signed the payroll and drilled.

Saturday, November 3

I was on Kitchen Police. My first time on any duty in camp. I met Lieut. Weil in the evening while clearing the dishes from the table, and he informed me that he appointed me acting corporal. Third week I did not get leave.

Sunday, November 4

Lounged around. Took a walk to Yaphank. Returned and enjoyed a chicken dinner. (The first one in camp). In the afternoon I heard a band concert at the Y.M.C.A.

Monday, November 5

My first day as corporal. I was assigned to my squad. Regular drill until 3 P.M. We then marched to the Y.M.C.A. and practiced singing songs we were to sing on the march and in camp. In the evening I attended school of "non-coms" for first time.

Tuesday, November 6

Election Day. The entire company except officers was out on fatigue duty. I voted and took it easy all morning. In the afternoon regular drill. Everybody in camp had dinner outdoors as the mess halls were used for election polls.

Wednesday, November 7

Marks my first month in the army and in Camp Upton. About fifty men from Co. L left for Camp Gordon, Ga.. Regular drill in the morning. Off in the afternoon. I took in a show given by Co. K in the evening and had the best time since I've been in camp. Col. Irwin and three English Tommies were also present.

Thursday, November 8

Had our first lecture on the gas mask and its history. I found it very interesting. We drilled for the rest of the morning. In the afternoon we had our first mask exercise; putting it on and taking it off.

Friday, November 9

The entire company was out digging trenches all morning. In the afternoon we had regular drilling and a mask exercise. In the evening we had a company conference and Lieut. Wile gave us a talk on the causes of the present war. It was the most interesting address I heard in months.

Saturday, November 10

In the morning regular drill. In the afternoon I got a pass and went home for the second time. Arrived home about 4 P.M. Spent the evening with Joe G. and S. at the home of S.

Sunday, November 11

I got up at 8:30 A.M. and spent most of the day at home with the folks. Sister Mollie came over to see me. In the evening I was invited to dinner at F.A.'s home and had a great time until it was time to leave for camp. Met H.L. and a number of others there. I

left about 9 P.M. and met the folks at the L.I. station. Bid them good-bye and took the 9:15 train for Yaphank. Arrived in camp at 12:05 A.M.

Monday, November 12

Regular drill in the morning. In the afternoon the entire company was on fatigue duty at the rifle range. Non-coms drilled and received special instruction from Sgt. Finstat. I received a box of Salt Water taffy from B.J. In the evening, school.



Figure 2: Men lining up for leave, c. 1918. Courtesy of Brookhaven National Laboratory - Camp Upton Historical Collection.

Tuesday, November 13

In the morning the entire company was out digging trenches. In the afternoon we had our first drill in actual battle formation under the supervision of Lieut. Cahill in the evening, school.

Wednesday, November 14

Room orderly. I got through at 6 o'clock. After mess I hunted up a chap by the name of Herman Greenwald who was recommended to me by Mr. Altschuler. He was in Co. M. 308th Infantry. We talked things over and attended a movie show at the Y.M.C.A. He presented me with a muffler he received from the red cross.

Thursday, November 15

In the morning we drilled with our masks for three quarters of an hour. Then we had a medical inspection. In the afternoon the entire company was out digging trenches until 3 o'clock. Then we drilled until 4:30. In the evening, school.

Friday, November 16

Lieut. Currier introduced to the 4th platoon by Lieut. Weil who took command of the same, Lieut. Weil having been advanced to the 1st platoon. Regular drill all day.

Saturday, November 17

Regimental inspection. Company drill with Capt. Sylvester. Third furlough. Left camp on the 1:45 train and arrived home about 4:30 P.M. In the evening Bess, Mac and I visited Uncle Joe and Aunt Posner. Arranged to go automobiling Sunday.

Sunday, November 18

I got up about 10:30 and lounged around until about 1 P.M. Then Mac, Sarah and Mrs. Shore and I went motoring. We rode as far as Hollis, L.I. when we got a blow out about 2:30 P.M. We discovered we had no extra inner tube so we called up the city and had to wait until someone would bring a tube. We waited until 4:45 and still no sign of anybody coming with the tube. I was getting ready to leave them when an automobile party driving by invited me in their machine and took me all the way home. They took my name and camp address and promised to come out to see me sometime. I left for camp on the 9:45 and was seen off by Mother, Bess, Charlie, Lou, Mac and Herm Mendes. I arrived in camp at 11:50 P.M.

Monday, November 19

I went over to the Dental Infirmary about my teeth and there I met Henry Muenzer of Mu Sigma and with whom I went to Manuel. I made an appointment with him for the evening and after school I met him. We had a lengthy conversation and decided to stick together as long as we could. I left him at 9 o'clock when the lights went out.

Tuesday, November 20

We had our first drill in trench warfare in the morning. We also had a relay race with the gas masks on against the 3rd platoon

and we won. In the afternoon we (the non-coms) had our first bayonet practice with the dummies and also the first lesson in bomb throwing. In the evening after school I met Muenzer and spent about a half hour with him.

Wednesday, November 21

Drilled in the morning. In the afternoon I attended a football game in which Muenzer played. In the evening Muenzer and I attended the opening of the K of C Hall.

Thursday, November 22

Heavy rain. Drilled with ponchos until 9 A.M. First instructions in boxing under Benny Leonard. Received our first month's pay.

Friday, November 23

On kitchen police for second time. We received two pianos for the company.

Saturday, November 24

Up at 5 A.M. Left camp on the 7:30 train and arrived home about 10:20. In the afternoon I attended the football game with Bernie Evans between Camps Upton and Devens. Devens won 7 to 0. In the evening I attended a dance at the Regina Mansion given by Charlie's club. Herm Linde and Frances arrived about 1 A.M. and we all went home together. I had a very pleasant evening and got home about 3 A.M. 4th furlough

Sunday, November 25, Monday, November 26

Up at about 12:00 noon. Went over to Joe's house about 2:30 P.M. with Mac and the three of us took in an afternoon social and dance at the Sonia. Had a nice time and left them about 6:45 with two young ladies we met there. Arrived home in time to go to theatre. Took in the show with mother at the 44th St. Theatre for the benefit of the 307th Infantry. We enjoyed the show immediately and got home about 11:30. I took Mother home with the intention of making the 1 o'clock special from Flatbush Ave. But when Mac and I got there I learned that the 1 A.M. special left from Penn. Terminal only. I did not allow Mac to wait with me at that hour, but I naturally waited for the next train which left Flatbush Ave. at 2:59 A.M. We arrived in camp about 6:05 after a very restless journey. I missed reveille but had no trouble being excused. Drilled all

morning during the coldest weather we have had in camp. Also drilled in the afternoon. In the evening, school.

Tuesday, November 27

In the morning the entire company carted firewood from the woods. In the afternoon we gave an exhibition of trench warfare. Gen. Johnson and a number of officers were on the scene and we were praised highly for it. No school this evening. There was a perfect cross in the moon.

Wednesday, November 28

Our first snowstorm in camp. Drilled until 8:30 A.M. Then medical inspection. Talk by Lieut. Weil on the training camp to open in Jan. To those who made application. Off in the afternoon.

Thursday, November 29

Thanksgiving Day. Did not get pass to go home. A perfect day in camp. Menu for dinner: soup, roast turkey, mashed potatoes, celery, dressing, pudding, applesauce, fruit and nuts, coffee. A wonderful meal; also stewed corn and mince pie. Had so much dinner, could not eat any supper.

Friday, November 30

Up at 12 midnight until 2 A.M. on barracks guard. Entire company on fatigue duty until 11 A.M. Mustered in. Regular drill in the afternoon. School in the evening.

Saturday, December 1

Very heavy rain. Did not stand reveille. Had inspection in barracks. Signed the payroll for November. Left camp on the 1:30 train and arrived home about 4 P.M. Invited Joe over to the house and spent the evening with him. 5th Furlough.

Sunday, December 2

Up at 10:30 A.M. In the afternoon went automobiling with Dr. Sisskind and Charlie. Visited Jack Kronheim. Then rode over to N.Y. and met Herm Linde at his office. We all went back to Brooklyn and had supper at the Paris Rotisserie and rode around some more. We then went home and I got ready to leave. Left at 9:30 and made the 10 o'clock train. Was seen off by Mac, Charlie, Linde and Sisskind. Arrived at camp at 12:05. Some cold.

Monday, December 3

Up at 5 A.M. because of target practice on the rifle range for about half of the company. Drilled all day. After retreat entire company under quarantine because of a case of diphtheria detected Sunday. Learned that the company was also quarantined Sunday. Entire company examined by doctor and 14 men sent over to hospital for observation.

Tuesday, December 4

Up again at 5 A.M. Took charge of a gang of men on fatigue in the woods all day. Was notified by the captain in school that there would be no passes issued to go home and no visitors or strangers allowed in the barracks on account of quarantine. Two more men sent to hospital.

Wednesday, December 5

Latrine guard for first time. Three more men sent to hospital. Entertainment in mess hall for men in the company only. Lieutenants and captain also attended.

Thursday, December 6

Drilled all day. At noon Ed Ornauer came to see me.

Friday, December 7

Marks the end of my second month in the army. In the morning was out on fatigue on road construction. In the afternoon, drilled. I was promoted to First Class Private by Capt. Sylvester and still acting corporal. An order was issued that there would be no passes distributed on account of the quarantine.

Saturday, December 8

Marks the beginning of my third month in the camp. Inspection and drill until about 11 A.M. Off the rest of the day. Another snowstorm in the evening which turned into rain. The worst we've had here. Received my chevron. Nobody allowed home on account of quarantine.

Sunday, December 9

Freezing weather. Entire company in camp. Plenty of visitors and a perfect day for Company L. Everybody had a great time in mess hall. Quarantine was lifted.

Monday, December 10

Very cold day. Men designated for rifle range found it too cold to shoot so came back and we were given a lecture by Lieut. Cahill. Thus, the morning went by. About the coldest and windiest day in camp. We drilled until 4 P.M. and were dismissed. In the evening went to school and heard lecture on musketry.

Tuesday, December 11

Called at 3:40 A.M. on barracks guard. I was to be on from 4 to 6 but the first guard did not get up until about 3:15. He was awakened at that time by the second guard to find most of the 12 fires out. The three of us had some exciting time trying to get them started again. We were called before the captain but the first guard confessed and took all the blame. We had medical inspection. Then we hiked around the entire camp all morning. In the afternoon drill. 49 new men in co.

Wednesday, December 12

Another bitter cold day. Drilled all day. Wednesday half holidays discontinued. Off all day Saturday instead after 9 o'clock. Regular Saturday inspection up to that time. I filled my application for Third Training Camp. No school.

Thursday, December 13

Drilled until about 2:30 P.M. Then went out on coal detail and got through about 5:30 P.M. Did not stand retreat. I was detailed as scorer on the rifle range but word came from headquarters not to go on the range.

Friday, December 14

On account of the snow and slush of the previous night, company did not drill outdoors. Lecture by Lieut. Cahill on modern warfare. In the afternoon on snow detail. Lecture by Lieut. Courier. In the evening I attended a concert by N.Y. Symphony Orchestra of 75 pieces at Y.M.C.A. auditorium. Spent a very enjoyable evening.

Saturday, December 15

First Saturday under new regulations, i.e., off from 9 o'clock. Until that time, inspection. Very strict. After inspection I took a walk to Yaphank. Returned to the barracks, took some pictures and lounded around until 4 P.M. Received a pass and made the 5

o'clock train for home and arrived home about 8:15 P.M. 6th time home.

Sunday, December 16

Took trip with Bess and Mac and visited the Slobodiens in Newark. Remained there until about 7 P.M. Abe and Belle returned to Brooklyn with us. We stopped home and Charlie joined us. We took a walk and they saw me off at Flatbush Ave. Station. I took the 11:34 train and arrived in camp about 2:45 A.M. Monday. Heavy snowstorm.

Monday, December 17

Drilled indoors for a couple of hours. Lecture by Lieut. Cahill. Hike to the woods to pick twigs etc. for decorating mess hall. In the afternoon, had a snow fight with the recruits in the trenches. Had a great time, though very cold.

Tuesday, December 18

T.B. medical examination in the morning. In the afternoon on snow detail. Paid off. Received second month's pay.

Wednesday, December 19

On kitchen police. Third time. In the evening I attended the first real show by Co. L held at the Y.M.C.A. Saw Wm. Farmuan in When Nan Sees Red. Enjoyed it very much. Saw it with Henry Muenzer.

Thursday, December 20

Battalion reviewed by Col. Irwin and Major Rich. Saw an exhibition and demonstration of the English War Tank (Caterpillar). The most wonderful piece of machinery I ever saw. In the evening I went over to the Y.M.C.A. and received a package of smokes and goodies given by a Mrs. I. Aaron, 748 Auburn Ave., Buffalo, N.Y. I got up with a severe cold and suffered all day with it.

Friday, December 21

Went out shooting at the rifle range. I hit a Bull's Eye with the first shot I ever fired in my life. I made to more bulls after that and scored 38 out of a possible 50. I found it great sport and enjoyed it very much. I had a restless night with more suffering from the cold. I could hardly talk. I received a package of goodies from Manuel, given by R. L. Stevenson.

Saturday, December 22

Inspection at 7:45 A.M. Very strict. All Gentiles were given first preference to go home for Christmas Holidays. Max Sessler came over to see me. I took some pictures with him and talked things over. My cold is somewhat better.

Sunday, December 23

I left camp on the 9 A.M. train and arrived home about 11:30. Had dinner and took a trip to Fort Slocum to see Mac. Met Bess, Bell, Abe, Rose and her friend there. Learned from Mac that he was assigned to Upton, to go there Tuesday. 7th time home.

Monday, December 24

Lounged around all day and visited Mollie. In the evening Bess and I visited Frances.

Christmas Day

Joe called at the house for me. We had dinner at his sister's. In the afternoon visited the Posners and remained there until about 8:30 P.M. Then returned home and got ready to leave for camp. Was seen off by Lou and left on the 12:09. Arrived in camp at 3:25 A.M. Wednesday.

Wednesday, December 26

Received a Christmas gift from Judge Rathburn (and also a package of eats of all kinds from Bessie Joseph). Regular drill all day. Mac came over to see me but found I was out drilling. In the evening I went over to see him and found him out. Came back and I was told he was over to see me again. Went over to Y.M.C.A. Auditorium and found him there. Attended the concert with him by the N.Y. Philharmonic Orchestra (90 pieces). Enjoyed it very much.

Thursday, December 27

Regular drills all day.

Friday, December 28

Regular drills until 3 P.M. Practiced open warfare. Was assigned a squad of automatic riflemen and did very good work for first time. Dismissed at 3 to clean rifles and prepare for inspection Saturday. In the evening signed the 3rd month's payroll and attended school.

Saturday, December 29

Inspection indoors until 9 A.M. Snowstorm and coldest day yet. Manny came over to see me after dinner and I learned he was not going home over New Year's. Was with him until about 2:30 P.M. I was to go home on the 3 o'clock train but the trains were an hour late so did not leave camp until 4 P.M. It was positively the coldest and awfulest trip I had ever taken. It was so cold that the soldiers tore down all the car ads and started a fire to warm up a little. The train made more stops than ever before and took three hours to reach Jamaica. I arrived home about 7:35 P.M. and took it easy until 11 o'clock when I retired. 8th pass for leave.

Sunday, December 30

Visited Aunt Ida in the afternoon. In the evening, went with Bess and Charlie to France's home and spent the evening there. Another very bitter cold day. Thermometer reached 16 degrees below zero.

Monday, December 31

I went to the Montauk Theatre with Bell, Herm, Frances, Charlie and Bess, and saw Fiske O'Hara in *The Man from Wicklow*. We enjoyed it very much and after the show we tried to get into the Ritz in Brooklyn but found that only those were admitted who had made reservations. We, therefore, went to the Oriental in Chinatown and had a very nice time.

1918**Tuesday, January 1, 1918**

Home from camp for New Year since Saturday. New Year's eve attended the show at the Montauk with Belle, Herm, Linde, Frances, Charlie and Bess. Saw Fiske O'Hara in *The Man from Wicklow* and enjoyed it very much. After the show we went to Chinatown and to the Oriental. We had a nice meal and stayed there until about 1:30 A.M. Frances then dared us to go to her house and we did. About 2:30 Charlie, Bess, Belle and I went home having arranged with Herm to meet him later and go to a party. Charlie and I met Herm about 3:20 A.M. and journeyed to the party which was to last until 11 o'clock, but we were disappointed because there was none. We parted about 5 A.M. and Charlie and I got home about 5:30. Immediately went to bed. I got up at 10:30 A.M. Another bitter cold day. The thermometer reached 14 below zero. Lounged around until after dinner. Then Sam, Bess, Belle

and I went to the show at Kuney's. We saw a very good bill there and after the show we journeyed to New York and saw Belle off. Arrived home about 8 P.M. to get ready to go back to camp. I was seen off by Sam, Bess and Charlie and left on the 9:39 train. Arrived in camp about midnight after riding in a car colder than a refrigerator and standing up all the way from Jamaica.

Wednesday, January 2

Considerably warmer and a rather easy day. No school so visited Mac and spent the evening with him. Received a helmet from Manuel.

Thursday, January 3

Another very cold day. Drilled mostly indoors. In the evening Mac and four of the boys from his company whom I had met at Fort Slocum came over to see me. They waited for me until I got out of school and I entertained them in the mess hall for about an hour.

Friday, January 4

An order that only 25% of the company would be allowed home. Another order that no man in camp would be allowed home. Still another order that seven passes would be issued to those who had a very good reason to go.

Saturday, January 5

Inspection at 9 o'clock. About seven men in the entire company who had very good reasons to go into the city were allowed to go. After inspection went over to Mac's place and spent the morning with him. In the afternoon he came over to see me. We called up home and told Bess to come down to camp with Belle and whoever else would accompany them. Mac and I then looked up Ed Ornauer and Sam Kane and spent the afternoon with them.

Sunday, January 6

I lounged around until about 10:30 A.M. when Mac came over and we went over to the station to meet the visitor's train. We learned that the train was an hour late so we went back for mess. After mess I went back to the station and found that the first train had already pulled in. I waited for the second and could not see anybody I knew so returned to the barracks to find Bess and Sam waiting for me. Mac joined us shortly after. We all had dinner after

which the sport began. We danced, sang and made merry with everybody until retreat. After that we all had supper and the music again struck up. A couple of Mac's friends joined us later in the evening and we sure had one great time. Learned that 8:30 was the last train out we remained with the crowd until about 7:45. Then Mac, O'Neill, Richards and I walked to the station with Bess and Sam and saw them off. This wound up the end of a perfect day and the most enjoyable one I spent in camp so far.

Monday, January 7

We did not stand reveille on account of the terrible rainstorm which lasted all night. We drilled indoors all day and had our first lesson in doing up our pack. In the evening I visited Hennie Muenzer and Max Sessler. The end of my third month in camp.

Tuesday, January 8

This marks the beginning of my fourth month in the army. We drilled outdoors for the first time in a long while.

Wednesday, January 9

I went out on the rifle range and shot for the second time and in spite of the biting wind and cold made a better score than the first time. I shot at 200 yards this time. On the 100 yard line I scored only 38, one less than on the 200 yard line. Score -4-4-4-4-5-3-4-4-4-3= Total 39

Thursday, January 10 - Friday January 11

Gas mask instruction in Co. G mess hall. First time in a long while. Cut with the company studying the trenches and ground to exhibit a battle maneuver Thursday, January 17 before General Johnson, the inspector general of the U.S. Army Engineers and other distinguished officers. Paid off for December. Received pay of 1st class private this time. In the evening I attended a show given under the auspices of our company at the large Y.M.C.A. auditorium. We had 6 vaudeville acts, 3 movies and the 307th Reg. Band played for us. The hall was just jammed and everybody had a wonderful time. The show lasted from 7:30 until about 12:15 and proved about as great a thing as was ever pulled off in camp.

Saturday, January 12

Awful muddy weather on account of the terrible rainstorm during the night. Could not sleep so got up at 5:15 A.M. and began to get ready for inspection. Had inspection at 8 A.M. I received a

pass to go home once more and left camp on the 10:30 train. Had a fairly comfortable trip and arrived home about 1:15 P.M. In the evening Mac and I took a trip to Newark and after spending a few hours with the Slobodiens, Belle joined us and we went to the Kaiserhof Garden (cabaret) where we spent the rest of the evening and had a very nice time. On our way back while waiting for a trolley, a nice large machine pulled up and invited us in. We had a nice ride and were taken back to the Slobodiens. After inviting Belle to Brooklyn Sunday, we left and arrived home about 1:45 P.M.

Sunday, January 13

I got up about 10:30 A.M. and lounged around until about 12:40. I then went over to the Hudson Tubes and met Belle. We came back to Brooklyn and later in the afternoon Dr. Bierman and Frances A. joined us. Towards evening Doc left and Mac, Bell, Frances and I decided to go to Kuney's Theatre. At 6 P.M. Herman Mendes and Herman Linde joined us at the show. Mac and I left about 7 o'clock and went home to get our grips and get ready to go back to camp. We met the rest of the crowd a half hour later in front of the theatre and went to the Paris Rotisserie where we enjoyed a nice dinner. The crowd then took us to the station and saw us off. We made the 8:59 train from Flatbush Ave. and arrived in camp at 11:30 P.M. This was the most enjoyable trip I had had since I've been in camp. The train was nice and warm and we had nice comfortable seats. When I arrived at the barracks I learned that I had been at last officially appointed corporal by Lieut. Col. Smith. Senior corp. of the 4th platoon.

Monday, January 14

I received my corporal's chevrons. At 7 P.M. Co. L had its first night hike. I enjoyed it very much as the night was one of the calmest and nicest we have had for weeks.

Tuesday, January 15

Another one of those terrible rainstorms in the morning. In the afternoon we went out to the trenches to practice the battle maneuver for Thursday. We went through puddles and mud ankle deep and deeper.

Wednesday, January 16

Out at the trenches again practicing the attack for the exhibition tomorrow. While out in the woods I saw a deer run by for the first time. Battalion retreat for second time (Monday was the first) and reviewed by Major Rich. In the evening I had charge of the transfer of F. Shannon (A.W.O.L.) Also non-com in charge of quarters for first time. On from 9 P.M. until midnight. Everything in tip-top order when I retired.

Thursday, January 17

I took charge of quarters all morning while the rest of the company was out at the trenches polishing up the performance for the afternoon. At about 1:30 P.M. I joined the company to perform the exhibiting attack. I took charge of a squad of riflemen. The barrage lifted at about 2:15 and the attack commenced. We had as spectators: Gen. Johnson, the inspecting gen. of the U.S. Army Engineers, and other distinguished officers. There were also hundreds of other troops and civilians watching us. The attack was a great success and we were highly praised for the good work. It marked a famous day for Company L. In the afternoon I took charge of quarters again until 6 P.M. when I was relieved.

Friday, January 18

Gen. Johnson came around and praised the company for the wonderful performance of the previous day. Had medical inspection and was again vaccinated. In the afternoon the entire company had its picture taken. Then we had a battalion review and parade.

Saturday, January 19

Inspection 8 A.M. Visited Manny after inspection. I received a comfort kit from Manuel.

Sunday, January 20

Another weekend in camp. Was disappointed because Bess and others did not come down but had a very nice time in spite of everything.

Monday, January 21

Another biting, bitter cold day. Drilled more this morning than any for a long time. I was chosen for the Bombing and Rifle Grenade School to consist of four courses to last ten days each. I

went to school at 1 P.M. for the first time and found it very interesting. School is from 1 to 3 P.M.

Tuesday, January 22

Heavy snowstorm. It snowed all day. Drilled in the morning and went to school in the afternoon. Instruction by Lieut. Eliot. Retreat at 4 P.M. hereafter.



Figure 3: Forty-eight hour leave, c. 1917. Courtesy of Brookhaven National Laboratory - Camp Upton Historical Collection.

Wednesday, January 23

In charge of orderlies for regimental headquarters. There at 7:30 A.M., 12:30 P.M. and 6:30 P.M. When I returned from headquarters in the morning I took charge of a snow detail. In the afternoon I went to school.

Thursday, January 24

The entire regiment attended the funeral of Lieut. Mitchell of Co. F. In the afternoon went to school and was excused at 2:30 P.M. I joined the company and we had our feet measured for new shoes (which we never got).

Friday, January 25

Drilled in the morning. In the afternoon I was excused from school and was with the company. Ex-Ambassador Gerard came down from Washington and we performed an attack for him and the "movies." This is to complete Mr. Gerard's story, "My Four Years in Germany." I acted as one of Capt. Sylvester's liaison men. Company L again lived up to its reputation and gave a very fine performance.

Saturday, January 26

Very rigid inspection. After inspection went over and visited Mac. Returned for mess and took it easy for the rest of the day.

Sunday, January 27

Another weekend I spent in camp. Went down to the station at 11 A.M. and met Bess and Esther Fendes who came down for the day. We had dinner after which Mac and a number of his friends joined us. We took pictures and as usual had a great time in spite of the bad and snowy weather. We would up the end of a perfect day by seeing Bess and Esther off to the station.

Monday, January 28

Drilled in the morning. Attended bombing school in the afternoon and non-com school in the evening.

Tuesday, January 29

Medical inspection. The doctor informed me that the vaccination proved successful. Special boxing instruction by Lieut. Weil. In the evening Mac came over to see me. I woke up with a cold in the left eye and was troubled with it considerably.

Wednesday, January 30

Drilled in the morning. Attended Bombing School in the afternoon. No non-com school. Signed the payroll in the evening. Eye no better.

Thursday, January 31

Regimental inspection and muster. While playing the game "tossing the dummy" during bayonet drill I met with a slight accident. I got a cut above the right eye by the hook of the dummy's legging. Attended school in the afternoon and evening.

Friday, February 1

Drilled in the morning. Attended school in the afternoon and evening. After school I went over to see Mac and was halted by a sentry who told me that Mac's company is under quarantine on account of measles. The sentry called the corporal of the guard who in turn called out Mac for me. I spoke to him at a distance of six feet. I took charge of the platoon for physical drill and also for musketry. I taught them the silent manual. 20 counts.

Saturday, February 2

Regular inspection and also brigade inspection. Third week I did not get a pass to go home. Cold in eye better. Took it easy all day.

Sunday, February 3

Snow and rain all day. One of the dreariest days I've spent in camp.

Monday, February 4

Very cold. Drilled in the morning. Attended bombing school in the afternoon. After retreat got an inoculation for pneumonia, making the third. In the evening, gas mask instruction from 7 to 8:30 P.M.

Tuesday, February 5

One of the coldest days we've had. Drilled indoors in the morning. In the afternoon attended bombing school. Order to the effect that there will be no school for the remainder of the week. School to resume on Monday. Non-com school from 4 to 5 P.M. An invitation from the Winter Garden for 90 men of the company to attend the show Thursday, February 7. I was one of those chosen to attend. First American transport Tuscania sunk by a submarine. Soldiers lost.

Wednesday, February 6

Considerably warmer. No bombing school. Drilled and was given command of a platoon in close order drill by Lieut. Von Geisen. I was chosen by Lieut. Wile for the try-outs in the boxing contest.

Thursday, February 7

Try-outs for boxing contest. I fought a three round bout with Henderson and was beaten in the first round. The other two were

very even. Left camp on the 5:15 train for the show at the Winter Garden. Capt. Sylvester, Lieut. Wile and Lieut. Timoney were with us. We arrived at Penn Terminal about 8:10. We marched to the theatre and arrived there about 8:35. We missed part of the first act. I had an orchestra seat and enjoyed the show *Doing Our Bit* very much. During intermission I called up home and spoke to Mother, Bess and Lou. We got out of the theatre about eleven, marched back to the station and entrained on the 11:44 train. We arrived in camp at 2:05 A.M. End of my 4th month in the camp.

Friday, February 8

Regimental review. No bombing school. This day marks the beginning of my fifth month in camp. In the afternoon received a second pneumonia inoculation. In the evening I went over to see Mac. His company was still under quarantine.

Saturday, February 9

Inspection. After inspection I went over to see Mac. I received a pass to go home (first one in four weeks). Left camp on the four o'clock train and arrived home about 6:45. Later in the evening Bess and I visited the Posners.

Sunday, February 10

I got up at 10:30 A.M. Made several phone calls and stayed in until 5 P.M. I was invited to dinner by Frances, so I spent the evening there with her, Herm and some friends of theirs. Had a very nice time and left about nine o'clock. Went home and got ready to leave for camp. I left Flatbush Ave. Station on the 10:29 train and was seen off by Charlie and Lou. After a nice comfortable trip I arrived in camp at 1:05 A.M.

Monday, February 11

Another nice, warm day. Drilled in the morning. No bombing school in the afternoon because the company went to the rifle range to shoot. Took it easy. After mess I went over to see Mac and found the quarantine time had been lifted. I returned for non-com school.

Tuesday, February 12

Lincoln's birthday.

In the morning I had a 2 mile run with Lieut. Wile and kept right up with him. Battalion march and drill. In the afternoon I attended bombing school. After retreat we had non-com school and

Lieut. Wile gave us a lecture on the automatic rifle. In the evening I witnessed the rest of the preliminary boxing bouts. Saw some very good boxing.

Wednesday, February 13

Real summer weather. Another battalion march in the morning. In the afternoon company went to the rifle range. Therefore no bombing school.

Thursday, February 14

Medical inspection. I went with the company to gas house to go through the gas test but had a defective mask so had to postpone it. Returned to the barracks and took it easy. In the afternoon I went to bombing school and witnessed the making and throwing of improvised grenades. First time I ever saw live grenades go off. Received the third pneumonia inoculation. Also received our packs.

Friday, February 15

Instruction in making up our packs. In the afternoon we went out for the first time with our packs and were reviewed by Asst. Secretary of War Crowell who was in camp. Paid off for January. No bombing school on account of review. Battalion march.

Saturday, February 16

Regular inspection. After inspection Mac and Rich came over to see me. I took a road run with Lieut. Wile. We ran about 2 ½ miles. Another weekend in camp.

Sunday, February 17

The company did not have to stand reveille and we were allowed to sleep until 7 o'clock. I expected Bess down so went down to the station to meet her but I was disappointed. I returned to the barracks and had mess. I was lounging around when about 1:30 P.M. Jack Lind came up and told me Ray Joseph and his sister came down to see me. It was a great surprise to me and I was more than glad to see them. I had dinner served to them and later Mac and Foster joined us. We took a walk and snapped several pictures. About 3 o'clock or so I was again surprised. Max and Stella Sessler also her sister and cousin came down to see me. We took some more pictures and had several dances until retreat. After retreat we all went over to the Y.M.C.A. Hostess House where the Sesslers left

us to make the 6:30 train for New York. The rest of us had supper and returned to the barracks where we remained until 7:45 P.M. Mac, Jack and I then took Ray and Miss Lind to the station and saw them off on the 8:30 train. This wound up the end of an unexpected perfect day.

Monday, February 18

In the morning we took an hour's hike with packs on. At 10:30 we had dinner and went out to the range to shoot at 300 yards. I was a scorer. I also shot and scored 38, thus making a total of 115 on the 100, 200 and 300 yards and qualifying. We returned after retreat. No bombing school.

Tuesday, February 19

Battalion drill in the morning. I went to bombing school in the afternoon, but it was called off on account of an officers meeting. I spent the afternoon at the Y.M.C.A. Heavy downpour of rain all afternoon and evening. After retreat I received the fourth and last pneumonia inoculation. This makes 7 inoculations and 2 vaccinations I received.

Wednesday, February 20

Rain all night. Very muddy out. Drilled indoors. Learned from Lt. Cahill that I would be in the parade.

Thursday, February 21

In the morning made preparations to leave for the parade. I left camp without battalion on the 2 o'clock train. We arrived to N.Y. at 4:10 P.M. and marched to the 71st Regt. Armory where we disposed of our packs and guns. Also received instructions to report to the armory at 11 A.M. Friday for the parade. I arrived home about 6:15. I had supper and went with Charlie to F's home where we met her friend E.M. and spent a very pleasant evening.

Friday, February 22

Washington's birthday. I got up at 8:15 A.M. Got ready and arrived at the armory at 10:40 and joined the company. We were excused until 12:10. We fell in and lined up at about 12:30 P.M. and waited until 1. It started to snow and was coming down pretty hard when just on the minute of 1 o'clock the crowd marched out of the armory. We marched up 34th Street to 8th Avenue, up 8th Ave. to 57th Street, down 57th to 5th Avenue, where we halted to join the rest of the division. It was about 2 o'clock when we resumed

the final march down Fifth Avenue. In spite of the heavy snowstorm the streets were just black with the throngs and there was one continuous cheer from the minute we left the armory until we returned. We turned down 20th Street to 3^d Avenue, up 3^d Avenue to 34th Street then to the armory where we arrived at 3:30. We dried and oiled our rifles and were then excused until Monday 10 A.M. It was a memorable event for the Metropolitan Division as well as for New York City. In the evening Esther joined me for the Military Ball. We arrived at the 7th Reg't Armory where it was held about 9:15 P.M. Later we met Mac and Bess and about 11 o'clock or so we were also joined by Frances and Herman. It was a wonderful affair and the greatest I ever had the pleasure of attending. The crowd was enormous and sitting up in the balcony the sight was most wonderful. The coloring of the evening gowns seemed to blend perfectly with the uniforms of the army and navy and produced a sight beautiful to see. The affair wound up at 1 A.M. and it also would up the end of a perfect day. We then went to the Far East (Chinese restaurant) and enjoyed a very hearty meal. It was about 4:15 when we started to make for home. After seeing Esther home safely I arrived home myself at 5:30 A.M.

Saturday, February 23

Awakened by Mac at 11 o'clock. Got up, had breakfast and went to a matinee with Mac. We saw *Success* at the Harris Theatre and enjoyed it very much. We then did some shopping and returned home about 6 P.M.

Sunday, February 24

Mac and I were invited for dinner at Rae Joseph's and spent a very enjoyable afternoon there. Jack Lind and his sisters joined us. We also spent part of the time with the Linds whom I had met in Philadelphia. In the evening Joe, Gladys, E.S. and I saw the show at the Rialto Theatre. I saw the parade in which I was in on the screen.

Monday, February 25

I got up at 7 A.M. and got ready to leave. I got down to the armory about 9:45. I stayed around until 10:30 when we marched to the station. It was a perfect summer day. We entrained about 11 o'clock and arrived in camp about 2 P.M. We had dinner and were dismissed for the rest of the day. In the evening I went over to Mac's place and we both attended the Purim Festival at the

Y.M.C.A. auditorium. The Rev. Dr. Wise was speaker of the evening and certainly was enjoyed by everybody who heard him. Gen. Johnson was also present.

Tuesday, February 26

I was chosen to attend the Divisional Engineer's school to last two weeks from 7 A.M. until 4 P.M. I attended in the morning for the first time. We started to dig trenches. After dinner we had a company conference and were told to get all our equipment and clothing as we would be going across soon. After the conference I went to bombing school for the last time and took the examination.

Wednesday, February 27

I reported to the engineering school and learned that it was called off until further notice. Had dinner at 10:30 and went out on the rifle range. Acted as scorer and late in the afternoon I was relieved to shoot. At 100 yards I shot 4 bulls eyes out of 5. At six o'clock I was given charge of quarters. My second time at it.

Thursday, February 28

In charge of quarters and about the busiest day I've seen since I've been in camp. I was relieved at 6 o'clock. Jack Lind and Mac came over to see me. Signed the payroll.

Friday, March 1

Drilled in the morning. In the afternoon review of the division by Gov. Whitman but I missed it because I helped equip the rookies. Attended non-com school in the evening.

Saturday, March 2

Inspection 8 o'clock. Went over to see Jack Lind in the afternoon. In the evening Mac, a friend of his and I saw "The Vagabond Prince" at the auditorium. Another week-end in camp.

Sunday, March 3

No reveille and allowed to sleep until 7 o'clock. I went to the station with Mac to meet Belle and Bess but we missed them and found them waiting for us when we returned to the barracks. We took pictures, had dinner and supper at the barracks, took in the orchestra concert at the Y.M.C.A. auditorium and as usual spent a very pleasant day. On account of Belle having to travel to Newark alone they left on the 7:30 train.

Monday, March 4

Commanded platoon during musketry period. Out in the field learning to pitch tents, first lesson. Drilled in the afternoon and attended non-com school in the evening.

Tuesday, March 5

Went out on the rifle range and shot the silhouette target at the 200 and 300 yard ranges shooting 5 rounds on each. I scored 3 and 1 respectively. Returned for dinner and had it easy for the rest of the day. No non-com school.

Wednesday, March 6

Went out and practiced pitching tents again in the morning. In the afternoon we had special bayonet instruction under Lieut. Statler. I found him very instructive and interesting. We received new rifles. No non-com school. I went over to see Jack Lind and from there went to the auditorium and saw the picture Sidney Clott in *The Belgians*. I enjoyed it very much.

Thursday, March 7

Miserable day. Rain, hail, snow and windy. Was supposed to go out on the rifle range but did not go on account of the weather. Another company conference regarding our trip across. Mac came over about 11 A.M. to inform me that he would leave camp Saturday for Raritown, N.J. End of my fifth month in camp.

Friday, March 8

The beginning of my sixth month in Yaphank. I went out on the rifle range at 7 A.M. I had charge of three targets in the pit. At noon dinner was brought out for us. After dinner I joined our company to shoot. We shot rapid fire on the 100, 200, and 300 yard ranges with the new rifles for the first time. I scored 6, 7, 6 respectively. In the evening I went with the company to the auditorium and witnessed the basketball game between the 307 and 308th reg. 308 won. Score 36 - 14.

Saturday, March 9

Inspection at 8 o'clock. Received a week-end pass and left camp on the 9:30 train arriving home about 11:40 A.M. I attended to all business matters and arranged my house in order. About 3 P.M. I went over to New York and stopped to see Herm Linde, Frances and Ethel M. I then returned home again and made a

dinner engagement for Sunday. In the evening I took a trip to Newark and visited the Slobodiens. I met a couple of Brooklyn boys there and a friend of Belle's. We attempted to go out but on account of the rain and miserable weather we turned back and spent the evening indoors. I had a nice time and left with Jacoby and Abramson. We got down to the station at 1:45 and had to wait until 2:30 A.M. for a train. I arrived home about 3:30.

Sunday, March 10

I got up at 9:15 A.M. In the afternoon I journeyed uptown to the Linds to keep my dinner engagement. Rae Joseph joined us after dinner and Jack was also home. We spent a very pleasant afternoon. I left about 5:30 P.M. and returned home to get ready to leave for camp. I was seen off by Bess and Lou and left on the 8 o'clock train. Arrived in camp about 10:30 P.M. Another cold spell and the windiest day we've had in a long time.

Monday, March 11

Dinner at 10:30 A.M. Went out on the rifle range and had charge of a jail detail again. Got back about 5:30 P.M.

Tuesday, March 12

Medical inspection and drill in the morning. While having dinner I was informed that I had been chosen to be gas non-commissioned officer. The course to start Wed. 13. I was proposed by Corp. Russell and approved by Lieut. Cahill. I went over to the auditorium at 4:30 P.M. and saw the picture *Her Boy*. Had supper when I returned at 6:45 P.M. About 75% of the company allowed home on pass, probably for last time. Camp took on appearance of a holiday.

Wednesday, March 13

I attended the Divisional Gas School for first time. Instruction under Lieut. Snyder and an English Sgt. Major. I found it very very interesting. Instruction was from 8:30 to 11:30 A.M. In the afternoon I went over to Mac's company to see him but found he had left for Raritan Monday. Jack Lind came over to see me and presented me with 2 jars of tobacco for Mac and myself from Rae J.

Thursday, March 14

Miserable rainy day. Attended gas school in the morning. Paid off for February. Received a special pass to go home, supposed to be last one. Left on the 4:35 train and arrived home

about 8 P.M. The train went by way of Patchogue which accounted for the delay. Stayed home and made several calls by phone.

Friday, March 15

I was awakened about 9 A.M. by the telephone. R. J. Called up. I had a nice talk with her and bid her good-bye. Went over to N.Y. for tickets to the Knickerbocker Theatre. Went home by way of Williamsburg and stopped into the Berlin. I was about to go up the elevator for the train when I was followed by a nice dog. Instead of riding, I walked home with him. In the evening Charlie, Bess and I went to the show and saw *My Four Years in Germany* by Ambassador Gerard. I enjoyed the show very much and was stirred up more than ever against the Kaiser. We went to a Chinese Restaurant after the show and then went to the station. Lou met us there with a package for me and they saw me off on the 12:30 train. Arrived in camp about 2:30 A.M.

Saturday, March 16

No inspection. Quite a number of the boys did not return (taking an overstay). Place looked deserted. Nothing to do. Went over to see Jack.

Sunday, March 17

One of the nicest days we have had in camp for a long time. I helped to check the clothing of new men who came from Camp Devens. Played ball practically all day.

Monday, March 18

Another real summer's day. Went to gas school but upon arrival there learned that it was postponed until tomorrow. I went to the Y.M.C.A. and wrote some mail and took it easy for the rest of the day.

Tuesday, March 19

I went to gas school and again it was postponed. I spent the morning at the Y.M.C.A. and in the afternoon I checked up the clothing of the new men for Lieut. Wile. In the evening I went to the Liberty Theatre to see the opening performance *Turn to the Right*. Gen. Johnson and a great number of other officers were present and everybody enjoyed the show immensely.

Wednesday, March 20

I attended gas school in the morning and here is a funny thing that happened. We were getting a lecture by Lieut. Snyder and everybody was listening with profound interest. Some of us were taking notes when suddenly a bomb burst right in the center of the room. We were all dumbfounded and did not know what had happened. I personally thought that some Dutchman had entered the room and was the cause of it. But after some seconds somebody hollered, "GAS!" Of course it did not take us long then to realize what had happened and everyone of us had on masks in a jiffy. This was a trick of Tommies in the course of instruction and of course being the first time it happened, we were all taken by surprise. Later in the period some tear gas was tossed over, but the signal was given without the loss of a second. We were out in the woods for about an hour with our masks on. Was issued a beautiful Gillette razor.

Thursday, March 21

I attended gas school and we had a lecture at first. Then we went to the gas house and were taken through the chlorine and tear gas which convinced me that the masks were absolutely gas proof. We were also given a sniff of chloropicrin gas, mustard gas and phosgene gas. We were then taken and shown through a dugout. I find the study more interesting each day. In the afternoon from 1:30 to 2:45 P.M. I delivered the first lecture and gave the first lesson on gas to 56 of the new men. I had Lieut. Chamberlain, several sergeants and corporals present and was very well pleased, this being my first lecture to any audience. They all sat up and took notice. At 7 P.M. I went down to the gas house and there joined the rest of the gas officers. We were then assigned to the trenches and we had a real gas attack launched upon us. It was a rather calm, cloudy night with about a 7 mile wind blowing. Here and there high explosive shells were bursting and every now and then a gas shell would come across No-Man's Land. Of course we were on the alert with our masks and were not caught once. However, there was one shell which came over in our vicinity and exploded rather loudly and fooled me. It was a gas shell containing tear gas and it did not take me long to find it out. My eyes immediately began to get the affect but I got the mask on in time so that I did not suffer much. We occupied the trenches for about 2 hours. At about 9:30 P.M. we were called out and dismissed. This wound up the gas course.

Friday, March 22

I went down to the gas school and returned my gas mask. I then went to the Hostess House and spent the rest of the morning there. Spent the afternoon getting checked up on my clothing.

Saturday, March 23

Had inspection of clothing. I was due for a pass to go home, but through some error my name was left off the list. I went to Lt. Cahill and to the captain and had very little trouble getting a pass though Sgt. Fuchs insisted that there ought to be a non-com left in charge of the platoon. I left camp on the 3:30 train and after a very slow and tiresome trip arrived home about 6:30 P.M. Stayed home for a while. Then Bess and I journeyed uptown and visited the Posners. It was as though I had dropped from heaven when they saw me for they thought that I was already about half way to France and how seasick I must be, etc. etc. After spending a few hours with them, they felt greatly relieved. We arrived home about 1 A.M.

Sunday, March 24

About 8:30 A.M. I was awakened by the ringing of the telephone and upon answering learned to my greatest surprise that it was Dave Joseph who had just arrived from Philadelphia. I invited him over to the house and about a half hour later, sure enough Dave himself and a friend of his were in the same room with me. It was some meeting for both of us, for we had not seen each other for about two years. After talking things over we took a nice walk. Then we returned and had dinner. It was 2:45 P.M. when we parted for Dave as well as I had other appointments. Bess and I then went to Rae Joseph's home where we met Jack and Sadie Lind, Mr. And Mrs. Lind and Mr. And Mrs. Joseph from Philadelphia. We spent a very enjoyable afternoon and evening there and returned home about 8:45 P.M. so that I might get ready to leave for camp. Charlie and Bess saw me off and it was just by luck that I made the right train. My pass was marked to leave Flatbush Ave. On the 11:10 train. This was a mistake for the train was to leave at 11:04. It was 11:05 when I made it and got away with it. We arrived in camp about 1:20 A.M.

Monday, March 25

Still supposed to be attending gas school. I spent the morning and afternoon at the Hostess House reading and writing.

After retreat the 307th regiment had its picture taken at the fire-break. I was therefore with the company.

Tuesday, March 26

Another day of rest for me: still pretending I was attending gas school. Stayed at the Hostess House. In the afternoon went out with Lieut. Cahill and Lt. Timony and practice using the binocular field glasses. In the evening went to the Liberty Theatre and saw *Here Comes the Bride*. I enjoyed it very much.

Wednesday, March 27

Out drilling with the company. First time since I attended gas school. No passes issued for Passover holidays. Most disappointed crowd I ever saw. First Seder night spent at Hostess House. Off until Friday afternoon.

Thursday, March 28

First day of Passover. Did not have to stand reveille or retreat. Having nothing to do, a friend of mine, Harry Pariser, and myself decided to take a walk. It was 7:30 A.M. and a perfect summer's day when we started. We stopped at the little store on the road to the rifle range and supplied ourselves with candy and smokes. We then walked up to the little schoolhouse nearby, but it was closed and nobody there, so we started on our journey again. We stopped at several farms and places of interest and looked around and took some snapshots. We had walked about 6 miles when a machine came along and the chauffeur invited us for a ride. We rode with him to a little town called Coram about 8 miles out of camp. It was now about 11:30 and we were beginning to get hungry so we decided to locate a place to have lunch. We had been very successful thus far in passing all M.P.'s, and right here we expected to get into trouble for we spied a military tent and about 6 or 7 soldiers lounging around. We thought sure it was an M.P. outpost, but upon investigation we learned it was only a Signal Corps wireless station. Of course we were disappointed. We had no trouble making friends with the boys and also a couple of girls who happened to be on the scene. Right opposite this wireless station there was an old uninhabited shack and we thought we would like to explore it which we did. We found there a lot of old rifles and machinery and an ancient motor tricycle. We took a few more pictures and being after 12 o'clock we were now good and hungry. Upon the direction of the signal corps boys, we went to a nearby general store where we had a good hearty lunch and rested

up for a couple of hours. One of the girls we had met was the sister of the proprietress of this store so we had a very pleasant rest for two hours or so. After mailing some souvenir post cards to our friends and feeling well rested, we decided to continue our journey. We walked until 2:30 P.M. when we reached another little town called Selden, about 14 miles out of camp. Here we were attracted by a hot-house and looking into it, we saw a farmer busily engaged thinning out cabbage plants. We were not there a minute when he came out and invited us in. Of course we accepted his kind invitation and talked with him on different agricultural topics. He was very kind and interesting and showed us all around the place. I sure surprised my friend Harry by telling him what the different plants represented and he soon learned that I was somewhat of a farmer myself. It was beautiful to see the different plants sprouting up for you could not help feeling content and happy. At about 2:45 P.M. we bid "Good-bye" to the kind, old gentleman and he wished us Good Luck and if we were still in camp this summer to come and taste the tomatoes and other things those plants could have been. We started homeward bound and were not on the road 5 minutes when a Standard Oil truck came along and invited us on. We rode back to Coram and stopped at the Wireless Station to bid the boys "Farewell." We then resumed our journey and were again invited into a passing machine. In this we rode for about a mile and then got out because it went in a different direction. Again we started to walk but another machine came along (a beautiful car) and we were invited in. There was a lady and gentleman in this car which we learned came from N.J. and they were going to see a chap in Co. K in our regiment. I had never expected we would meet with so much fortune, but we could not complain about that. It was a perfect ride back to camp in spite of the awful roads we had to cover and we enjoyed it immensely. But again we thought we would get into trouble when upon arriving at 5th Ave. We were stopped by an M.P. and were asked for passes. Again fortune was with us and after telling him that we had merely taken a little walk and were on our way back when we were invited into the machine, he let us by. It took us just about 25 minutes to reach the barracks and everybody was standing retreat when this big beautiful car pulled up in front of our company and let us out. This wound up the end of a perfect day and it must have been so from the remarks we heard later. I retired at 9 P.M. rather tired after the day's outing and was fast asleep when at about 12:40 A.M. I was awakened by the barrack guard who seemed to be making as much noise as possible

while attending to the fire. I tried hard to fall asleep but for some reason or other I could not. At about 1 o'clock I heard someone whisper, "Oh, look at the fire!" I looked out of the window and saw flames sky high not far from our barracks. The lights were turned on, everybody was awakened and soon the fire bugle was sounding all over the camp. We formed in the company street and waited for further orders. By this time the entire camp seemed to be out and also lined up. However, there was not much excitement after this for the fire must have gotten under control. We were out about 15 minutes when we were dismissed and told to go back to bed. This time I had no trouble falling asleep and was dead to the world until the bell sounded for reveille.

Friday, March 29

Learned that the K of C hall had burned down so went over to see it. There was not much left to be seen. Off until noon. In the afternoon we had regimental review. In the evening I was given charge of quarters.

Saturday, March 30

In charge of quarters. Relieved at 6 P.M. after the busiest day any non-com ever put in. I attended the movie show with Harry Pariser at the Buffalo auditorium.



Figure 4: Railroad station entrance. Camp Upton. Courtesy of Brookhaven National Laboratory - Camp Upton Historical Collection.

Sunday, March 31

Left camp on the 8 A.M. train on a 12 hour pass. Arrived home about 10:30. In the evening Bess and I went over to Frances's and met a number of her friends there. Spent an hour or so with them and we were about to leave when Herm came along. He walked down to the car with us. I could not stop to talk to him because I had to make the 8:29 train back to camp. Hustled home, bid the folks goodbye and was seen off to the station by Charlie and Bess. After hustling and getting there on time I learned that the next train out was the 8:59 owing to an error on the schedule. Arrived in camp about midnight. My last time home.

Monday, April 1

Still busy checking upon clothing and equipment. We carried our bunks and all outdoors. The barracks looked very much like when I first arrived in camp. The only job I found disgusting. In the afternoon we went out in the woods and did some open order drilling.

Tuesday, April 2

Out on a hike with full pack and equipment for first time. Another busy and disgusting day.

Wednesday, April 3

Told at a company conference to buy all necessities as this would be the last chance. Paid off for March. First time we were paid early.

Thursday, April 4

Another day of anxiety gone. Drilling more than I had done in months. In the evening ushered at the Liberty Theatre with Harry and his brother and saw a movie and vaudeville show. When we returned to the barracks we learned that the order was given to pack up the barrack bags as much as we could.

Friday, April 5

The day arrived at last. We got up at 4:45 A.M. and everybody got busy. We emptied out our bed sacks, packed our bags and made up our packs. We then did away with the bunks and policed up. The place was as clean as though it were just built. We lounged around sitting on the floor and everybody was happy. About 3 P.M. the company was formed for embarkation. There

were about 3 squads missing to bring the company up to full strength and these were sent over from the field artillery. One of these squads was assigned to me and I sure had my hands full. I was responsible for their equipment and packs and had to get them ready to leave with the company. One of the men left his cartridge belt and trench shoes and several other things in his barrack bag which had been taken away, and Lt. Wile asked me to go down to the station to see if I could get those missing articles. I sure was disgusted but stuck right to it and was repaid by finding the bag I was looking for in the car, after upsetting a whole carload of bags. I returned to the barracks and continued getting the men ready.

Saturday, April 6

It was about 1 A.M. when I finished outfitting my squad and another interesting incident happened. One of the men, Peter Durkin, decided at the last minute that he would not leave camp under any circumstances. The captain immediately ordered him placed under arrest and warned him that he would be taken by force. It was hours of restlessness and more anxiety and we were up practically all night. It was about 4:15 A.M. when we finally marched off and bid farewell to Yaphank. The prisoner had to be carried for he actually lay down and refused to move. We entrained and were off about 5:30 A.M. Every man carried 100 rounds of ammunition besides full equipment and the packs felt like pianos after carrying them a while. It was a nice cool night, but the trip was a very uncomfortable one because we rode in steel cars and there was not a bit of steam on. We rode right through to Long Island City arriving there about 7:30 A.M. There we took the ferry and after the 308th regiment joined us we were off once more. The only question on everybody's mind all this time was "where do we go from here." However, we all found out when at about 11 o'clock we arrived at Pier 59 of the White Star Line and saw the steamer that was waiting to take us over. It was about 11:45 when we finally embarked and were assigned to our quarters. It certainly felt good to unslung the packs and get rid of the equipment for we were all tired, sleepy and hungry. We did not fail to do justice to the hard tack we had with us and it tasted fine after that long, tiresome trip. The name of the Steamer was the *Justicia*, an English troop ship of immense size. Our company was assigned to quarters in the 3^d class, but being in charge of a squad, I chose a fairly comfortable place and began to feel right at home. I received instructions from Lt. Chamberlain to have my squad guard the prisoner until further instructions. After having lunch and getting somewhat settled, I

decided to take a nap and rest. The arrangements for sleeping were more or less of a novelty to me. We had hammocks hanging down from the ceiling and it took a little time to get used to these. After a nap of about 2½ hours, I got up and received some cards to mail back to the folks after the safe arrival to our destination. At 6 o'clock we had our first regular meal aboard ship. I then took it easy until about 8:30 P.M. when I climbed into my hammock to retire. I was just about dozing when Lt. Chamberlain came around looking for me and informed me that the prisoner was to be placed in the guard house. This we did and then I lost no time going back to bed.

Sunday, April 7

I got up at 6:30 A.M. and was greatly surprised to learn that we were still in port. However, about a half hour later the *Justicia* pulled out and we left the States. We had breakfast, went upon deck and took in the scenery until we were out of sight of land. We took some snapshots and lounged around until the company was assembled on deck. We were then issued our life preservers and instructed to wear them at all times and be prepared for the worse. After dinner Harry and I took a walk and explored the ship. It seemed funny to see everybody with the life belts on (chest protectors as some called them). We looked up Jack Lind and Harry's brother and after some walking around found them.

Editor's Note: Oscar Ostrow saw action as a member of the 77th Division, 307th Battalion, Company L, 4th Platoon during the Meuse-Argonne Campaign.

One year and one month later - 1919 Ostrow Returns Home From The War

Wednesday, May 7

Up at 8 A.M. after a good night's rest. At 10:15 found me at the armory again. We had lunch at 11:30 and after a thorough police up, we left the armory about 1 P.M. in a terrible rain. We again hiked to 157th St. Station, and going to Penn Terminal we all thought we would take the train here for Upton. But instead we hiked all the way to 34th St. Ferry and after waiting all afternoon, about 6 P.M. we finally crossed to Long Island City. Then after 2 hours or so more of waiting, our train arrived and we were off for Camp Upton. We arrived there about 10:45 P.M. and after another

treat of smokes and eats from the different organizations, we hiked to barracks at 14th St. And 3rd Ave. They had supper waiting for us and immediately afterwards, most of the boys turned in, for it certainly was another tiresome day. I, too, was about to go to bed, but word came up to go and get paid, and that got everybody up though they would rather have rested and slept. I finally got to bed about 1 A.M.

Thursday, May 8

The same old Camp Upton we left over a year ago. Right after breakfast the entire battalion marched over to the Y auditorium and after singing a number of songs which woke up those who had not been awake, we listened to a number of lectures on jobs, insurance, compensation, re-enlistment, etc. One of the lectures informed us and emphasized that if anyone had incurred a wound or injury which was bothering him or might bother him, to state so on the form we had made out and that it would not hold up anybody's discharge. I had filled said form out but surmising that it would hold me up I stated there was nothing wrong with me. However, upon this officer's advice and being told it would not hold me up, I changed my statement and related my ear trouble. We then went for our final physical examination and sure enough I was out of luck. They got me. In spite of all my arguing and pleading that I did not want to remain and that I had been misled as a number of others, my transfer to the hospital was made out and I would go there tomorrow. I saw Capt. Chamberlin, but there was nothing that could be done for me. In the afternoon we turned in our ordnance and equipment.

Friday, May 9

About noon I bid the bunch good-bye as they left for home and I was left behind. I reported to the camp personnel office only to be more discouraged and disappointed. There was such a rush there that they did not know one record from another. Now, being unassigned I had no place to go or to eat. I went to Acker Merrills and had dinner there. Then after hanging around and looking for my record until 3 o'clock, I finally found it in spite of strenuous objection by the field clerks. I got a jitney to take me down to the hospital and argued again that I did not belong there. But I was told I would have to go through the regular routine in order to keep my record straight and I was assigned as a patient to Ward 5 for ear treatment. Here I discovered one fine place in the army at last. The quarters, eats, service and everything were the best I had ever had,

but the fact was, it was too near home. I met Ed Horning, Hughie's brother, in the mess hall and in the evening we saw a movie show in the Red Cross. Even the Red Cross hut was the nicest and best equipped I had ever been in. I enjoyed the show very much.

Saturday, May 10

In the morning I was transferred from Ward 5 to 8. I began to feel that if they kept me there long, I too, would begin to think I was really sick. In the afternoon I was taken to the Ear Clinic and there the history of my case was again taken and I was examined. I asked for a pass to go home, but it was refused on the ground that I would be discharged from the hospital by Monday if I remained. That suited me and I called up home and informed the folks of my hard luck story. This, because I would not be able to attend the Welcome Home affair Mu Sigma was holding Sunday. In the evening I again attended and enjoyed a show at the Red Cross, movie and vaudeville this time.

Sunday, May 11

Nothing unusual happened except that I was informed to be ready to leave the hospital tomorrow at 7 A.M. In the evening I saw another movie show at the Red Cross Hut.

Monday, May 12

I was called at 5 A.M. to get ready to move. I had breakfast and left the hospital about 8 o'clock. An ambulance took us to the convalescent center. Here my history was again taken and I was again examined and recommended for treatment at the hospital. But after explaining that I had just been discharged from the hospital and that they could do nothing for me there, I was told to go back and get a statement to that effect, which I did. I was then assigned to Detachment A. About 11 o'clock a chap came around and informed me that there was a young lady looking for me. I lost no time to see who it was and was gladly surprised by sister Bess herself. She came to find out what was wrong and why I was being held, and I explained everything. She left me with an invitation for her wedding Sunday and urged me not to fail to be home for it. I took her to Acker Merrills where we enjoyed a nice dinner, and while there, Capt. Chamberlin came along and asked how I was making out. I explained and he told me he would send a letter to the detachment commander so as to hasten my discharge. He also urged me not to fail to come into the city Thursday so as to attend

the affairs at the Pennsylvania and at the McAlpin. I promised I would be there. After dinner I took Bess to the Hostess House and we remained there until about 3:30 P.M. I then called a taxi and went to the Upton Road Station from which Bess left on the 3:56 train. In the evening, I attended a movie at the Buffalo Auditorium.

Tuesday, May 13

Quite a change after being at the hospital and sleeping between white sheets and here on the plain old spring. I got up about 8 o'clock and had breakfast at the Hostess House. Quite a number were transferred for discharge but I was not included so I went to the officer in charge and he told me I would go out with a bunch tomorrow.

Wednesday, May 14

After waiting until about 2:30 P.M. I learned there would be no more transfers until further notice. So in order to make sure I would be in for the affairs I had on hand, I decided to go AWOL. In order to avoid the MP's, I cut through the woods around the Upton MP's, I had no trouble getting a lift in a machine which took me to Bayshore. Here I took the next train out which left at 5:41 P.M. and brought me home about 8 o'clock surprising everybody.

Thursday, May 15

I got up about 10 A.M. and took it easy until Sam came over to the house. Then we went to New York to get my full dress suit and other necessities for the wedding. We enjoyed a nice dinner in a restaurant, got through our shopping and returned home about 4:30 P.M. In the evening I took Bess to the Welcome Home party given by the family unit to the boys of Company L at the Hotel Pennsylvania. Besides a great number of acquaintances I made, I met the Parisers who had been wanting to see me for the longest while and I spent most of the evening with them. The affair was one that will never be forgotten by those who attended. After a little talk by Lt. Wile, thanking those who helped make the affair a success, everybody enjoyed a most interesting vaudeville program. Besides, we had dancing and refreshments, smokes, a company picture and company roster given to everybody. In fact, the

committee could not do enough for us and when at 1:30 the band played Home Sweet Home, everybody was satisfied that not another outfit in the A.E.F. had been given the reception given to us. Bess and I arrived home about 2:15 A.M.

Friday, May 16

I got up about 11 o'clock and rested up for another big time tonight. 8:30 P.M. found me at the Hotel McAlpin attending the Company Reunion and Dinner. During the entire meal we were entertained by some real jazz music and a wonderful cabaret program. Then followed the speeches with Lt. Wile again as toastmaster. We first listened to a very interesting talk by Dr. Rainsford, Capt. Rainsford's father. Then we enjoyed little incidents related by the other officers and some of the men; incidents that occurred in France and way back in the days of Camp Upton. This proved to be another occasion that would long be remembered and it was decided that such reunions be held semi-annually or at least annually. It was about 1 o'clock when the crowd began to disperse. After making the rounds and bidding the bunch good-bye, I arrived home about 2:15 A.M.

Saturday, May 17

I got up about 10:30 A.M. In the afternoon I received a glad surprise from Dave Joseph who called up and later came over to the house. We spent the afternoon together and in the evening we visited the Joseph's and Lind's on the parkway. Spent a very enjoyable evening as it was the first time I saw them since I returned. Dave remained at Rae's and I returned home about 1 A.M. Another surprise: I found Charlie home from Camp Dix and in my bed.

Sunday, May 18

Up again about 10:30 and after breakfast took a run over to Dave's. Jack also joined us and we took a walk with the girls and took a few snapshots. I returned home in time to get ready for the wedding and for the first time in 19 months, I became a civilian. We left the house about 5:30 P.M. and went by taxi to the Rusurban where the affair was held. A number of the fraternity boys attended besides Dave and Jack and Harry Smolin and Itz Feinstein of the company. I was rather disappointed with the way things turned out so was not sorry when it was over. We returned home about 2:30 A.M.

Monday, May 19

I got up about 10:30 A.M. and nothing unusual happened, except that in the evening Mac and I went to New York and we met Frances and Della. We all took a walk across the bridge and snapped some pictures. We then walked to the Montauk Theatre and Dell got a couple of tickets for the show after which we put the girls on the car and returned home. I had supper and hung around until it was time for me to make the 11:44 train for camp from Flatbush Ave. So after about 5 days leave, I arrived in camp about 1:55 A.M. Upon returning to the barracks, I was again surprised by finding the place all cleaned out and myself the only one there. The bunks were all piled up neatly in a corner. I took one, set it up and decided to remain here for the rest of the night. Being without any blankets or anything else other than my slicker, I used it to cover myself and spent the worst night since my return from France.

Tuesday, May 20

If ever I was glad to hear reveille, it was this morning. I found out that Detachment A had moved to another barrack so I reported there and made myself a little more comfortable. In the afternoon I stood retreat with the intention of answering roll call and reporting back but there was no roll call so I reported back in the orderly room. There was nothing said other than that had I been around, I would have been sent with the rest of the crowd. Now I would have to wait until called again. A report came around that the entire Convalescent Center was going to move to the Base Hospital tomorrow.

Wednesday, May 21

After dinner we were told to get our things together and get ready to move and before we knew it we were off. We reached the hospital just in time to avoid an awful shower, and after hanging around for an hour or more, we were told to move into K wards. I got myself a bunk and found a place in K 7. We were then issued blankets and bed ticks and were allowed to fill up the ticks with straws. Of course the quarters and everything were better here and

more comfortable than in the other place. I had my history and pedigree taken again and I knew less than ever as to when I was going to get out for good.

Thursday, May 22, Friday, May 23

Nothing unusual happened and if ever I was tired and disgusted of hanging around doing nothing, it was these two days. If I did not get out soon, I was tempted to do most anything.

Saturday, May 24

In the morning the crowd was checked up and I learned that no passes would be issued, so I just made up my mind to go anyway and I was soon on my way to the city. I invited one of the other boys with me so I had company. We cut through the woods again and when we were clear of the MP's, we got out on the road and managed to get a jitney to take us to Patchogue. Here another car took us to Sayville where the party insisted on us having a drink with them. Then we were lucky enough to meet a beautiful machine which took us all the way to Brooklyn. It certainly was an enjoyable trip and I arrived home at 3:30 P.M. In the evening I attended Jack Lind's welcome home party and had another big time. I returned home about 2:30 A.M.

Sunday, May 25

I got up about 10 A.M. In the afternoon, Bess, Sam and I went uptown and visited Mollie and Leon. We spent a quiet afternoon and we waited until Dad and Mother arrived so that I could bid Mother good-bye as I would not see her again until she returned from Mt. Clemens. In the evening I attended a Mu Sigma banquet at Rockville Terrace, given to celebrate the anniversary of the frat, and in honor of the boys who returned from overseas. I spent a very enjoyable evening until about 11:15 P.M. when I bid the bunch good-bye and left to make my train for camp. I left on the 11:44 from Flatbush Ave. After changing trains at Jamaica, some MP's came around collecting passes and I thought sure this time I was going to get in dutch. But an idea suddenly came to me like a flash and I decided to carry it out. I told the MP that I had forgotten my pass in my slicker although I had my slicker right with

me in my grip. When he asked my name and station, I gave him a fake name and told him I was at the Base Hospital instead of the Con. Center. And I got away with it although a little uneasy at first. I arrived in camp about 2 A.M. and went by jitney to my quarters.

Monday, May 26

Some more moving around. I was transferred from Ward K 7 to Ward K 9. In the evening, I attended a dance at the Red Cross Hut where girls from Patchogue and neighboring towns gathered and entertained the boys. Thus breaking up the monotony, I spent a very enjoyable evening. The dance lasted until 11:15 P.M.

Tuesday, May 27

I was recommended for duty and upon examination I passed O.K. Informed that I would be discharged from the Con. Center tomorrow. In the evening I took in the vaudeville show at the Red Cross.

Wednesday, May 28

The order for moving was postponed and I had to spend another monotonous day at the Con. Center. The evening found me enjoying another show at the Red Cross. Some fast life!

Thursday, May 29

At last we were ordered to get ready to move and about 8 A.M. we were taken by ambulance to the discharge center. I was assigned to Detachment 4.

Friday, May 30

Decoration Day. I went up for the final examination and went through the same red tape as when the company was discharged, viz. lectures on re-enlisting, employment, etc. etc. This time I said nothing about my ear trouble and passed O.K. I was told that we might be sent out by noon, so I got ready, but nothing doing. In the evening I attended the Sabbath services at the Jewish Welfare Board.

Saturday, May 31

At last the most longed for and welcome day arrived. About 8 o'clock we were lined up and marched over to the quartermaster's. Here after waiting about 2 hours, my turn came and I received my pay and sixty dollars bonus. We then went to the station and upon purchasing our tickets, we were given our

discharge. At 10:45 the train pulled out and once more Camp Upton was only a dream and I was homeward bound for good. I arrived home about 1:30 P.M. What a grand and glorious feeling!



Figure 5: Oscar Ostrow in full uniform, 1919 (est.)

**A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE NASSAU HUB:
THE EVOLUTION OF AN OLD LINE SUBURB**

By Bill Jensen and Seth Forman

In October 2003, Nassau County Executive Thomas Suozzi issued a draft Major Investment Study for the area of central Nassau County known as the "Nassau Hub." The Nassau Hub is one of the major aggregations of educational, retail commercial, office commercial, and industrial land uses in the United States. Within Nassau County it is the major employment and shopping area: its 14.8 million square feet of commercial and office space make it twice as large as the next largest employment center on Long Island. The area has been suffering from severe traffic congestion for more than a decade and Suozzi's report made the case that, with his plan for increased development, it will be the first area of Long Island with enough density and mixed land use to make a substantial public transportation system feasible. Suozzi's effort came on the heels of a 1998 Long Island Regional Planning Board study, which sought to improve transportation efficiency and economic development potential in the Hub area. The following article explores how the Hub area developed in the postwar decades and discusses the economic, political, and social forces that have thus far prevented the long anticipated transformation of the area.¹

The Hub area is the center of economic and cultural activity in Nassau County. While the bulk of the 2.9 square mile area is located in the Town of Hempstead, the northern edge of the Hub borders the Town of North Hempstead and the Village of Westbury. Within this area, the main line of the Long Island Rail Road provides service from Suffolk County to New York City with stops at Westbury, Carle Place and further west at Mineola. The area is principally accessed by road via the Meadowbrook State Parkway, which transverses its core. Peninsula Boulevard, just west of the Hub, links the Hub to the densely populated area of the southwest of Nassau County. The Meadowbrook connects with the Northern and Southern State Parkways, providing road access east, west, and south of the Hub for private passenger vehicles. The Long Island Expressway is located slightly north and accommodates commercial truck traffic. The Hub area is located in close proximity to other, smaller commercial and employment centers, including the Villages of Hempstead and Garden City, and the county governmental center in Mineola. Eisenhower Park separates the Hub from predominantly residential communities to the east.²

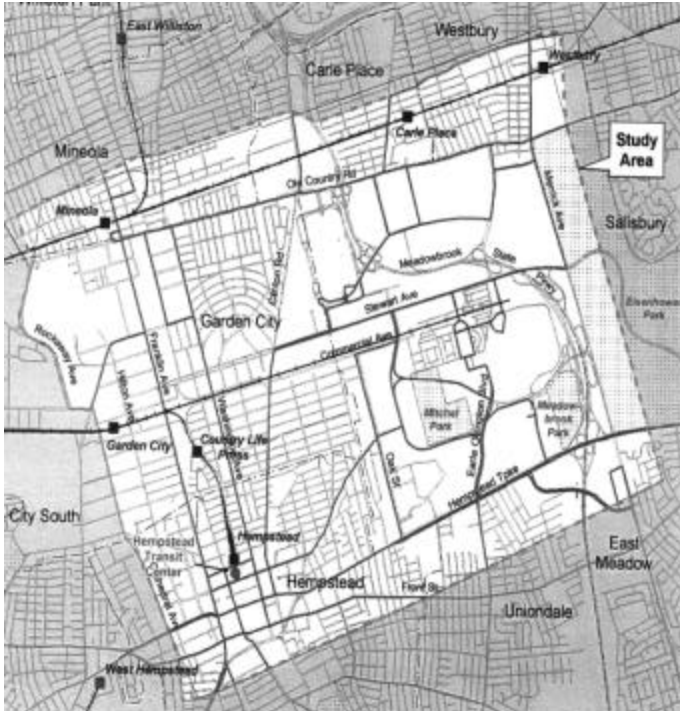


Figure 1: Nassau Hub Area – 2003.

With its central location and easy access to primary and secondary arterial roads, the Hub area developed in the normal pattern of the post-World War II Long Island suburbs. Growth was rapid and largely generated by individual private investment decisions and federal government policies. Private, single family residential subdivisions proliferated, resulting in low density housing throughout the area. Local governmental land use decisions were uncoordinated, reflecting the fragmented nature of municipal government in New York State. Governmental jurisdictions serving the Hub area include Nassau County, the Town of Hempstead, the Village of Garden City, the Uniondale School and Library districts, the Roosevelt Field Water District, County Sewer District Three, the Town of Hempstead Refuse and Garbage District, the Nassau County Police Department, and the Westbury, Uniondale, and East Meadow Fire Districts. Weak zoning policies led to suburban sprawl and homogenous subdivisions. “Through the 1950s, zoning was archaic, planning was virtually nonexistent and developers could do what they wanted,” recalled Lee Koppelman, Executive Director

of the Long Island Regional Planning Board. By the early 1960s, there were at least one thousand subdivisions.³

As in other regions characterized by low-density development, private automobiles became the predominant form of transportation on Long Island. As one historian has described postwar suburban development in places like Nassau County, “unfettered freeway building displaced thousands, upset political balances, and facilitated suburbanization and sprawl, with attendant automobile dependency.”⁴

Recently, additional development of private housing combined with increasing affluence has led to greater automobile use. Automobile registrations on Long Island grew by nineteen percent between 1980 and 2000, more than three times the rate of population growth. In 2000, there were 2.3 cars for every household on Long Island. The increased use of automobiles as the primary mode of transportation has outpaced the capacity of the existing road system and resulted in increasing traffic congestion. Between 1990 and 2000 average commuting times increased for Nassau county residents from thirty-five to thirty-seven minutes, and from thirty-one to thirty-three minutes for Suffolk residents. While the percentage of the Long Island workforce that commutes to New York City remained stable at twenty-three percent in the 1990s, the number of people commuting over an hour to work rose by 1.6 percentage points and those commuting less than forty-five minutes declined by 3.3 percentage points.⁵

Although it did not work out that way, it is conceivable that the Hub could have been a logically planned super center with a variety of transportation options. In 1950 the Hub was a large, open area of undeveloped real estate, which might have been turned into the centerpiece of what was becoming the most populous suburb in the nation. Instead, it was chopped up into tiny bits, forcing everyone who has to drive to it, around it and in it to fall into an endless web of traffic delays. American servicemen returning from World War II bought new, ranch style homes in Nassau’s suburbs, forming the foundation of the new market for household appliances and other consumer goods that fueled the economic boom of the postwar decades. In front of their new Levittown homes sat shiny new cars, equipped with large trunks suitable for the kind of shopping necessary for the upkeep of single-family homes. Unlike the outer borough enclaves of Brooklyn and Queens, where city buses and subways carried shoppers to and from centrally located downtown stores, Nassau housewives required cars to drive to new suburban malls and shopping centers, which quickly led to the need for major road construction.

The great air war of World War II had forced a halt to private, recreational flying, and left the Roosevelt Field airstrip barren for several

years. The Roosevelt Field airstrip was united with Curtiss Field in 1929 to form the largest recreational aviation facility in the world. According to Joshua Stoff, curator of Nassau County's Cradle of Aviation Museum, as many as 10,000 spectators would jam the roads to Roosevelt Field to watch the aerial antics of the early fliers.⁶ By 1951, however, the airstrip had closed and developers began carving it up. The Jones Beach State Parkway Authority was granted forty-eight acres of the former airfield in order to construct a north-south connection between the Southern and Northern State Parkways. The new Meadowbrook Parkway sliced the old Roosevelt Field airstrip in two, but a convenient exit to the new Roosevelt Field Shopping Mall, which opened in 1956, was incorporated into the roadway. Roosevelt Field's stores were close together, with park benches between them, but the open-air mall lost money for several years. Once it was enclosed in 1968, the mall at Roosevelt Field started to form its reputation as the region's hub. In the mid-1990s a renovation added a second floor and some glitz, and today the mall ranks as one of the top malls nationally in sales and size.⁷

Geographically the mall at Roosevelt Field was only a tiny part of the Hub area. The Mitchel Field Air Force Base in Garden City began to feel pressure to close just as the mall at Roosevelt Field was beginning to flourish. As the largest air base within a fifty-mile radius of New York City, the 1,117 acre complex at Mitchel Field once served as downtown New York's aviation shield. The Field was named after John Purroy Mitchel, a Progressive era reform candidate who became the youngest mayor of New York in 1913 at age thirty-five. Mitchel served in the Army Signal Corps during World War I, but perished in a training mishap in 1918. The airfield was named for him shortly after his death. In the early 1950s Mitchel Field encroached on surrounding neighborhoods as planes got bigger and runways were lengthened. When the United States Air Force began pressing for a jet runway at Mitchel Field in 1955, Robert Moses fought it, calling the airport a "menace" to his suburban dream. The government shut down Mitchel Field in 1961 after a heated battle.⁸

Ideas for the vacant lot in Mineola abounded. Nassau County Executive A. Holly Patterson told *Newsday* at the time that "coupled with the adjoining Roosevelt Field industrial area, the Mitchel property would give Nassau County the largest light industrial area in the world." The year the airstrip at Mitchel Field closed, Robert Moses proposed to build an industrial complex. A few years later, the administration of Eugene Nickerson conceived a suburban Lincoln Center, a monorail, housing and other projects. The U. S. Veteran's Administration considered erecting a large hospital on the Field, which the government still owned. One plan called for 10,000 apartments. Ultimately, political resistance derailed

many of these proposals, and most of the property was made available to Nassau County for public purposes.⁹

Three major projects put forth by Nassau County for the expanse of prime real estate were given serious consideration in the 1960s. The first was the expansion of Hofstra University, which was becoming crowded on its campus located on the south side of Hempstead Turnpike. The second was the construction of a new campus for Nassau Community College (NCC), then housed in the recently built county courthouse in Mineola and in rented classrooms at Mineola High School. These two projects were attractive to local officials because the federal government's General Services Administration could deed the government owned land for educational purposes at fifty percent or less of its value. The third and most ambitious project was a civic center, which was to be named the John F. Kennedy Educational, Civic and Cultural Center in honor of the recently deceased president. Plans for the civic center included a coliseum, concert hall, library, museum and planetarium.¹⁰

Nassau County Community College was relocated to the northeast corner of the Field, where the Air Force administration buildings and barracks were quickly renovated into classrooms. Hofstra University tripled the size of its campus, and utilized the southwest corner of the property by constructing dormitories, a student center, athletic facilities and other buildings. The most dynamic part of the three-pronged plan, however, the comprehensive civic center, never came to fruition, as only the Nassau Coliseum was eventually constructed on the site. Today Mitchel Field is an uncoordinated maze of higher education towers and disparate office buildings. An important planning opportunity was lost to bureaucratic and political exigencies when Roosevelt and Mitchel Fields were subdivided in such a haphazard manner.¹¹

After the construction of the colleges and the mall, an abandoned auto racing track between the old Roosevelt and Mitchel properties was developed as a harness horseracing track. A large movie theater was built along the south side of Old Country Road, in addition to the Rusty Scupper restaurant, the Island Inn hotel, and Fortunoff's and Ohrbach's department stores. All these structures (except Fortunoff's) were torn down in the late 1980s to make way for the Price Club plaza and The Source Mall. The harness race track was torn down in 2000. In its former parking lot and stable area now sit another large movie theater, department and home improvement stores, and several eateries. There are also plans for a senior housing complex.

While achieved in a haphazard fashion, the development of the giant stretch of the Hempstead Plains signified a historical turning point in the maturation of Nassau County. The changes led to the construction of the

Nassau Veteran's Memorial Coliseum and the New York Islander's Stanley Cup dynasty, and transformed Hofstra University from a small local college into an institution with international standing. Development in the Hub area gave Long Island residents a major shopping mall, and more recently, the Museums at Mitchel Center (including the Long Island Children's Museum and the Cradle of Aviation Museum). So it is with considerable irony that the Nassau Hub has once again come to resemble a reflecting pool for all the problems aging suburbs now face: traffic congestion, inflated housing costs, fragmented land use decisions, and a bevy of on-ramps, turn-offs, and parking lots.

In his monumental study of master planner Robert Moses *The Power Broker*, Robert Caro identified the lack of public transportation as one of Long Island's great scourges, "a problem to which a solution . . . lies only in a future distant enough so that sufficiently large areas of Long Island will have density high enough so that putting mass transit lines through them will make a difference in the Island's transportation picture. That day, in 1974, seems decades -- generations -- away." Exactly three decades after Caro wrote these words the long sought after density may be just around the corner. Nassau County's population exceeded 1.3 million in 2003 and traffic volume in the Hub area averages roughly 500,000 daily trips.¹²

The potential for further development -- perhaps including a new sports and entertainment coliseum, the building out of the former Roosevelt Raceway, additional office buildings, more museums on what has been dubbed "museum row," and the more intensive use of existing warehouse space -- might bring density levels to the tipping point at which mass transportation becomes viable.

The challenges that have prevented mass transportation solutions in the past still exist, however. Of major concern is the myriad number of governmental units and communities located in and around the Hub area, some with the ability to control land use and a multiple levels of conflicting interests. In the Hub, any policy decisions must include consent from the independent villages of Garden City, Hempstead, Mineola and Westbury, the Town of North Hempstead and the Town of Hempstead, and the communities of Carle Place, New Cassel, East Garden City, Salisbury, East Meadow and Uniondale.

Even if all of these entities can agree on a new plan for mass transportation, the bigger challenge appears to be what it always has been: the unwillingness of people who live, work, and visit the Hub area to use mass transportation instead of automobiles. These preferences are not by any means irrational. A 2003 study by economists Edward Glaeser and Matthew Kahn of the National Bureau of Economic Research found that even in the most densely populated metropolitan areas, cars offer

tremendous time saving advantages for commuters. The study found that the average public transportation trip takes almost twice as long as the average trip made using the automobile, primarily because of the “fixed time costs” of getting to and from pick up and drop off points (between sixteen to twenty minutes.).¹³ Even Hub area workers, potentially the primary users of a Hub mass transit system, might reasonably find automobiles more appealing than mass transit. Second jobs, familial obligations, and educational opportunities often require flexible transportation alternatives.

The political and economic incentives for continued reliance on the automobile in the Hub area are as prevalent today as they were in the postwar decades. Successful implementation of a mass transportation alternative will not happen by limiting people’s choices or ignoring their preferences. Strong political leadership to coordinate land use decisions in the Hub area, and a more efficient, technologically advanced mass transit system that increases flexibility and transportation choices for workers are the necessary ingredients.

NOTES

¹ Nassau County Planning Commission, *Nassau Hub Major Investment Study: Working Draft* (Mineola, New York: 2003); Long Island Regional Planning Board, *Nassau Hub Study* (Hauppauge, New York: 1998); *Mitchel Field Final Generic Environmental Impact Statement* (Hempstead, New York: 1984); Nassau County Planning Commission, *Nassau Center* (Mineola, New York: 1966).

² *Nassau Hub Major Investment Study*, 1; David Behrens, “The New Frontier,” *Newsday*, www.newsday.com/extras/lihistory/8/hs801a.htm Accessed October 24, 2003.

³ Behrens.

⁴ Martha J. Bianco, “Mumford Versus Moses: Paradigms of Growth in Portland Oregon,” [paper online] Society for American and Regional Planning History Conference (originally published in Knoxville: TN, October 14, 1995, available www.upa.pdx.edu/~martha/moses.html. Accessed May 11, 2001); Herbert Gans, *The Levittowners: Ways and Politics in a New Suburban Community* (New York: Pantheon, 1967); Jon Teaford, *The Twentieth Century American City: Problem, Promise, and Reality* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986); Kenneth Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

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- ⁵ U.S. Census Bureau; Long Island Regional Planning Board.
- ⁶ Rhoda Amon, "A Shopping Center Arrives," *Newsday*, <http://www.newsday.com/extras/lihistory/8/hs803a.htm> Accessed March 21, 2004.
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- ⁸ Lawrence Striegel, "Cradle of Aviation: Flying Into History, Mitchel, Not Mitchell/NYC Mayor Gave the Field Its Name," *Newsday*, May 14, 2002, E. 11; Stan Asimov, "Moses to AF: Move Mitchel to Suffolk," *Newsday*, Oct. 19, 1955. Arnold Brophy, "Is Mitchel Field Necessary?," *Newsday*, May 4, 1949; Bruce Lambert, "Suburban Nassau, at 50, Attempts to Create a Central Hub," *New York Times*, January 18, 1997.
- ⁹ Brophy; Lambert.
- ¹⁰ John Kiernan, "Navy Should Give Mitchel Field Property to Nassau," *Newsday*, Dec. 12, 2003.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹² Robert Caro, *The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York* (New York: Knopf, 1974), 958; *Nassau Hub Study*, 17.
- ¹³ Edward L. Glaeser and Matthew E. Kahn, "Sprawl and Urban Growth," NBER Working Paper Series No. 9733, National Bureau of Economic Research, Cambridge, Mass., 2003.

**A LONG ISLAND YANKEE IN KING GEORGE'S COURT:
ELIZABETH SHERMAN LINDSAY AND THE 1939
BRITISH ROYAL VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES**

By Tim Barrett

Born in Oyster Bay in 1885, the brave and spirited socialite Elizabeth Sherman Lindsay became the focal point of Anglo/American relations in the 1930s. The niece of Civil War general William Sherman, a protégé of Henry Adams, and the first female in New York State to obtain a driver's license, Lindsay ignited a row over the celebration marking the first visit of the British King and Queen to America. The tale is fascinating both for its discussion of high society intrigue in the interwar period and for its depiction of how "Lady Lindsay" personified the civic-minded social ideals of America's eastern seaboard elites. Lindsay never lost her connection with Long Island, where she died on her family's estate in Centre Island in 1954.

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More than forty years have past since the private printing of a now-forgotten memoir, a life-long friend's tribute to "a brilliant and vivid woman."¹ This labor of love was the story of Elizabeth Sherman Lindsay, a much-traveled Long Islander who braved the horrors of the First World War and played controversial host to a king. Her story was recalled largely through letters and diaries, and in part by the posthumous observations of a tender, self-appointed biographer, Olivia James.² While James describes her book as a simple portrait of a friend, her modest memorial in fact contains a series of intimate, behind-the-scenes glimpses of high-politics and diplomacy in the period between the two world wars.

Elizabeth Lindsay's particular claim to fame is the role she played in the visit of the British King and Queen to America in early June 1939, an event upon which James' biography casts an intriguing light. A mere twelve weeks before Germany's invasion of Poland ignited the Second World War, King George VI became the first reigning British monarch to visit the United States since American Independence. As one historian has observed, the public

anticipated this major state occasion as “the social event of the century.”³ It was, moreover, intended as a very visible display of Anglo-American solidarity, albeit one of little substance. The royal couple slept at the White House, met with both houses of Congress, paid homage at George Washington’s tomb, and sampled the pleasures of the New York World’s Fair in Flushing, Queens. They also enjoyed President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s homier brand of hospitality at Hyde Park, where hot dogs and beer were famously on the menu. Naturally, every public element of the visit was photographed and filmed, allowing people across the continent and indeed across the globe, to see the first families of the world’s two most powerful nations sharing historic moments.

Along with pictures of the Windsors, the Roosevelts and their many attendants, contemporary photographs record the presence throughout the visit of a stout, very short, gray-haired woman, Elizabeth Lindsay. Lindsay’s figure was invariably dwarfed by that of her husband, a six-foot-six giant of a man, the aloof British ambassador to Washington, Sir Ronald Lindsay. Yet, in the weeks leading to the King and Queen’s arrival, Lady Lindsay was far from overshadowed by her husband’s mighty form. Almost overnight, the ambassadress became the central figure in a controversy that threatened to sour relations between British and American officials. She was accused of willfully excluding some of America’s elite (members of Congress and journalists among them) from the guest list for the prestigious social high point of the royal visit, the British embassy’s garden party. Consequently, her frequent pronouncements grabbed front-page attention, with journalists and newspaper editors across the nation lavishing a series of withering personal attacks upon her handling of the party arrangements. Behind the scenes revengeful wives of uninvited congressmen plotted the discomfiture of the British mission. Beyond any reasonable expectation, the garden party guest list heralded a stream of anti-British public and private angst, bile and mockery, most notably directed at the British ambassador’s wife. The scandal reached its high point just as the royal couple were setting foot on North American soil.

For a brief but critical period, therefore, Lady Lindsay and her garden party guest-list became a national talking point, though it was not solely her handiwork on behalf of George VI’s empire, which attracted such fierce reaction. The peculiar piquancy of the row rested as much on the accused’s provenance: newspapers never tired of reminding their readers that the mistress of the British embassy was a wealthy Long Islander.

Early Life and Marriage

Lady Lindsay was born Elizabeth Sherman Hoyt in 1885 at Oyster Bay, Long Island. The family home was "Eastover," then a 173-acre country estate on Centre Island, in Long Island Sound. Elizabeth's mother, the daughter of a judge, was the niece of one-time U.S. Secretary of State, John Sherman, and of Civil War general William Sherman. Such distinguished connections and the wealth generated by her father's brokerage business assured Elizabeth's place among the elite of the eastern seaboard. Although often laid low by illness as a child, she matched the achievements of her two brothers, becoming an enthusiastic amateur mechanic and carpenter and sharing the family penchant for sailing. Her father, Colgate Hoyt, gave every encouragement to his precocious young daughter. She was regularly allowed to drive one of the family's steam-powered cars, and Hoyt senior's reputation as a pioneer of motoring was a distinction shared when Elizabeth became the first woman in New York State to hold a driver's license.⁴

The young Long Islander's most significant mentor aside from her father was the philosopher and historian Henry Adams. Known to the family as "Dordy," Adams was her "special friend" and, "one of the most formative and cherished influences of her life."⁵ The infant Miss Hoyt played beneath the great man's desk while he wrote and she later became a member of his considerable female coterie. Significantly, Anglophilia was an almost universal characteristic of Adams' social milieu, and by her own evaluation Elizabeth was an "Anglo-maniac." Regular summer visits to Dorset, England with an aunt left her forever enamored of the English countryside, its people and customs. Like Adams, she admired the civilized ways of the English, particularly their acute sense of propriety, and she despaired that the new world failed to uphold these standards. Later in life while accompanying her husband on his travels Elizabeth's letters home included heart-felt criticisms of the deportment of the average American diplomat, who, she lamented, bore the appearance of "chewing-gum merchants."⁶

Colgate Hoyt's daughter emerged as a woman of ability and ambition. After the death of her mother in 1908 Elizabeth aspired to become a landscape gardener, devising for herself a course of learning, which entailed traveling "hither and yon." Her travel included work at the Arnold Arboretum in Massachusetts and, in the summer of 1910, Kew Gardens in London. By 1914 she had realized her dream of setting up an office on Madison Avenue. A

series of minor heart attacks threatened to curtail her success but in defiance of medical advice she led a "more or less normal life" and continued with her work. Most of her commissions originated on the North Shore of Long Island.⁷

In October 1917, following America's entry into the First World War, Elizabeth was appointed head of the Women's Bureau of the American Red Cross in Washington D.C. Henry Adams, in whose house she stayed when in the capital, noted her self-confident approach to work. "You would suppose," he observed, "that Elizabeth *owned* the white marble building down by the State Department."⁸ Indeed, after only three months, Miss Hoyt issued an order dissolving the Women's Bureau on the grounds that dividing operations by sex was illogical.⁹ She was promptly included in the General Manager's staff, and a senior Red Cross commissioner later described her as one of the organization's "most faithful and highly efficient executives."¹⁰

In 1924 Elizabeth became the wife of the British diplomat Ronald Lindsay, the widower of her cousin. Already firm friends, the sudden death in 1918 of cousin Martha, the daughter of a Republican senator, brought Ronald and Elizabeth ever closer, and they were married in England near Lindsay's family home in Dorset.¹¹ The fifth son of the twenty-sixth earl of Crawford, Lindsay, whose first official posting to the United States came in 1919, had long enjoyed close links with that country. Through an association with Henry Adams, whose letters record meetings with him in France and England as well as in the States, the young diplomat was a familiar figure in exclusive American circles.¹²

In the six years following her marriage the self-proclaimed Anglo-maniac discharged the duties of a British diplomat's wife in Constantinople, Berlin, and London, though she was never comfortable with her performance. "I wonder," she mused, "what the sensation of a woman *ought* to be when on coming into her own ballroom her guests rise while she bows right and left and smilingly walks up and seats herself in front of them all? Personally I *perspire* with shame! But I laugh at myself ceaselessly." All too often, however, there was no one with whom to share either the embarrassment or the joke, and Elizabeth longed for "a fellow American to laugh at me with me."¹³

In 1930, Lady Lindsay got her wish when Sir Ronald was appointed His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador to Washington and began a tour of duty that would culminate in the visit of King George VI to the American capital. Being an American married to



Figure 1: Elizabeth and Ronald Lindsay, outside the British embassy in 1932.

the British Empire's representative put her "twin hearts," constantly to the test.¹⁴ Elizabeth recorded one such occasion when a "100%

American Congressman" spent an entire formal dinner declaiming "most insistently" that "the lives, policies and actions of British diplomats are all founded on lies and deceit." Diplomatic functions, the ambassador wrote afterwards, "are shattering to any courage or belief in sanity." Similarly, on first learning that George VI planned to visit Washington she confided, "Royal prerogatives, diplomatic privileges, social glories, are out of date and I am out of sympathy with them all." Many years before, the newly wed Mrs. Lindsay had observed that the British still had a royal family because of the national penchant for fairy stories. And while in 1939 she acknowledged the King and Queen to be "perfect examples of a sense of duty, decency and sanity," she also declared, "they do not inspire me."¹⁵ Lady Lindsay remained, spiritually at least, outside the world constructed by her husband's countrymen and, as her letters make obvious, it was a less-than-enthusiastic ambassador who in April 1939 contemplated a close involvement in a major royal event.

A Capital Contretemps

In the salons of the Washington elite and among the press there was overwhelming enthusiasm for the arrival of Their Imperial Majesties. The Lindsay's began compiling a guest list to meet the requirements of the King as host and the desires of the massed ranks of humanity who expected an invitation. The number of guests was limited by the space available on the embassy lawns, and official Washington alone exceeded that number by thousands. The problem was therefore insuperable, and choosing whom to invite and whom to pass over was "like walking on egg-shells."¹⁶ Elizabeth feared that when the list was published the ensuing controversy might have an adverse effect on the coming festival of Anglo-American relations.¹⁷ "Mad day of lists and plans," a desperate ambassador was to record in her line-a-day book, adding hurriedly, "all days now mad."¹⁸ Moreover, a friend later remembered, "it seemed as if nearly everyone in the United States was convinced he or she should be included."¹⁹ Hopeful applicants, both known and unknown to the embassy, sought an invitation, many claiming royal blood. "I now begin to think," wrote the besieged ambassador, "that all the crowned heads of England were sturgeons. They could not otherwise have had so many descendants."²⁰

Soon after the dispatch of the embassy's gilt-edged invitations came criticism from all sides as "omissions began to register."²¹ An Irish Free State representative, Robert Brennan, became aware of

the growing controversy and his diary records the wife of an Irish-American friend "blazing with indignation" because she had not been favored.²² At a function in the capital's Mayflower Hotel, Brennan encountered the angry wives of numerous senators not on the list. During dinner one of the women suggested, "it would be a good idea to organize a movement in the Senate to block everything the English wanted." This motion was quickly seconded and "soon the discussion became general and all the ladies agreed that the idea was an excellent one and that they should get at it right away."²³ The respected journalist Raymond Clapper later described the reaction of senate wives as "a scream of protest" which "reverberated throughout Washington."²⁴ The event that had raised such hopes was now, journalists alleged, privately regretted by officials in both the State Department and the British Foreign Office.²⁵ At the White House, where social secretaries were "besieged" by irate wives, a not unnatural unease over the political repercussions of the royal visit turned to genuine alarm.²⁶

The exclusion of so many congressmen and their wives from the social high point of the royal visit was a story made in heaven for journalists. The "fat," warned the *Washington Times-Herald*, was "inextricably in the social fire."²⁷ A *Washington Daily News* editorial gleefully suggested that if "hair-pulling" did not result it would be "a miracle."

While the press gave prominence to the question of rebuffed senators, Lady Lindsay's real offense was not the snub to legislators' wives but the omission of some thirty women journalists from the invitation list. As a result, the capital was "seething" with "criticism and ridicule."²⁸ President Roosevelt himself referred to the "contretemps," caused by "social climbers and the newspaper girls who failed to get 'pasteboards' for the Lindsays' Garden Party."²⁹ Indeed, the ambassadress was in no doubt that the effect was widespread, confessing that her mail was full of newspaper clippings sent "by anonymous persons from all over the country."³⁰ This far reaching disaffection meant that the barbed comments with which the American press was always apt to pepper reports of matters British suffused many prominent newspaper features on the nation's final preparations for the royal visit.

In mid-May, journalists began to question British protestations of limited space, asserting that the guest list was noticeably shaped by "personal friendships."³¹ After an embassy press conference on May 16, Martha Strayer of the *Washington Daily News* reported, "the 'representative Americans', as the ambassadress had termed them, were culled from Lady Lindsay's acquaintance, all U.S. social

registries and perhaps a few citizens who rate *Who's Who*." Strayer added that the King and Queen would meet "mostly gray heads and bald pates."³² In the *Washington Times-Herald*, Igor Cassini accused the Lindsays of "repaying all their friends" and of ignoring "the command of Their Majesties." In some cases, he claimed, Lady Lindsay's invitations had been extended to members of a particular family, "as if it were her private little party that she was giving," probably considering that only her "personal friends" could be "representative Americans."³³ Under the heading "King's Garden Guests," the *Washington Daily News* listed J. P. Morgan and Henry Ford as "among the 'representative Americans' invited."³⁴ In apparent response to these articles, the ambassadress reconsidered her words. In the *Washington Times-Herald* the Jean Eliot column reported that "by the term 'representative Americans' previously used," Lady Lindsay had meant, "Americans representing typical groups, in short, 'average Americans'." Eliot's feature is headed, "King To Meet Morgan, Ford As 'Typical'."³⁵

Guy Richards in the *Washington Times-Herald* declared that "the American-born former Elizabeth Sherman Hoyt," was involved in a further case of "garden party trouble" in New York. The author could reveal that delays in issuing invitations to "sip tea" at the World's Fair with the royal couple were due entirely to the ambassadress, whose "bejeweled arm" was reaching all the way from Washington to arrange the "right little list" of 600 guests. The piece concluded with the apparently anguished comment of a spokesman for the British Commissioner to the Fair: officials were, he declared "helpless" in the face of Lady Lindsay's intervention.³⁶

The *Washington Times-Herald* maintained that the unpleasantness surrounding Lady Lindsay's arrangements was "the result of sheer dumbness or ignorance of American conditions," the logical extension of this argument being that this ennobled citizen was decidedly "un-American." Her malady, it was claimed, was so deep-rooted as to have infected the very patterns of her speech. It was noted that Lady Lindsay's way of referring to her fellow Americans as "Amedicans," though once considered charming by her associates, "now grated on their eardrums."³⁷ George Dixon, self-styled "aristocratic correspondent" for the *New York Daily News* pointed to the way the ambassadress pronounced "scheduled" as "sheduled."³⁸ The *Philadelphia Record* ran a sub-heading which sneered "'Teddibly' British Lady Lindsay (Born in New York)."³⁹ Harlan Miller of the *Washington Post* recalled a recent incident in which, on account of her voice, Sir Ronald's wife was "spotted" as a foreigner by one of the capital's taxi drivers. "This is especially

funny,” Miller noted, “because Lady Lindsay, who was an American girl, was born on Long Island.”⁴⁰

Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen’s famed “Merry-Go-Round” column in the *Washington Times-Herald* directly accused Lady Lindsay of the crime to which other correspondents had alluded: “doing her very best to forget that she was ever born an American.”⁴¹ And thanks to the device of syndication, this stinging assessment of the ambassadress and of the invitations affair appeared in over five hundred newspaper titles across America, achieving an estimated circulation of forty million.⁴²

It was the particular misfortune of the British embassy that the most persistent criticism emanated from the *Washington Times-Herald*, a title which in 1939 enjoyed the highest circulation of all of Washington’s newspapers. Its editor was ever eager to engage in personal attacks. Not only was Eleanor “Cissy” Patterson the capital’s most successful editor, she was also counted among the city’s elite half-dozen hostesses.⁴³ Cissy Patterson was fully aware of the beneficial effect upon sales of a sensational and, if need be, scurrilous campaign against an aptly chosen individual.⁴⁴ In 1939, Patterson was described in the journal *Senator* as a “huntress,” for whom “the more dangerous or difficult the quarry, the more patient and deadly the stalking.” Her niece has noted that even where friends were concerned Patterson would “think nothing of holding them up to ridicule, particularly if it benefited the *Herald*.”⁴⁵ The handling of the royal garden party invitations may have caught the special attention of Cissy. The *Washington Times-Herald* employed unprecedented numbers of women writers (the title was known in journalistic circles as “Cissy’s hen-house”) and although her biographers describe someone incapable of either empathy for or sympathy with her staff, it is probable that Mrs. Patterson saw in the guest list a story to boost the sales of her newspaper.⁴⁶ Similar copy in other newspapers may reflect the bandwagon effect of a Patterson campaign.

Whatever the underlying motives, with obvious delight the press portrayed Sir Ronald’s wife as the very personification of east-coast high society. The attack upon Lady Lindsay was clearly designed to raise the specter which had haunted Anglo-American relations and the public perception of the Anglo-American relationship since the end of the First World War: rampant Anglophilia among the eastern seaboard elite. Lady Lindsay’s garden party, Igor Cassini went as far as to suggest, was a gathering for those corrupted, and corruptible, by pro-British sentiment. By giving prominence to Lady Lindsay’s place of birth and

inaccurately representing the provenance of her garden party guests, the press raised the issue of Anglo-Americanism, transforming the disagreement into an "expose" of the monarch's forthcoming visit. The American public were no strangers, of course, either to the notion of a pro-British elite or to its supposed significance. As another global conflict loomed, caustic commentaries, such as those by Quincy Howe and Walter Millis, breathed new life into a time-honored perception of high-society in New York, Long Island and Boston as a dangerous influence on foreign policy.⁴⁷ Just such an alarm was sounded in the *New York Enquirer* as the garden party affair gained full momentum. In an editorial entitled "America Cannot Forget," readers were warned:

During the presence of the British Sovereigns in our country, the American people will be treated to an unprecedented exhibition of servility to England and England's interests by people in high and not-so-high places, people who call themselves Americans, but who in heart and soul are descendants of Benedict Arnold. Like Arnold, they are eager to betray this Republic for the glory and benefit of the British Empire.

The following day, a copy of the editorial was inserted in the Congressional Record.⁴⁸ A month earlier, Senator Shipstead had placed a *Chicago Tribune* editorial before Congress. In it, the nation was alerted to "feudal-minded Americans who would go to war for Britain in order to keep the Germans from ruling the German city of Danzig."⁴⁹

Observers noted, however, that for the British there was "one good thing" about the way the invitations debacle had been reported. The negative perception of the ambadress meant that the "heartaches and headaches" had been squarely "laid at Lady Lindsay's door" and that in the run up to the visit, the King and Queen had become "daily more popular in comparison."⁵⁰ This was not, however, as journalists assumed, an unexpected dividend. Elizabeth's correspondence reveals a twist in the garden party tale. Indeed, who could have suspected that the unmerciful focus which fell on the ambadress was not a matter of regret to its victim but was in fact of her own cultivation? Elizabeth Lindsay never responded publicly to the vicious criticism leveled at her by the United States press; decorum demanded her silence. But Olivia James' 1960 portrait does give us some insight: Lady Lindsay

allowed her closest friends a glimpse behind the scenes during last minute preparations for the great event, and as disapproval in the press gathered pace she was at pains to record her personal feelings. As we have heard, she claimed to have anticipated that the guest list would necessarily offend a good many people, molded as it was by limitations of space. Her solution was both drastic and courageous. "I decided," she told Olivia James, "to deliberately put my own neck out for the blows."⁵¹ And having announced that she was solely responsible for the list's content, to her obvious gratification, journalists reacted as she hoped they would.

No fisherman ever cast a fly with greater success.
The press has yelped its head off, and poured
vitriol over me; and always through those writers
who were not invited. They little know how well
they have served my purpose.⁵²

Lady Lindsay's sincerity should perhaps be questioned at this point, for who could begrudge her a private, face-saving narrative? Nevertheless, she outlines a plausible summary of her pre-visit assumption that an attack on her would cause no offence in England since she was an American, while in America it would deflect any damaging criticism of her husband or of the royal visitors, which those lacking an invitation card might feel inclined to make. "For once," she declared, "being neither fish, flesh, nor foul has proved useful."⁵³ In her biographical notes, James observes: "of course Ronald decided with Elizabeth who should be invited. But for the sake of international amity, Elizabeth was glad to take the full blame for all omissions and to shoulder the inevitable criticism."⁵⁴ Yet to encourage her own public demolition for the sake of "international amity" surely required an extraordinary degree of motivation, far beyond that demanded of a devoted wife and anglophile. As her letters reveal, she had ample motivation, much of it gained before her marriage into the British diplomatic service.

Spitting in the Rhine

In July 1917 the thirty-two year old Miss Hoyt traveled to France as the personal assistant of Martha Draper, an acquaintance from New York. With Elizabeth's support, Miss Draper was to make a detailed survey of medical supplies and women's working conditions at the Western Front and submit a report to the American Red Cross.⁵⁵ The two women crossed the Atlantic together in a style to which they were surely unaccustomed. The French boat,

which carried over one hundred American Ambulance Field Service personnel, was "ridiculously small" and primitive, and the need to guard against showing lights at night for fear of attack by German U-boats meant battening down hatches and blocking portholes. Elizabeth believed that a French vessel was a less likely target than one sailing under the English flag, but cautioned, "if any English ship is sunk you will have a pretty good chance of living through it . . . on these boats you have none."⁵⁶

After thirteen days and nights with neither a proper place to sleep nor a change of under-garments, Elizabeth arrived in France in a mood of "dark despair."⁵⁷ The two women toured extensively in the north, visiting the numerous hospital stations, American, British and French, which stretched along the Western Front. There they witnessed at first hand the human cost of war. Time and again the young Long Islander was shaken by simultaneous displays of the very best and very worst of mankind's behavior. The care given by medical workers inspired her greatly, yet passing through "ward after ward of almost unrecognizably mutilated human beings" she was plunged into "horrible bewilderment." "Sometimes," she reported, "one sees a boy snuggled down under the bedclothes crying softly to himself," but usually there was silence, "except of course in the shell shock tents, or among the gassed patients."⁵⁸

In Paris, the official base of the Red Cross, there were few physical signs of the war's destructiveness, despite the regular bombardments and air raids. Leaving the capital, however, and driving into the region that had been conquered and re-conquered during the offensives of the previous three years, made it clear that the lives of non-combatants had been shattered. Abandoned trenches and barbed wire dominated the landscape, as did the graves, which were "scattered everywhere." When the touring party entered a certain small town on the Marne (Elizabeth's letter gives no name to the place) they fully appreciated the appalling destruction visited on France. Barely "three stones were left standing one on the other," and the remaining, defiant, inhabitants were living in wooden huts. Stopping some distance away in a quiet field, the party "tried to understand that it had not been a dream, or another Pompeii; but that it was real, modern, and caused by the hand of man." Later they came across two old women sitting on a pile of rubble that had once been home. The French and German troops, the women told their American visitors, had fought for two days over their now-ruined village, while the people hid in nearby woodland. The inhabitants returned to find "not one single wall left standing, and the streets piled high with dead." Since then,

the two ancient survivors had lived in the cellars of the flattened buildings.⁵⁹

The party arrived in Bar le Duc only hours after an air raid had razed entire houses in the town and claimed many lives. Wagons and carts filled the streets as the local population left in fear of another German attack. The hotel in which they took rooms was “the sort you keep out of as much as possible” and that evening Elizabeth and Martha Draper used their motorcar as a place to relax, chat and smoke. Suddenly, there came the wail of a siren. The two women, “like homing pigeons,” leaped from the car, ran through the hotel and across a dark courtyard, and found the door of the “cave voutée,” the hotel’s cellar. Now, truly, “the thing had come.”

And no sooner had we ducked in than the world began to rock; bombs burst apparently right in one’s ear, and while the next one exploded you heard the building struck by the first one fall. In between bombs there was a constant rain of shrapnel from the anti-aircraft guns, and every instant you expected your own house to crumble above you. From time to time one heard the motor of an airplane swoop down over one’s head, and then came the endless second during which one wondered whether that particular bomb was for one’s own head or for a neighbor’s.

The raid lasted for over four hours, during which time Elizabeth, perched on a beer barrel, was regaled by a jovial Frenchman with detailed descriptions of the previous night’s carnage. At one o’clock in the morning, the party emerged to find the hotel largely intact, apart from the loss of its window glass. Here, at least, was a silver lining. As Elizabeth wryly observed, her room “had not been aired since the house was built.”⁶⁰ Beyond the relatively untouched confines of the hotel and its cellar, forty townsfolk had perished in those four hours and a far greater number lay wounded. “The brutes,” noted Elizabeth, “did a shocking lot of damage.”⁶¹

The following year, she again sailed for France where she helped coordinate Red Cross services. Writing from Paris on the day following the Armistice, Elizabeth declared, “The new world has come.” As the French capital was transformed into a riot of celebration, she “joined the skipping, singing lines and marched up

and down, following whatever band was the loudest or whichever flag was being held the highest."⁶²

Olivia James recalls her friend returning from Europe in the summer of 1919 "exhausted, physically and nervously", and, like many war workers, facing the difficulty of adjusting to "the humdrum life at home." Despite her earlier success Elizabeth Hoyt did not resume her career as a landscape gardener. She feared that another world war was likely within a few years, a probable result, as she saw it, of the Versailles Treaty. Against the prospect of millions more lives lost, the work of designing gardens seemed to her "unrealistic and futile."⁶³

Doubts over Elizabeth's claim to self-sacrifice in 1939 are surely dispelled by her wartime letters. As we have read, almost from the outset of American participation in the Great War she witnessed the effect of armed conflict on sailors, soldiers, civilian men and women and on the very landscape itself. She had often been a safe distance from the fighting, but it was not always the case. To paraphrase Franklin Roosevelt, she had seen war and she had hated war, only in Elizabeth's case, it was the literal truth. Almost uniquely among American women, she could claim a first-hand knowledge of the horrors of modern warfare. Surely the fear of another such conflict was motivation enough as she threw herself to the wolves of the press pack for the sake of Anglo-American relations.

It was not only the horrific results of war that inspired her bravery, however. She returned from Europe's battlefields with a more specific emotional scarring: a deep distrust and an even deeper loathing of Germany and all its works. References in her pre-war correspondence suggest that Elizabeth was never well disposed toward the Germanic.⁶⁴ But later, as she bore personal witness to the devastation of northern France, she became unreservedly anti-German and her writings provided continual evidence of the strength of her feelings. During a Red Cross tour she described the proprietor and staff of a Metz hotel as "real Germans – a sour sneering lot on the whole!" On another occasion, Elizabeth dubbed the town of Treves "Hun-land," and its population "sullen" and "sneering."⁶⁵ Closer personal contact brought no moderation. Indeed, within days of arriving in post-war Constantinople and taking up her role as the wife of a British diplomat, Elizabeth recorded what was to be a typically uncomfortable reaction to such encounters: "The worst moment I have had was calling at the German Embassy this afternoon and passing a German officer in *uniform* on the stairway. My whole soul flopped over as he bowed

obsequiously. They are all so disgustingly obsequious (outwardly).”⁶⁶ In 1926, she found herself in daily interaction with “the Boche” as her husband took up the post of ambassador to Berlin. “The climate is vile and dreary,” she wrote, “the town hideous and the house lighted by electricity almost all day.” Fortunately, there were compensatory moments. On the occasion Sir Ronald first presented himself officially to President Paul von Hindenburg, Elizabeth secured a vantage point overlooking the presidential palace and watched as the German Army presented arms to her husband. “I cannot describe my emotion,” she later enthused: “I’ve waited years for that moment, and seen horrors for it; and by gorry, I enjoyed it!!!”⁶⁷

But the most extraordinary instance of Elizabeth’s Germanophobia occurred a matter of weeks after the Armistice. In December 1918 Red Cross duties took her on a tour of former battle zones, and she was daily among the remnants of the defeated German army, its apparently endless, straggling lines plodding toward the Franco-German border. What she saw there elicited within her little or no sympathy and at worst brought forth feelings of profound hatred. After a night spent in Strasbourg, the Red Cross party stopped briefly the following morning at Kehl on the Rhine to observe a whole regiment of wretched soldiers filing across the bridge. They were men of Alsace who, having fought for the Kaiser, were now returning to their homes. The sight of so many German uniforms seems to have stirred Elizabeth and steered her from her usual, fundamentally compassionate course. One might expect passions to run high so soon after the war, especially in the face of so many former enemies, however bedraggled. Yet one cannot easily dismiss as fleeting the depth of emotion expressed at that moment by the thirty-four year old Miss Hoyt. Finding herself looking out over the famous river, she vented her feelings in a quite bizarre ritual.

The banks of the Rhine at this point are cobbled with grassy and slippery stones, and at risk of life and limb, aided by several French sentries, who held on to me chuckling with delight, I hung over the edge and spat into the foul stream, the only unladylike act I inflicted on the filthy Hun.⁶⁸

As her later reaction to the formalities at Hindenburg’s palace demonstrated, there was to be no way back from such bitter prejudice. Elizabeth Lindsay had become a fully-fledged and

unapologetic Germanophobe, someone whose experience of war had left her with a pathological distrust of Germans and of German intent.

Conclusion

Amid discussions of Congressional ire and press portrayals it should not be forgotten that Lady Lindsay, whose title and status all too effectively reduced her to a stereotype, was the human center of the garden party contretemps. For her, the final weeks before the royal visit must have been nearly unbearable, particularly as it became clear that hopes of diverting unfavorable attention on to her had not been entirely successful. In the aftermath of the tour she uncharacteristically stilled her pen. "It is a pity," Olivia James later observed, "that Elizabeth had neither time nor heart to write a description of the Royal Visit."⁶⁹ Lady Lindsay's lack of heart, which followed what James describes as the "miseries of the preceding weeks," is easily understood. The baying pursuit by the press corps had been a lamentable business, a stark episode that for two weeks stained the pages of newspapers destined for millions of American homes. And amid the official triumphalism which followed the visit, the silence of the ambassadress suggests an unwillingness to construct a positive assessment. There were letters of praise from friends, but they too conveyed a sense that what had preceded the royal visit lingered most in the mind. One acquaintance claimed to know of no one, "in or out of Diplomacy" with "more generosity of spirit and less bitterness" than Lady Lindsay. Another concluded, "the Lord will bless you and help you to carry on in the future as bravely as in the past."⁷⁰

An unkind observer might support the press's line against the ambassadress. To paraphrase Quincy Howe, England clearly could expect this particular eastern-seaboarder to do her duty. A more generous judge, however, might point to a woman whose acknowledged prejudices had the virtue, at least, of being forged in the experience of modern war. Unlike her tormentor and future doyenne of the "America First" movement, *Washington Times-Herald* editor Eleanor Patterson, from 1917 onward Elizabeth vigorously supported America's war effort, even to the point of risking her life. Cissy had spent the summer of 1917 in Wyoming, flirting with one of her ranch-hands.⁷¹

Elizabeth Lindsay likely harbored no expectations of the royal visit beyond the strengthening of good will. Nevertheless, the pressure on the embassy to achieve a dividend must have been immense. The German occupation of Czechoslovakia portended

another European war and British guarantees to Poland and Adolf Hitler's determination to force the issue of Danzig were in everyone's mind. If the royal visit could have advanced relations with an avowedly neutral America, surely Elizabeth Lindsay would, and did, sacrifice her own happiness for what she saw as the greater good, and attempting to preserve for the two countries she loved, "the fearless enjoyment of the moon."

Vice-President John Nance Garner intervened on behalf of the uninvited senators and the embassy finally made lawn-space for them all. Eleanor Roosevelt settled the other controversy when she arranged a close-quarters glimpse of the King and Queen for the women of the press corps. As to Anglo-American politics, the royal visit itself proved inconsequential: one year later Britain stood on the very edge of defeat, a lone opponent of Germany, and waiting to enjoy the material support of its trans-Atlantic friend. As planned, Sir Ronald Lindsay retired immediately after the visit and returned to England, arriving there just after the invasion of Poland. Elizabeth chose to stay in America, building a new home, "Lime House," on her family's "Eastover" estate on Centre Island. Her husband's work kept him in England for the duration of the Second World War, and as Elizabeth was forbidden to travel the Atlantic by her doctors the former ambassador and ambassadress never met again, as Sir Ronald fell fatally ill at his Dorset home in 1945. Elizabeth Lindsay died at "Lime House" in 1954.

NOTES

¹ Olivia James, ed. *The Letters of Elizabeth Sherman Lindsay 1911-1954* (New York: privately published, 1960), foreword.

² Olivia James was also a Long Islander. She was the daughter of W. Bayard Cutting and the family home was "Westbrook" in Oakdale, now the Bayard Cutting Arboretum State Park.

³ Benjamin D. Rhodes, "The British Royal Visit of 1939 and the 'Psychological Approach' to the United States," *Diplomatic History* 2 (1978): 209. Royal visit studies are surprisingly numerous. Fred Leventhal's beautifully rendered chronicle is, however, a superior read. F. M. Leventhal, "Essential Democracy: The 1939 Royal Visit to the United States" in G. K. Behlmer and F. M. Leventhal, eds. *Singular Continuities: Tradition, Nostalgia, and Identity in Modern British Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000). The best contemporary view is that of Helen Lombard, a witness to

the event and an intimate of capital diplomacy. To the general detriment of their work, historians have overlooked her account. Helen Lombard, *Washington Waltz: Diplomatic People and Policies* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1941).

⁴ James, *Letters*, i and ii. Elizabeth's brother Sherman became an internationally renowned yachtsman.

⁵ Sherman Hoyt, *Sherman Hoyt's Memoirs* (New York: D. Van Norstrand, 1950), 11; James, *Letters*, vii.

⁶ Letters of correspondence between Elizabeth Hoyt and Olivia James, Aug. 28, 1911, Oct. 20, 1924. James, *Letters*, 1, 106.

⁷ James, *Letters*, iii and v.

⁸ Letter of correspondence between Henry Adams and Elizabeth Cameron, Jan. 7, 1918. *The Letters of Henry Adams, Vol. 6: 1906-1918* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press, 1988), 780. Elizabeth Cameron was Elizabeth Hoyt's maternal aunt.

⁹ James, *Letters*, 44.

¹⁰ Letter of correspondence between George H. Burr and Elizabeth Hoyt, May 16, 1919. James, *Letters*, 89-90.

¹¹ "Mrs." became "Lady" the next year when her husband was knighted. James, *Letters*, 92-93.

¹² It was Adams, too, who in 1909 steered his shy British protege toward an American marriage. "Lindsay," he told the mother of the bride, "is the only satisfactory and sympathetic young man I know, and I only wish I were a girl and could marry him myself." Letter of correspondence between Henry Adams and Elizabeth Cameron, May 24, 1908. *Letters of Henry Adams*, 146.

¹³ Letters of correspondence between Elizabeth Hoyt and Olivia James, May 6, 1939, Oct. 7, 1924. James, *Letters*, 127 and 98.

¹⁴ Olivia James notes that "Elizabeth suffered acutely whenever difficulties arose between the United States and Great Britain or when either acted in a way which seemed to her unworthy of its

finest traditions. As a patriotic American and as a representative of Great Britain, which she so greatly admired and loved, her pain was two-fold. In this connection she often referred to her 'twin hearts'." James, *Letters*, 150 and 176.

¹⁵ Letter of correspondence between Elizabeth Lindsay and Eleanor Belmont, 1933 (precise date unknown). James, *Letters*, 200; Elizabeth Lindsay, diary, Nov. 11, 1924. James, *Letters*, 111; Letter of correspondence between Elizabeth Lindsay and Eleanor Belmont, Nov. 12, 1938. James, *Letters*, 222-23.

¹⁶ Lombard, *Washington Waltz*, 14.

¹⁷ Letter of correspondence between Elizabeth Lindsay and Olivia James, May, 1939 (precise date unknown). James, *Letters*, 236.

¹⁸ Elizabeth Lindsay's line-a-day book, May 1939 (precise date unknown). James, *Letters*, 232.

¹⁹ James, *Letters*, 232.

²⁰ Letter of correspondence between Elizabeth Lindsay and Olivia James, May 18, 1939. James, *Letters*, 235; "Lady Lindsay said she was answering at least 60 letters a day." *Washington Times-Herald*, May 17, 1939, 5.

²¹ James, *Letters*, 19.

²² Robert Brennan, "My Wartime Mission in Washington," unpublished typescript, 585.

²³ *Ibid.*, 597.

²⁴ *Washington Daily News*, Jun. 10, 1939, 19.

²⁵ *Washington Times-Herald*, May 15, 1939, 2.

²⁶ Lombard, *Washington Waltz*, 20.

²⁷ "Merry-Go-Round," *Washington Times-Herald*, May 28, 1939, B-16.

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- ²⁸ *Washington Daily News*, May 19, 1939, 31.
- ²⁹ Letter of correspondence between Franklin D. Roosevelt and Lord Tweedsmuir (Governor of Canada), May 24, 1939. President's Secretary's File, Box 38, Diplomatic Correspondence, "Canada 38-39", Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.
- ³⁰ Letter of correspondence between Elizabeth Lindsay and Olivia James, May 18, 1939. James, *Letters*, 236.
- ³¹ Jean Eliot, *Washington Times-Herald*, May 24, 1939, 2.
- ³² Martha Strayer, *Washington Daily News*, May 17, 1939, 2.
- ³³ Igor Cassini, *Washington Times-Herald*, May 18, 1939, 15.
- ³⁴ *Washington Daily News*, May 23, 1939, front page.
- ³⁵ Jean Eliot, *Washington Times-Herald*, May 24, 1939, 2.
- ³⁶ Guy Richards, *Washington Times-Herald*, May 18, 1939, 9.
- ³⁷ *Washington Times-Herald*, May 15, 1939, 2.
- ³⁸ George Dixon, *New York Daily News*, Jun. 9, 1939, 2.
- ³⁹ *Philadelphia Record*, May 18, 1939, 3.
- ⁴⁰ Harlan Miller, *Washington Post*, May 18, 1939, 2.
- ⁴¹ "Merry-Go-Round," *Washington Times-Herald*, May 23, 1939, 8.
- ⁴² F. L. Mott, *American Journalism, A History: 1690-1960* (New York: Macmillan, 1962), 692.
- ⁴³ Patterson's biographers agree that "Cissy" originated as a childhood name. Eleanor Patterson came from a family whose fortune was built on the newspaper business. Her grandfather, Joseph Medill, had founded the *Chicago Tribune*, and her father, Robert W. Patterson, had succeeded as the paper's editor. Robert P.

McCormick, a cousin of Eleanor Patterson, was the *Tribune's* editor in 1939. The biggest selling paper in America, New York's tabloid *Daily News*, had been founded and was still edited by her brother, Joseph Patterson, whose daughter, Alicia Patterson, became the founding editor of Long Island's daily newspaper, *Newsday* (1941-1963).

⁴⁴ Helen Lombard, *While They Fought: Behind the Scenes in Washington, 1941-1946* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947), 23.

⁴⁵ Alice Hoge, *Cissy Patterson* (New York: Random House, 1966), 141.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 136.

⁴⁷ Quincy Howe, *England Expects Every American To Do His Duty* (London: Robert Hale, 1938); Walter Millis, *Road To War* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1935).

⁴⁸ Extension of remarks by Joseph A. Gavagan of New York in the House of Representatives, May 16, 1939. *United States of America Congressional Record: Proceedings and Debates of the 76th Congress, First Session, Appendix*, 2020.

⁴⁹ Remarks of Senator Shipstead of Minnesota in the Senate, 13 Apr. 1939. *U.S Congressional Record*, 4206-4210.

⁵⁰ *Washington Times-Herald*, May 28, 1939, 16-B.

⁵¹ Letter of correspondence between Elizabeth Lindsay and Olivia James, May 18, 1939. James, *Letters*, 236.

⁵² *Ibid.* Elizabeth's insistence that "she and she alone" bore responsibility for the list was widely reported, e.g. *Washington Times-Herald*, May 17, 1939, 5, and May 18, 1939; *Washington Daily News*, May 17, 1939, 2.

⁵³ Letter of correspondence between Elizabeth Lindsay and Olivia James, May 18, 1939. James, *Letters*, 236.

⁵⁴ James, *Letters*, 232.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁵⁶ Letters of correspondence between Elizabeth Hoyt and Olivia James, Jul. 24, 1917, Aug. 2, 1917. James, *Letters*, 16-22.

⁵⁷ Letter of correspondence between Elizabeth Hoyt and Olivia James, Aug. 4, 1917, James, *Letters*, 22.

⁵⁸ Letter of correspondence between Elizabeth Hoyt and Olivia James, Aug. 20, 1917. James, *Letters*, 29-30.

⁵⁹ Letter of correspondence between Elizabeth Hoyt and Olivia James, Sep. 9, 1917. James, *Letters*, 34-5.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 37.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 36, 37.

⁶² Letter of correspondence between Elizabeth Hoyt and Olivia James, Nov. 12, 1918. James, *Letters*, 65, 69, 70.

⁶³ James, *Letters*, 92.

⁶⁴ Elizabeth described the proprietors of a hotel on the island of Corsica as "repulsively German." Letter of correspondence between Elizabeth Lindsay and Olivia James, Feb. 28, 1912. James, *Letters*, 7.

⁶⁵ American Red Cross memorandum, Dec. 7, 1918. James, *Letters*, 76.

⁶⁶ Elizabeth Lindsay, diary, Oct. 20, 1924. James, *Letters*, 105.

⁶⁷ Letters of correspondence between Elizabeth Lindsay and Olivia James, Nov. 7, 1926, Nov. 14, 1926. James, *Letters*, 136-7.

⁶⁸ American Red Cross memorandum, Dec. 7, 1918. James, *Letters*, 74-5.

⁶⁹ James, *Letters*, 233.

⁷⁰ Letters of correspondence between Mrs. R. Woods Bliss and Elizabeth Lindsay, Jun. 8, 1939 and Mrs. W Bayard Cutting and Elizabeth Lindsay, Jun. 19, 1939. James, *Letters*, 237-39.

⁷¹ Hoge, *Cissy Patterson*, 52-3; Paul F. Healy, *Cissy: The Biography of Eleanor M. "Cissy" Patterson* (New York: Doubleday, 1966), 58.

CONRAD POPPENHUSEN: A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE 'BENEFACTOR OF COLLEGE POINT'

By James E. Haas

Conrad Poppenhusen was a German American industrialist and philanthropist who established the India Rubber Comb Company in College Point, Queens in 1854. James Haas explores Poppenhusen's role as the benefactor of College Point during the Civil War and his subsequent involvement with the Long Island Rail Road, which ultimately tarnished his legacy.

There are streets named in his honor in the city of Hamburg in Germany and in College Point, Queens, New York, the hamlet that owes its existence largely to him. The educational institute he founded at College Point 135 years ago has been declared both a New York City and a National Landmark. An enterprise that he and other Hamburg based businessmen established in 1871 continues to operate in that German city. The New York Hamburg Rubber Comb Company continues to manufacture combs, among other things, much as it has since 1871. His identity is all but unknown and his achievements largely unheralded. His name was Conrad Poppenhusen.

Born in Hamburg, Germany on April 1, 1818, Poppenhusen was introduced to basic business principles by his father, a salesman mostly of manufactured wares. His father's death in 1829 interrupted Poppenhusen's education. In a brief autobiography penned in the mid-nineteenth century Conrad wrote, "I learned the beginnings of my studies with him at home, where with the greatest love and strong discipline, and with much application, I made fast progress in writing and arithmetic, so that in my tenth year I already carried on in his German and English correspondence and could make out his accounts."¹

Heinrich Christian Meyer, a close family friend and manufacturer of whalebone products, combs and other things, took Conrad under his wing and broadened his business knowledge. In 1838 twenty-year old Poppenhusen signed a five-year employment contract with Meyer that took him abroad, in particular to Great Britain, where he was able to expand his use of the English language. That skill would ease his entry into the world of American business.

When Conrad's contract with Meyer expired in 1843, Meyer offered his young charge the opportunity to travel to New York City and work alongside his son Adolph. Adolph had emigrated to New York a year earlier to set up a North American arm of the family business. Meyer undoubtedly believed in his son's ability, but he also recognized that

young Adolph lacked Conrad's experience and apparent ease in matters of business. With the promise of a small share in the venture and a \$14,000 cache of his mentor's "seed money" (equal to \$338,000 in 2003), Conrad set sail and arrived in New York City on July 19, 1843.

One historian has located the original whalebone enterprise established by Adolph Meyer in 1842 across the Hudson River in Jersey City, New Jersey, but there is little to substantiate that claim. An 1843 New York City Directory lists Henry A. Meyer, whalebones and canes, located at 58 Nassau Street and in 1844 at 86 John Street. Poppenhusen appears also with the note that his home is in Brooklyn, no address given. The factory address is 171 First Street according to an 1848 Brooklyn Directory putting it in close proximity to the Brooklyn waterfront in Williamsburgh.²

The factory thrived over the ensuing decade and with the support of new partner Frederick König, Conrad built a grand manufacturing facility near the shores of Flushing Bay in 1854. The area, north of the village of Flushing, was known at the time alternatively as Strattonport and Flammersburg, but in the early 1850's it consisted of but a few farms and even fewer houses. The Stratton family had owned significant portions of the area since 1789 when Eliphalet Stratton purchased 320 acres from another prominent landowner, William Lawrence, accounting for the Strattonport attribution.³ In the early 1850's an enterprising real estate speculator named John A. Flammer made two purchases of available lots and set about laying out a town, which he named in his honor, Flammersburg. With the coming of the "rubber works" -- or the "comb factory" as it came to be known -- the creation of the small section of Queens that eventually came to be called College Point was under way.

The name College Point emerged from the establishment in 1839 of St. Paul's College to educate men for the Episcopalian ministry. The school was located at the extreme north end of the hamlet in the area occupied today by McNeil Park at 119th street. By 1856 it had become fashionable to denominate the three subdivisions, Strattonport, Flammersburg and College Point simply as College Point.⁴ By 1860 people were flocking to College Point for jobs with Poppenhusen's India Rubber Comb Company which eventually provided employment for thousands of the town's men, women and children. The census taken that year indicated that upwards of 2,500 men, women and children, mostly of German descent, lived in an area where just ten short years earlier fewer than 100 had resided. The hamlet had become a magnet for job seeking immigrants, many of whom Poppenhusen had personally recruited on trips back to the country of his birth. The predominance of Germans in College Point later prompted the *Brooklyn Eagle* to dub the village "Little Heidelberg."⁵

Poppenhusen and the Civil War

In April 1861, following the bombardment of Fort Sumter in South Carolina and President Lincoln's call for volunteers to put down the rebellion, the first of many war related reports touching on College Point appeared. In the April 27, 1861 edition of the weekly newspaper called the *Flushing Journal*, an article described a meeting that had taken place in Flushing and the enthusiasm of the townspeople to equip and organize the Fifteenth Regiment of Volunteers. The expectation of this patriotic group of villagers was that the war would be brief and that most soldiers would be returned to their homes and farms relatively quickly. This was not to be the case, however. In part the article read, "A standing committee was then adopted to solicit funds for supporting the families of those serving with the regiment. Conrad Poppenhusen then became the first by subscribing \$2,000," equivalent to roughly \$42,000 in 2003 dollars.

At the start of the Civil War Poppenhusen had been in the United States for seventeen years and a citizen for twelve, having been naturalized in 1849. Well on his way to prominence, he supported the war effort, guaranteed the jobs of the many men who had gone off to fight, and took care of the families they had left in order to serve the Union. His attitudes toward the Civil War can be discerned through contemporary news reports and the actions of those who influenced him most.

The role played by Heinrich Christian Meyer, Poppenhusen's mentor, cannot be discounted. Clearly a role model for Poppenhusen, Meyer's civic-minded career in Hamburg closely mirrored that of Poppenhusen's in College Point. Meyer had been a major source of employment in Hamburg and as early as 1828 had established an insurance plan for his factory workers there. He was instrumental in bringing the first train service to the city and had also served in numerous public offices. Side by side with other brave residents, Poppenhusen and Meyer had battled the Great Fire of Hamburg in 1842, and Meyer had been very much involved in the rebuilding of the city, one-third of which had been destroyed.⁶

Having witnessed first hand these and other of Meyer's actions Poppenhusen came to know both the value of public service and the importance of worker loyalty. His success in the emerging hard rubber industry demonstrated his skill in recognizing talent and his willingness to allow people to excel and succeed. He wanted to protect his investments, and his generous contribution to the Civil War volunteers from College Point in 1861 indicated he literally put his money where it counted most – in the support of his workforce and community.

The August 16, 1862 edition of the *Flushing Journal* stated, “The College Point Election District in this town has sent more than one-third of its legal voters to the war – mostly Germans. We doubt whether any Election District in the state has done better than this. Mr. Conrad Poppenhusen contributes \$15.00 additional bounty to every man that enlists and is accepted.” Additionally at a community meeting Poppenhusen agreed to pay twenty-five percent of all the monies expended to support the families of the drafted men, specifically “\$5 per week for every drafted man, \$4 to an unmarried man having a mother or sister or other relative depending on him for support; \$4 to a married man or widower having children with \$.50 additional for each child.” At the conclusion of the meeting Messrs. Poppenhusen and König were thanked for their offer and “three hearty cheers were then given for the Constitution of the United States and the meeting adjourned.”⁷

It is possible that Poppenhusen may have grown somewhat ambivalent toward the war as it dragged on, as some College Point residents clearly did. As early as July 21, 1862 a *Flushing Journal* piece pointed out that “the newspapers everywhere are noticing the great rush of men into fire departments evidently with the intention of escaping the draft.” A week later a report followed describing the “liberal” bounties paid. “The recruits from this county receives, when he passes medical examination and is mustered into service: From the state, \$50, from the County, \$15, from the United States \$25, one month’s pay in advance, \$13, besides this the recruit is entitled to \$2 if he manages his own enlistment, or \$4 if he joins an old regiment.” A piece published one week later on August 9th stated, “We have suddenly become a population of invalids. Our physicians are tormented from morning to night with applicants for certificates of physical disability... Opticians are run down by those who have suddenly discovered that they are near sighted. Cabinetmakers are anticipating a rich harvest from crutches, and tin men from ear trumpets. Good heavens.”⁸

While Poppenhusen was certainly aware of waning support for the war, his view of the war was most impacted by the war’s effect on his ability to employ people and fill the slots of those workers who had gone off to war. It is unlikely that Poppenhusen’s business interests benefited in any significant way from the war. Poppenhusen’s company specialized in the manufacture of hard rubber products, especially buttons and combs. There was great demand for these items throughout the growing country both before and during the war. He had limited sole rights to the 1851 hard rubber patent belonging to Nelson Goodyear, Charles Goodyear’s brother, and as a result his wealth by this time was substantial. There were not, as might be expected, large revenues derived from sales to the government. It is true that some Navy buttons and those on the uniforms

of Berdan's Sharpshooters, one of the most deadly and feared of all Civil War units, were made of hard rubber manufactured by a company called the Novelty Rubber Company, but not much else was.



Figure 1: Center Dial Engraving of the Beardslee Telegraph from the Collection of the Poppenhusen Institute, College Point, New York. The address of the company corporate offices was 44 Cliff Street in New York City.

Poppenhusen was involved in the manufacture of one very important product used in the war effort, though it was a tiny part of his business. Before the war a College Point electrician named George Beardslee had invented a successful magneto-electric generator patented in 1859. An

article in the May 1976 edition of *Civil War Times Illustrated* stated “the inventor had been manufacturing his magneto machines commercially for several years at College Point, Long Island with financial backing from the firm of Poppenhusen and König, dealers in gutta-percha and India rubber.” The army had been seeking a portable source of electricity to power the telegraph in the field and Beardslee’s invention, with modifications, made it possible. There were probably around eighty-eight machines in service during the Civil War from May 1862 through 1865 and Poppenhusen’s firm had manufactured them.⁹ In general, though, Poppenhusen made hard rubber and most government contracts called primarily for soft rubber articles such as waterproof ponchos, haversacks and canteens.

While there is nothing to document a concern over declining business or the possible negative effects a prolongation of the war would have on any of his ventures, most certainly on a human level Poppenhusen had to be war weary. By the close of 1863 at least two of his former workers, Thomas Skinnon and David L. Schultz, had been killed in action, and when the Sons of Union Veterans Post was formed in College Point it was named in honor of the latter. John Stonebanks, the eldest son of Joseph Stonebanks, the carpenter who had built Poppenhusen’s stately College Point mansion in 1857, was also a casualty of war. He had enlisted in a thirty-day unit and died tragically in a drowning accident at Fort Richmond on Staten Island just days before his brief tour of duty was to expire. He had never even gotten to the front. By war’s end Poppenhusen would lose at least one more very special worker and friend. On March 31, 1865 close friend Major Emil Duysing of the mostly German Fifteenth New York Heavy Artillery, who may have been a salesman for Poppenhusen, was wounded at the Battle of Five Forks. He subsequently died and on May 8th was laid to rest in the Poppenhusen family plot at Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn joining Poppenhusen’s first wife Bertha and two of their other children, (Heinrich Conrad who had died at nineteen months of age in 1847, and an unnamed daughter who had died at birth in 1855.). Duysing, a participant in the events of the failed Revolution of 1848 in Germany, had never married and had no family in the United States. The funeral was reported in the *Brooklyn Eagle*, but neither Poppenhusen nor his generous donation of a final resting place for Duysing was mentioned.¹⁰

Poppenhusen had four children, including two sons of service age, with his first wife Bertha, who died in 1858. Both of these sons were finishing their studies in Europe at the time of the war. Poppenhusen visited the boys twice between the fall of 1863 and the spring of 1864 while in Germany on business, but there is little evidence that his position on the war was heavily influenced by the two sons’ possible service in the

war. Poppenhusen did remarry in early 1859 and had two more boys with his second wife Caroline in 1860 and 1861.¹¹

Poppenhusen was an apparent supporter of Democratic presidential nominee General George McClellan in his race against Lincoln in 1864. The September 13, 1864 edition of the *Flushing Journal* ran a story about a meeting that had taken place in the College Point Town Hall in support of George McClellan's bid for the Presidency. The report pointed out McClellan's backers included, among others, Conrad Poppenhusen and his business partner Frederick König. McClellan was popular in College Point: of the 443 College Point men casting votes, 319 voted for McClellan, and 124 for Lincoln, almost a three to one margin of victory. It is doubtful that McClellan's popularity represented a lack of support for the war, however. "Little Mac" as he was called, had been the commander of the Union Armies and was popular with his soldiers. McClellan remained loyal to the war effort and, in effect, rejected his party's pronouncement that the war was a failure. It is likely that the heavily German hamlet appreciated McClellan's military pedigree. German émigré's had contributed greatly to the Union's ranks of military leaders. Military service during the failed Revolution of 1848 in Germany produced many men who rose to leadership positions in the Union Army. Among them was Carl Schurz who in 1852 would marry Margarethe Meyer, the daughter of Poppenhusen's mentor. Schurz would rise to the rank of General, become a trusted member of Lincoln's inner circle, and eventually be elected Senator from Missouri. Margarethe would become a pioneer in kindergarten education in America, another cause in which Conrad Poppenhusen would later take an interest.¹²

With the war over plans were begun to welcome home the warriors and honor those who had fallen. While Poppenhusen's name is absent, a *Flushing Journal* July 29, 1865 article stated "the Soldiers Monument Association proposes holding a meeting in College Point next week in order to bring the matter before the people of that section of the town. Quite a number of soldiers from that locality have fallen in the war." The monument, which was designed by the noted sculptor Robert E. Launitz, was erected and dedicated a year later on Northern Boulevard in the median across from the Courthouse. It still stands for all to see and contains the names of most but not all of the men from College Point and Flushing who gave their lives in the service of their country.

A Tarnished Legacy

Whatever his political leanings regarding the war, with its end Conrad Poppenhusen was at liberty to focus his prodigious energies and talents on the accomplishment for which he is best remembered, and on the failure that secured his place in the ranks of the all but forgotten.

In honor of his fiftieth birthday in 1868, Poppenhusen established the Poppenhusen Institute in 1868 to provide free education to his workers and their children. Anyone residing in the area was encouraged to take advantage of this offer. Discrimination of any kind, race or creed, was not allowed and Poppenhusen donated the land on which the building housing the Institute would be constructed, as well as an initial financial endowment of \$100,000.

On April 7, 1868 the *New York Times* ran a piece on the subject of the endowment saying “his [Poppenhusen’s] last gift will secure him for all time a name to be mentioned among those of our greatest philanthropists. He has given the town \$100,000 in cash and a vast area of property for religious educational and social purposes, and has refrained from giving any directions about the disposal of this great amount of property, leaving this to a Board of Trustees to be elected by the citizens of College Point.”¹³

Unfortunately, a string of failures relating to his involvement in bringing railroads to Long Island would prevent him from making as great a historical legacy as the *New York Times* predicted.

By the time the Poppenhusen family got involved in railroading toward the close of the 1860’s, there were four rival railroad companies operating on Long Island. They were the Long Island, the Flushing and North Side, the South Side, and the Central.

The oldest by far was the Long Island Rail Road, chartered in the early 1830’s. It began at the water’s edge in Brooklyn and ran through Queens on the north shore directly along the spine of the Island to Greenport. The New York and Flushing and North Side Railroad ran from Hunter’s Point (Long Island City) east to the village of Flushing. Oliver Charlick had been the president of this line and was a difficult man, capable but autocratic. When his association with the Flushing and North Side ended, he assumed the presidency of the Long Island Railroad. The third railroad line, the South Side, ran from the Brooklyn waterfront through Glendale in Queens then dipped south and east, terminating in Patchogue. The final line, the Central Railroad, was the brainchild of A.T. Stewart of department store fame. He created the line in order to connect his model city, called Garden City, with New York City.

Before his departure to the Long Island, Charlick’s management had left the Flushing and North Side line in disarray. As a result a number of enterprising businessmen from Flushing recognized an opportunity to build a competing line into the city and hoped to run it at a profit. Poppenhusen got into the mix in 1868 at their request and extended the existing line into College Point then on to Whitestone. Had he stopped at this level of involvement, his fortunes might have had a different

outcome. A few months after the Institute opened in May 1870, Poppenhusen retired to Europe with his ailing wife Caroline, leaving his sons Adolph and Herman in charge of his rubber factory and the Flushing & North Side Railroad Company. Poppenhusen returned to the United States seven times during the 1870s, five of those times between 1875 and 1878. During this time, Adolph and Herman acquired each of the other rail lines at great expense, using their father's money. With the exception of the Long Island, none of the lines had ever made money, and were saddled with massive debt. By 1877 meeting interest payments alone was more than the vast Poppenhusen financial resources could handle. Conrad was forced into bankruptcy.¹⁴

Poppenhusen applied for personal bankruptcy in New York in 1877. The vast fortune he had built up over the preceding quarter century was insufficient to make up the loss from the railroads. According to the *Brooklyn Eagle*, Conrad's assets were \$7 million that year, roughly equivalent to \$125 million in 2003 dollars. His liabilities were placed at \$3 million. The *Brooklyn Eagle* did not rejoice. "Mr. Poppenhusen's embarrassment is a public misfortune," it stated. On September 28, 1878 the *New York Times* would write, "All his creditors having consented, Mr. Conrad Poppenhusen received his discharge in bankruptcy from United States Commissioner Winslow yesterday. Mr. Poppenhusen was some time ago the principal proprietor of the Long Island Railroad."¹⁵

One is left to wonder what grand plans were left unfulfilled and where Conrad Poppenhusen would rank today in the pantheon of nineteenth century German American philanthropists had he not gotten involved in railroads. Conrad Poppenhusen, the town founder and benefactor of College Point, died there on December 21, 1883. His remains were taken to nearby Flushing Cemetery and stored until March 7th of the following year, when those remains were removed and sent to Germany for burial at the Ohlsdorf Cemetery in Hamburg, the largest cemetery park in the world. His wife Caroline, who did not remarry, died in 1903 and is buried alongside her husband.

In the fall of the year following his death a memorial was erected in a triangular park located near his mansion in College Point. The monument is of granite, twelve feet high, surmounted by a bronze bust of the deceased. The pedestal bears the following inscription:

Poppenhusen
To the Memory of the Benefactor of College Point,
November 1, 1884
The residents erected the monument at a cost of \$2,000.

NOTES

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² P.W. Barker, *Charles Goodyear Connecticut Yankee and Rubber Pioneer*. (Boston: Published privately by Godfrey L. Cabot); Williamsburgh Directory for 1848-1849, 71.

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⁴ "College Point Village," *The Flushing Journal*, April 21, 1855.

⁵ "Some North Side Homes," *The Brooklyn Eagle*, July 19, 1896.

⁶ Autobiography of Conrad Poppenhusen.

⁷ *The Flushing Journal*, August 16, 1862.

⁸ *The Flushing Journal*, July 21, 1862.

⁹ Dave Bock, personal interview, October 26, 2003. See also <http://www.beardsleetelegraph.org/insulatedwire.html>.

¹⁰ "Funeral of Major Emil Duysing-Imposing Masonic Funeral Ceremony," *The Brooklyn Eagle*, May 8, 1865.

¹¹ *Poppenhusen Family Tree*, April 11, 1925.

¹² Available at www.froebelweb.org/images/schurz.html.

¹³ "A Princely Gift," *The New York Times*, April 7, 1868.

¹⁴ Vincent F. Seyfried, *The Long Island Rail Road: A Comprehensive History Part Two: The Flushing, North Shore & Central Railroad*. (Garden City, Long Island: Privately published by the author 1963): 132.

¹⁵ "The Bankruptcy of Poppenhusen," *The Brooklyn Eagle*, November 18, 1877; *New York Times*, September 28, 1878.

FEATURE: LONG ISLAND PLACE NAMES

In this issue we introduce a new feature entitled Long Island Place Names, designed to locate the origins and, where relevant, narrate the history of the names of Long Island's counties, villages, major highways and notable landmarks. There are reasons behind American place names, as historian Richard P. Harmond makes clear in his discussion of the origins of state names below.

INTRODUCTION: AMERICAN STATE NAMES

By Richard P. Harmond

American states' names usually reflect, in one way or another, the ethnic and social diversity of the country. The native American cultures for example have provided us with twenty-five out of the fifty states' names, a number out of all proportion to their impact on the wider American culture (although over two dozen Indian words from "papoose" "caribou" and "chipmunk," to "totem" and "woodchuck" pepper the American tongue).¹

Other state names can be traced to America's English, Spanish and to a lesser extent, Dutch and French roots. In the case of the latter, Louisiana is named after the seventeenth century French monarch, Louis XIV -- historically famous for his large appetite for flattery, food and female companionship. It was said of the "Sun King" that until well advanced in age, when religion and repentance descended on his "sinful" soul, no woman, from chambermaid to countess, was safe in his company.²

Not surprisingly, the Spanish influence is notable in areas once part of the Spanish empire in America, such as Florida, New Mexico, Colorado, and California. New Mexico is, of course, named after old Mexico; Colorado's name is derived from the Spanish "muddy" or "red" (as a contemporary observed, "the water is nearly red,") and Nevada from the Spanish "snow capped."

The great conquistador Hernando Cortes, master of the Aztecs of Mexico, is credited with naming our most populous state. The story goes that when reports of the discovery of the fabled island of the Amazons were relayed to him, he concluded that the area (actually the Californian coast) "must indeed be the island of California."

Spanish influence was not confined to the American southwest. Florida, until 1819 a Spanish possession, received its name in 1563 when Ponce de Leon first sailed along the coast of the future state. Since his discovery was made during the Easter season, on the "Feast of the

Flowers,” and as “Florida” is Spanish for the Feast, he chose the inspired name of Florida for our south-easternmost state. Similarly, St. Augustine (1565) the oldest city in North America, received its name from a pious Spanish explorer and soldier, Don Pedro Mendez, after having landed on the feast day of St. Augustine, the fifth century bishop of the North African diocese of Hippo, and one of the vital intellectual figures in the history of the Catholic Church.

However, to the north of Florida - that state not being one of the original colonies - most of the first colonies were named to honor English monarchs, entrepreneurs, humanitarians and idealists. George II, for instance, lent his name to Georgia, the last of the colonies (1732), which was established both as a buffer to Spain’s expansion northward and as a haven for imprisoned debtors.

The earliest of the English settlements, founded in Virginia in 1607 by a group of “merchant adventurers,” was named by Queen Elizabeth I. Conscious of her “virgin” state and the virgin conditions of the region, the Queen (with the approval of Sir Walter Raleigh, her counselor), named it the “Virgin Land,” or “Virginia.”

Between Virginia and Georgia lies the Carolinas. Like other well-connected members of the English nobility, Sir Robert Heath, the Attorney General petitioned the crown for a land parcel in the South. The king Charles I honored his request and Heath, in gratitude, named the area after the king. Charles land, when used as an adjective, transmutes to Carolina. Charles readily agreed and in 1629 issued a charter, asserting:

Know that we of our free grace, certain knowledge and mere motion do think fit to erect the said Region, territory and Isles into a province and by the fullness by our power and kingly authority for us and our heirs and successors we do erect and incorporate this into a province and name the same Carolina.

In 1630 Lord Baltimore (George Calvert) received from Charles I a grant of some ten million acres to the land issued immediately to the north of Virginia, which was named Maryland by the King to honor his spouse Queen Henrietta Maria. The grant made Calvert absolute lord and proprietor of Maryland. Calvert, a convert to Catholicism, intended the colony not only as a New World version of a feudal domain, but also as a refuge for his co-religionists. Since from the outset Protestants constituted a majority of the population, it was at the very least prudent of Calvert to establish a policy of religious tolerance -- a rare practice in an intolerant age, and one shared with Pennsylvania.

In 1681, William Penn, a Quaker, received a grant for the land that lay between New York and Maryland. Penn, a modest man, as befits a Quaker, when asked the name of the province, chose "Sylvania," Latin for "Forest land." To which the King, Charles II (son of Charles I), added "Penn." Penn rejected the honor, until he found that the name was meant to honor his father, William Penn the elder, an Admiral and national hero in his day.

Pennsylvania was one of the seven east coast colonies whose name could not be traced to English royalty. Also disrupting the pattern were New Jersey, named for the island of Jersey, and Delaware, named for the English baron and governor of Virginia, Lord Delaware.

In New England, New Hampshire was named after the county of Hampshire, in England. Vermont was apparently drawn from the French "les Monte Verte," and Rhode Island from the Isle of Rhodes. Connecticut on the other hand, was the English settler's version of an Indian word meaning "long estuary" that they pronounced "Quenticutt," and in time, Connecticut.

In 1614 John Smith, whose heroic leadership saved Virginia in its early years of settlement (1607 -1610), sailed north "to take whales, [and] to make trials of a mine of gold and copper." He was disappointed in the results of these ventures, but, noticing how our coast resembled parts of England, he followed Sir Francis Drake in naming the area Nova Albion or New England. He also took note of Massachusetts as an Indian town. It indeed was an Indian word, reflecting the predominance of the "Massa och" people, or "big-hill people" -- which to English ears sounded like Massachusetts.

Finally, we can see the royalist pattern again after the English conquered the colony of New Netherlands and its capital city, New Amsterdam in 1664, ending over thirty years of Dutch rule, and in the process renaming the province and city New York in honor of the Duke of York. The Dutch, though, left their impress on New York, in street names such as Broadway, Pearl and Wall streets, and in the language with words such as "cole slaw," "cookie," "waffle" or "stoop," names redolent of hearth and home.³

The Duke of York, as James II, assumed the throne in 1685 but was deposed three years later, when Parliament named William of Orange and his wife Mary, of the Netherlands, as the kingdom's new monarch. The ascension of William and Mary to the throne ended a chapter in English as well as American and Long Island colonial history, as we shall see in future Long Island Place Names.

NOTES

¹ H.L. Menckein, *The American Language*, 4th ed., revised and abridged by Raven I. McDonald, Jr.(N.Y.: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963). Unless otherwise indicated this essay is based on the classic work in the field, George R. Steward, *Names on the Land: A Historical Account of Place Naming in the United States*, 4th ed. (Boston: Houston Nuffler, 1982). There are 3,142 counties in the United States the names of which generally reflect the same ethnic and social diversity.

² Louisiana is also the only state whose civil law is based on the Napoleonic code.

³ Menckein, 111.

FEATURE: LONG ISLAND PLACE NAMES

Bringing a Long Island perspective to this column, historian John Strong takes a look at the work of William Wallace Tooker on the Indian origin of Long Island's place names.

William Wallace Tooker. *The Indian Place Names on Long Island and Islands Adjacent: With Their Probable Significations*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1911. Reprint, Port Washington: N.Y.: Ira J. Friedman, 1962.

WILLIAM WALLACE TOOKER

By John Strong

William Wallace Tooker (1848-1917) earned his living as a pharmacist in Sag Harbor, but his real passion was ethnography. As a child of five he was fascinated by the prehistoric Indian artifacts he found around his home and is said to have begun his artifact collection at that early age. This interest developed into a lifelong study of Long Island's first inhabitants. Unlike many amateur collectors, Tooker wanted to learn all he could about the ancient peoples who had produced these artifacts. In addition to these material items, the Indians had left behind another intriguing mark of their past. Many of their names for geographic locations were adopted by the English settlers and remain today a distinguishing feature on the map of Long Island.

We have few records of the deliberations among the first settlers about the original names of Long Island places. All we know, for example, is that the Southampton settlers named their community after a town in England, whereas Smithtown and Gardiners Island reflect the egos of two prominent colonial settlers. In Patchogue and Ronkonkoma, however, the Indian names survived. Tooker, of course, was not interested in the question of why a name was selected, his fascination was with the Indian words themselves. This interest led him to a rigorous self-directed study of local colonial documents and the literature on North American Indian languages.

Although Tooker wrote numerous ethnographic essays he is best known for his translations of Indian place names. Unfortunately there were no Algonquian speaking Indians living on Long Island by the time of Tooker's birth. Undeterred by his lack of formal training in linguistics, Tooker studied the few existing lists of Long Island Indian words and consulted the data on neighboring Algonquian Indian languages from southern New England to New Jersey and the southern Hudson River

valley. Tooker began with a compilation of Algonquian names he found in seventeenth century colonial records. He then searched the existing word lists and vocabularies looking for similar words or portions of words. When he found what he considered to be significant correlations, he applied his common sense and made his interpretation.

Tooker notes in his introduction to *Indian Place Names on Long Island* that only a few scattered lists of words spoken by the Long Island Indians have survived. The best known list, which included about 162 words, was compiled in 1791 by Thomas Jefferson when he and James Madison visited William Floyd on Long Island. Another list of only seventy-five words was given to John Lyon Gardiner in 1798 by George Pharaoh, a Montaukett Indian. Tooker supplemented this very slim data base by drawing upon the research done by local historians in southern New England and New Jersey. Tooker felt that these were reliable sources because the native peoples living in these areas spoke languages which were very similar to those spoken on Long Island.

Tooker's approach is illustrated in his entry for *Poosepatuck*, the name of the Unkechaug reservation near Mastic. It is located on Mastic Neck, a few miles east of Patchogue, where a small stream flows into the Forge River. He begins by citing the use of the word in the seventeenth century documents and reminding his readers that there was no uniform spelling for unwritten languages. The English scribes who wrote down the word had their own interpretation of the spelling. The variants of *Poosepatuck*, for example, include *Pospatou*, *Pusspa'tuck*, *Pusspa'tok*, and *Poospatuck*. The neck of land, said Tooker, was given to the Unkechaug by William Smith on July 2, 1700. He then quotes several lines from the grant and gives the citation in the Brookhaven Town Records. For modern scholars these citations are much more valuable than his translations.

After providing his readers with the historical background, he then explains how he arrived at his translation. Relying on data from three related Algonquian tribes, Tooker decided that the best translation would be "union of two rivers and a fall into tide water." The prefix *poosepa*, he said, was similar to the Narragansett word *Paspisha*, which means "he rises," and the Massachusetts word *pashpishau* meaning "he arises," or "bursts forth," or "blooms." The suffix, *tuck*, means "tidal river or creek" in the documents describing the mouth of the Connecticut River. The Chickahominy in Virginia call the place where a freshwater stream flows into the ocean, *Paspapegh*.

In 1888 *The Brooklyn Eagle*, which at that time was Long Island's major newspaper, published his first list of place name translations. The readers were delighted and wanted more. Tooker soon became a regular contributor. Local boosters put the translations in their public relations

brochures and others gave their boats, country cottages, hotels, and clubs Indian names. He eventually expanded his word list to include more than 500 words before crippling arthritis gradually limited his mobility and sapped his energy. The wealthy heiress to the fortune of Russell Sage, who had taken up residence in Sag Harbor, came to his aid in 1906. She provided him with a trust fund enabling him to devote his time and energy to completing an encyclopedia of place names. By the time his book *Indian Place Names on Long Island* was published in 1911, Tooker had established a reputation as one of the most knowledgeable scholars of Indian culture on Long Island. The book, however, was for the general public. His first appendix was a list of Algonquian names, "suitable for country homes, hotels, clubs, and motor boats."

Professional linguists dismissed his translations because they were based only on comparisons with other Algonquian languages. Such "mere coincidences," they said, were "scarcely worth the trouble of noting, much less of serious study." When Tooker was working on the first list for the *Eagle* in 1887, he sent a copy of his translations to James Pilling, the linguist for the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE). The bureau had been established in 1879 under the direction of John Wesley Powell. Powell moved very aggressively to raise the standards of scientific research in the relatively new academic discipline of ethnography. Pilling, who had begun working on a linguistic classification and bibliography of North American languages in 1877, was brought to the BAE by Powell to apply scientific rigor to the study of Indian languages. Neither man had any patience for amateurs and lay scholars such as Tooker.

Pilling responded to Tooker rather curtly, telling him that one could "reach no satisfactory results in tracing etymologies unless you have good vocabularies of the Algonquian dialects spoken on or about Long Island, and unless you possess as well an extensive knowledge of Algonquian languages generally . . . The origin and significance of Algonquian place names is to be found by searching Algonquian languages and in no other way." Ives Goddard, Smithsonian's current expert on Native American linguistics, is less severe. He told *Newsday* reporter Steve Wick, that "I have read Tooker for years. I keep his book right on the shelf by my desk. I take a generous view of my predecessors. He should not be beat up today for not figuring it out. After all there were no native speakers he could have gone to to decipher the place names. His book can still contribute to our knowledge of Indian history on Long Island. And I am sure that he is right in some areas, and his cultural information is most valuable today . . . Tooker did the spade work and that is good for us today." Historians today are willing to grant that some of Tooker's

educated guesses about the meaning of some place names may be correct or at least close.

Tooker may have been disappointed, but he was not discouraged by Pillings's critique of his methods. This was fortunate because, as Goddard pointed out, Tooker's exhaustive research in the colonial deeds and related primary documents have provided modern ethnographers with a rich data base. Scholars studying the seventeenth century deeds, for example, can consult Tooker to get the locations of boundaries, and other useful information about the historical context.

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Starting from fish-shape Paumanok where I was born...

Walt Whitman



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FEATURE: LOST AND FOUND

Historian Beverly C. Tyler rediscovers an 1881 history of St. George's Church in Hempstead, Long Island.

William H. Moore. *History of St. George's Church, Hempstead, Long Island*. Interlaken, New York: Empire State Books, Reprint by the Friends of Historic St. George's Church from an 1881 Copy, Hempstead, New York, 2003. Forward vii-viii, List of Illustrations v, List of Rectors since 1849 vi, Index ii + Pp. 308.

By Beverly C. Tyler

The Rev. William H. Moore was a writer and historian who recognized that the history of a place, in this case St. George's Church, existed in relationship to its surrounding community and region. Within this book are numerous gems of local history that will provide readers with many opportunities for further study. The book is laced throughout with excerpts of primary documents from parish, town, province and state records, letters, and other correspondence; as well as numerous secondary records from publications and historical sources.

Moore's writing flows and his easy style makes for enjoyable reading. Moore's wonderfully detailed extracts of the second minister of St. George's Church, Rev Robert Jenny, provide an insight into the development of Hempstead in the 1720s and details of the construction of the third church building in 1734, the first to be built exclusively as an Episcopal church. Moore included a very detailed drawing of the building, which seems to have come to light during his ministry. The drawing bears a striking similarity to the Caroline Church of Brookhaven, in Setauket, which was constructed in 1729, and which continues in use today.

The letters of the Rev. Leonard Cutting (Pp. 123-125), the Fourth Rector of St. George's, is one of many fascinating sections, "Jan. 6, 1777. – In the turbulent and precarious situation this country has been in since January last, the church here and at Oysterbay (sic) has escaped better than was expected . . ."

The eight chapters which make up this book are divided chronologically from 1695 though 1877, covering the pastorate of the eleven rectors who served St. George's Church. The growth and changes that occurred in the Hempstead church during these years are well documented here, as are the lives of the men who served the church. Included in the chapter on the period from 1799 to 1829 is a detailed

record of the building of the Fourth church in 1822 (consecrated 1823) taken from parish records, as well as extracts from the published sermon of the rector, the Rev. Mr. Hart on the Sunday after the consecration.

Moore is unusually consistent in his detailing of records and sources associated with both Hempstead and St. George's Church. As noted in the book's 2003 Forward he knew the Long Island historian Henry Onderdonk and this connection probably influenced his work. Moore served St. George's longer than any other minister before or after his "Rectorship" from 1849 to 1892, and he takes a wonderfully detached view of each of the previous ten rectors and their service to St. Georges.

At the end of the book is Moore's information on a number of surrounding Episcopal churches including a section on the establishment of the Episcopal Cathedral at Garden City. This is a welcome addition to the growing ranks of republished historical books and manuscripts.

SECONDARY SCHOOL CONTEST

We are pleased to present the following four winning essays in our Secondary School Essay Contest, a yearly event co-sponsored by Stony Brook University's Center for Excellence and Innovation in Education, Dr. Eli Seifman, director emeritus. These papers illustrate the high quality of secondary education on Long Island. We encourage social studies teachers to submit papers by their students exploring any aspect of Long Island History. The papers are not presented in any particular order.

MICHAEL GLYNNE'S THEATER: THE MAKING OF A CULTURAL INSTITUTION IN PATCHOGUE, NEW YORK

By Daniel Winkler and Crystal Vagnier

Daniel Winkler and Crystal Vagnier explore the rise, decline, and rise of a Long Island cultural landmark.

The 1920s were a time of vaudeville, Broadway shows, and silent films, when theater was one of the few important means of escaping everyday life. It had been no more than five years since the end of the Great War, and postwar depression had finally given way to prosperity. On May 23 1923, in the heart of Patchogue, a "Grand Dame" opened its doors for the first time - a masterpiece of architectural beauty and sophistication known as Ward & Glynne's Patchogue Theater.¹

As the early 1920's unfolded a young class of theatrical entrepreneurs began to dream of providing a respite many Americans were in need of. Among them was New York's prominent Michael Glynne, widely known for his Astoria Theater in Queens. Glynne, in an effort to provide Long Island with a home for first run photoplays and vaudeville, invested over \$275,000 to construct a high profile theater.² It boasted a state-of-the-art geothermal air cooling system where cool air could be rushed into the theater from the floor line by fans and sucked out at the ceiling line by four, seven foot typhoon fans above the ceiling, providing 200 square feet of ventilators. This provided a complete change of air every five minutes.

The theater became a marvel of its time. Glynne purchased only the finest materials for the construction of his theater. Built with a brightly illuminated marquee, lit by over two thousand lamps, the theater boasted a majestic entrance refined by five crystal chandeliers and lobby walls saturated in gold leaf. This royal structure redefined

the meaning of elegance. Glynne named it after himself and Joseph Ward, his late partner.

Patchogue welcomed Glynne right from the beginning. *The Patchogue Advance*, a community periodical, raved about the new structure and its future impact on the town. The theater was said to mark “a big step in the forward progress of Patchogue, as the promoters have given the town as fine a theater as can be found in many cities of the first class.”³ Local townspeople were not Glynne’s only supporters. From Montauk to Manhattan, chitchat about Ward and Glynne began to draw interests from all over. Steel tycoon Charles M. Schwab and over 500 Elks attended a ceremonial dedication for Glynne and his theater. In a letter written by John E. Kiffen, of the Queens Borough Elks Lodge, to John E. Glover, of the Patchogue Elks Lodge, Kiffen discussed his appreciation for his fellow “brother.” Kiffen agreed to hold a “Michael Glynne Night” in which he, along with several hundred other Elk members, would drive to Patchogue and show their support. The following excerpt was taken from Kiffen’s letter in which he elucidated his opinions of Glynne:

An idea of our appreciation of Mike Glynne’s worth may be conveyed to you when I say that he is the only member of Queens Borough Lodge except Past Exalted Rulers who have ever been presented with a life membership by the Lodge. We regret keenly that his activities in Patchogue will take him away from our meetings, but like the good Elk that he is, I am sure that he will drop in occasionally at the meetings of the Patchogue Lodge, and I bespeak for him a hearty welcome.

Glynne knew that the theater would be an instant success. The nearest upscale theater was in Freeport, about thirty-five miles away. Patchogue had a population of about 10,000 in 1920, making competition from another theater unlikely. Glynne’s new theater would not only bring high-class entertainment to the area, but would offer high-class service by well-paid, satisfied employees. Glynne had been inspired by the philosophy of Henry Ford: paying higher wages will result in a finer service. “When you enter one of my theaters you will be greeted by cheerful and obliging employees . . . My employees are as much interested in the success of the theater as I am because they are treated squarely.”⁴

On May 23, 1923 the Queensboro Elks, led by the Patchogue Elks and their band, held a parade before the opening show, enlivening the

streets of the town with music and cheers. Efficient ushers seated the immense audience that filled the spacious lobby and handsome foyer without a hitch. The orchestra, led by Director Ben Nelson, rendered beautiful music and began the regular program with the "Star-Spangled Banner." Village President Dr. M. H. Overton made a speech of welcome and congratulation. He praised Mr. Glynn and Patchogue for possessing such a fine theater. He said the people of Patchogue had a great deal of pride in their town and its institutions, and that he was sure he voiced the sentiments of all in saying they were "mighty proud" of their new theater.

The audience was generous in its applause of the fine vaudeville program given by Newhoff and Phelps, The Four Bards, Bobby Higgins and Company, and Milo Harry Slatke and Company. After the regular program Mr. Grandland, special representative of the Famous Players-Lasky Corporation and Marcus Loew, introduced Queens borough President Connolly. Connolly made a speech highly complimentary of Glynn who, he said, by locating his big theater in Astoria, had put that community on the map and gave it great economic momentum. Connolly said, "We never thought Glynn would get away with it, but he did, and pulled the community along with him. We think so much of him, that if this affair was in Chicago, or even San Francisco, we would all be there."⁵

A glittering array of the biggest movie stars of the day appeared at Ward and Glynn's in the early years of the theater, from Gloria Swanson in her major hit film *Prodigal Daughters* to Harold Lloyd in *Safety Last*. The theater attracted movie fans with its wealth of first class cinema offerings. Thomas Meighan, one of the best loved male stars at the time, appeared in *Ne'er Do Well*. This was the first of the vaudeville and feature films shown. It ran four days with tremendous success, selling out all four nights at the box office. Glynn personally supervised the theater's bookings. One of the most popular attractions of the time was Rose's Royal Midgets, a group of twenty-five "wonderful little people." The show introduced the only midget jazz band in the world at the time.⁶ However, as the 1930s approached, vaudeville became scarce. Everyone wanted to watch "talkies," which were being produced in Hollywood at a prodigious rate. As a result Ward and Glynn became strictly a movie palace.

In 1929 the theater was sold to the Prudential Theater Circuit and it remained a motion picture theater for over forty years. Sadly, time was not kind to the theater. In 1958 a fire destroyed the lobby in its entirety. Although much of the exterior was damaged from the fire, the auditorium remained untouched and the theater opened for business the very next evening, showing its feature *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*. The

ruined marquee was replaced by a more modern façade and the entire décor was simply hidden by wallpaper, dry wall and plywood. The lobby's new design lacked the glamour it once held. Ultimately, the theater was rebuilt along much smaller lines and several storefronts were added to the front of the building. The new look of Glynne's theater paled in comparison to its former grandeur.

In 1980 United Artists purchased the building from Prudential. By that time multiplexes were the frenzy, and United Artists divided the theater into a triplex, obliterated its interior and added a ceiling to extend the balcony level for a third screen. The once gorgeous plaster columns were smashed, sheetrock and wallpaper were mounted, and ceilings were dropped. Thus the days of the single screen theater ended at Glynne's. The new design was also short lived, however, as smaller theaters gave way to multi-screen behemoths. Increased competition from discount centers and malls left many of the downtown areas on Long Island struggling for survival, and Patchogue was no exception.⁷ The Patchogue Theater as a movie house publicly shut its doors in 1987 and remained empty, piteous and neglected until the late 1990s, when village revitalization began in Patchogue.

Village officials and business leaders did an inventory of the theater in October of 1994. They discovered that much of the original décor was maintained underneath the wallpaper, dry walls and plywood. In late 1997 the Patchogue Village Board purchased the theater and searched for funding to revamp and restore the building to its previous glory.⁸ New York Design Studios created a new lobby, featuring a mahogany bar and Art Deco style lavatories. Since the Village envisioned a Performing Arts Center, construction addressing modern theatrical requirements began. Extensions were added on to the auditorium as well as the parking lot. Over one thousand period seats were acquired from Manhattan's Imperial Theater to reestablish the original seating capacity. In 1999 plasterer Chet Mitrani restored and repaired the plasterwork on the auditorium walls, and added tapestry wall fabric. An antique chandelier from California was added to the ceiling to bring back the theater's innovative elegance.

In early 2001 the final touches were put on the theater, and it was renamed the Patchogue Theater for the Performing Arts. Village officials wanted original theatrical productions, national tours of Broadway shows and big name concerts at their theater. In turn they recruited fresh faces and new acts.⁹ Today, the theater offers summer concerts, stand-up comedians and a wide variety of entertainment. For eighty years the theater that was once Ward and Glynne's had an impact on the Village of Patchogue and the rest of Long Island as well, and has become a permanent part of Long Island's history.

Michael Glynn once had a dream he would build a theater that would help unite the community. With the opening of his theater in 1923 Glynn accomplished his goal, and his achievement remains evident today.

NOTES

¹ Patchogue Theatre for the Performing Arts Information, *The History of the Patchogue Theatre*, <http://www.patchoguetheater.com/TPTTheatreHistory.htm>. Accessed November 16, 2002.

² *Ibid.*

³ *The Patchogue Advance* reported the community's response to the theatre. In its early 1923 issues, the paper documented the progress and completion of the theatre. May 18, 1923, *The Patchogue Advance* devoted every page to congratulating Glynn on his theatre with advertisements, features writing, editorial cartooning and performance information. *The Patchogue Advance*, "Outstanding Features of Patchogue's Wonderful New Theatre," May, 18 1923.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ "Mike Glynn Nigh in Patchogue," *The Patchogue Advance*, May 25, 1923.

⁶ "Queer Little Folks Here In August: They Have Been Secured By Glynn For His New Theatre Here In August," *The Patchogue Advance*, June 5, 1923.

⁷ Hans Henke, *Patchogue* 8 (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 1998), 108.

⁸ Greater Patchogue Chamber of Commerce, *Greater Patchogue Chamber of Commerce Handbook* (Patchogue, N.Y.: Greater Patchogue Chamber of Commerce, 2002), 4.

⁹ Patchogue Theatre for the Performing Arts Information.

SOCIAL AND SPATIAL MOBILITY OF IRISH AND GERMAN IMMIGRANTS IN BROOKLYN IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

By Vikram Chabra

Vikram Chabra examines myths and popular perceptions regarding socioeconomic and ethnic mobility patterns of nineteenth century immigrants in Brooklyn. The article seeks to determine the extent to which Irish and German immigrants moved out or up to more ethnically diverse wards of higher socioeconomic status and whether or not these patterns were typical for other immigrant groups.

Between 1834 and 1865 Brooklyn made a remarkable transition from a small but active village to the third largest urban center in the nation. Although merger with Williamsburg contributed significantly, immigration from Europe expanded substantially as large numbers of Irish, Germans, Scandinavians and British left their former homes. Driven by poverty, famine, or political and religious conflict, and attracted by the lure of relative tolerance and economic opportunity, the newcomers arrived in unprecedented numbers between 1840 and 1860. The population of Brooklyn more than doubled to nearly 97,000 between 1840 and 1850. By 1860 it had reached 267,000, due in large part to the wave of European immigration to the United States, which transformed Brooklyn into the third largest city in the nation as of that year. Irish peasants escaping famine and German farmers and craftsmen fleeing the disruption of a failed revolution poured into the city in the mid-nineteenth century. By 1855, nearly half of Brooklyn's residents were foreign-born, with about half of these newcomers Irish, while the rest were distributed among Germans, Swedes, Norwegians, and Britons.¹

More often than not, newcomers to America came with little in the way of capital or skills valuable in an urban industrial society. Hence, most immigrants tended to begin on the bottom rungs of the socioeconomic ladder. All groups, however, experienced some social mobility in time. Typically, the second generation produced a few who attained wealth, power, and recognition in the larger society and many more who achieved solid middle class status.² Extensive literature concerning social mobility has emerged since Stephan Thernstrom's pioneering research first appeared in 1964, but there has been surprisingly little systematic study of the rate, timing, and channels of intra-urban geographic mobility experienced by newcomers to America.³ Moreover, Thernstrom's work inspired social mobility studies of most large studies

such as New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, San Francisco, and even smaller municipalities such as Worcester and Poughkeepsie.⁴ Yet little attention has been directed towards Brooklyn, which affords an excellent laboratory in which to explore such questions.

For over a century the history of this community has largely been the history of immigrants and their children. The massive influx of destitute Irish peasants fleeing their famine-ridden homeland in the 1840s helped bring the city's population of foreign born residents to nearly fifty percent as early as 1855. The steady stream of Germans seeking political liberty and economic opportunity each decade from 1850 to 1900 helped kept the immigrant to native ratio roughly equal throughout the half century.

Anecdotal evidence suggests a pattern of self-segregation or clustering among German immigrants, whereas contemporaries viewed Irish immigrants as more likely to flee the original tenement neighborhoods as soon as opportunity presented itself. Examples of German self-segregation include the banning of certain literatures by German reading societies.⁵ Any book that ran counter to good manners, contained "ungodly content" or promoted anything that might cause religious or political disruption was forbidden. Over one thousand forbidden titles were listed in an 1807 catalogue, including authors such as Schiller, Wieland, Pope, Shakespeare, Langbein, Klopstock, Heinrich von Kleist, Lessing, Schroder, and Musaus.⁶

Objectives adopted by German singing societies in their constitutions included chauvinistic social and cultural objectives. This kind of chauvinism tended to decrease with length of residence in the United States. Yet society by-laws included statements praising the perpetuation of German song, customs, and language after the turn of the twentieth century. The early requirement that members speak only German within the society hall was among the first requirement to disappear. Yet, mottos such as "Wir lieben deutsches Fröhlichsein, und echte deutsche Sitte" (We love German cheerful disposition, and real German custom) and objectives like "Improvement in song and in social discourse through the same" continued to reflect these cultural and social goals.⁷

The social and economic characteristics of newcomers to Brooklyn in the late nineteenth century often determined the level at which they initially established themselves on the occupational ladder. There is a substantial historical and sociological literature that treats migration and economic opportunity in recent decades. Popular folklore is rich with stereotypes about the connection between migration and worldly success, but such folklore is a poor guide to social reality, and sociological literature, though useful, is contradictory and over generalized. There were important historical shifts in the Irish and German migration throughout the late 1800s that have not been properly recognized.

Moreover, some relevant differences exist between the two particular migrating groups. Broad generalizations about “immigrants” or “migrants” result in a failure to account for the diversity of experience from group to group and over time.⁸

Historian Jay Dolan points out that the Irish arrived in America with substantially less money and fewer skills relevant to an industrializing economy than did most other “old immigrant” groups, such as the Germans, Swedes, Norwegians or British. Moreover, Dolan’s *Immigrant Church* argues that Irish Americans’ traditional devotion to the Roman Catholic faith, displayed annually in St. Patrick’s Day parades (a practice more important to the Irish in the United States than to the Irish in Ireland), was not necessarily an expression of piety. At home, the pre-famine Irish had hardly been avid churchgoers, and this attitude was reflected in the Irish immigrants arriving in New York. The distinction between churchgoers and non-churchgoers illustrates the division within the Irish immigrant community. According to Dolan many newcomers, “Catholic by birth and heritage but not in practice, lived on the fringe of parish life.” Catholicism was, for many, an ethnic identifier rather than an expression of piety.⁹

Conversely, New York Germans, approximately half of whom professed to be Catholic, displayed an intense devotion to both religion and nationality. This was particularly true of the immigrant priests who tirelessly campaigned to promote the Roman Catholic faith *and* to preserve the German language and customs. Their slogan was telling: “Language saves faith.” As these clerics judged the situation, the key was “for Germans to preserve German.”¹⁰ In fact, from 1845 to 1870, German American priests became increasingly nationalistic, well before Germany unified as a nation. In the United States the principal solution to the issue of religious nationalism became the formation of Germanic national parishes. These parishes eventually became the trademark of German American Catholicism. In essence, when Saint Nicholas church was founded in Manhattan in 1833 and Most Holy Trinity was created in Williamsburg in 1849, New York and Brooklyn’s German Catholics succeeded in creating a “church within a church.” This satisfied their unique religious needs and reinforced group consciousness, and became particularly evident in Brooklyn after the mid nineteenth-century. This group’s goal went beyond merely preserving a German identity in an American city, by attempting to protect their traditions in the Irish dominated American Catholic church. The segregated parish was one way in which German American Catholics could achieve their twin goals of strengthening their sense of ethnicity and insulating themselves from the allegedly hostile natives and Irish within their own faith. An indication of the success of this tendency was exhibited in the remarkably

low rate of exogamy at German parishes. Fifty years after the formation of Most Holy Trinity on Montrose Street, the parish marriage registers contain only one Irish or Irish American bride in a three-year sample period. This low level of intermarriage pointed to the strong social bonds that cemented the community together. The German language parish was perhaps the institution that best reinforced this cohesion.

Immigrants retained strong nationalist feelings toward their native land. Such ties aided the development of “ghettos,” or ethnically homogeneous communities. In this sense the bond among the Irish was as strong as among any other ethnic groups. This ethnic unity acted to cushion the Irish immigrants’ settlement in America, but intermarriage, which did exist in different degrees depending upon the character of each community, clearly violated the principles of this unity. Upper classes tended to intermarry more readily as high status limited ones options to marry endogamously, although apparently not among parishioners at German language churches.

According to Oscar Handlin the flourishing of Irish American institutions in Boston was an accurate reflection of their consciousness of group identity.¹¹ Such autonomous activities had no counterpart in the Old World where the community itself was a unified whole, generally satisfying the social desires of its members. Similarly, in Brooklyn, independent fraternal societies developed among immigrants in response to unmet needs. However, the rift between native born and newcomers in the American city may have been wider in New England. According to the *Boston Pilot*, “cooperation for any length of time in important matters between *true* Catholics and *real* Protestants is morally impossible.”¹² Unable to participate in the normal associational affairs of the community, the Boston Irish felt obliged to erect a society within a society, to act together in their own way. In every contact, therefore, the group, acting apart from other sections of the community, became intensely aware of its peculiar and exclusive identity.¹³ In Brooklyn, the Irish followed this pattern to a degree. Irish athletic societies, temperance organizations, and mutual aid societies abounded. However, the tendency toward self-segregation was much more pronounced among Brooklyn’s Germans who endeavored to create their own Kleindeutschland (Little Germany) in the central Williamsburg neighborhood.¹⁴

On the other hand, upwardly mobile Irish Americans showed no reluctance to live in largely non-Irish neighborhoods when economic circumstances allowed them to do so. Less than thirty-five percent of the Irish population stayed in the same ward upon achieving upward mobility. Even many of those Irish who were downwardly mobile moved to areas of lesser Irish homogeneity. This willingness to “live among the Protestants” is even seen in the cases of those young men and women

who chose domestic service, who by definition moved out of the old neighborhood to toil in the better homes of the wealthier wares of Brooklyn. German Americans, on the other hand, showed little taste for domestic service.¹⁵

The degree of intermarriage reflects and supports the distinction between the Irish and other ethnic groups. Among the Irish, religious and social considerations reinforced the natural tendency to marry their own. As Catholics they were repeatedly warned that union with Protestants was tantamount to loss of faith. Of course the great majority of Brooklynites, most of whom claimed Dutch or English ancestry, considered marriage with an Irishman degrading. As a result, the percentage of Irish religious exogamy in most northeastern cities was lower than that of any other immigrant group. Exogamy within the Catholic faith was somewhat different, as will be discussed below.

In 1991, student essayist Jessica Wilson closely examined marriage patterns among Brooklyn's Irish and German Catholics by employing data from baptismal and marriage records. Both forms of official documentation give the names of the wedding couple or parents of the newly baptized infant. Some even recorded the place of birth of these participants. A surname analysis was conducted, supplemented by parental birthplace notations for approximately sixty percent of marriages. The numbers and percentages of Irish and German exogamy and endogamy could thus be tallied.¹⁷

Founded in 1849, Most Holy Trinity, a German language parish, in many ways dominated and symbolized the German community of Williamsburg and served a huge, ethnically homogeneous population. "Trinity" was just one facet of an intertwined social network, which included German run schools, political clubs, temperance organizations, shooting and singing societies, and fire companies.¹⁸ It stands in stark contrast to Irish patterns of the same period.

The marriage records for this particular parish were readily available and remarkably well documented. During the three years between 1899 and 1901, 148 marriages were recorded in the official marriage register. To demonstrate the ethnic exclusivity of the parish, only three non-Germans had married into the parish during the study period. Two of these "exceptions" were first generation French immigrants and the third was Mary Ellen Reilly. Born in the United States to Irish parents, Reilly married a second generation German American. Among the 296 member sample, only seven individuals were listed as non-Catholics who converted before marriage. Each of these non-Catholic members was born in America. Twenty-eight percent of the couples married at Most Holy Trinity around the turn of the century consisted of men and women who were both born in Germany. Forty-

five percent of all grooms were born in Germany, while only thirty-seven percent of all brides were immigrants themselves. This pattern may have developed simply because there were greater numbers of immigrant males than females in the city.¹⁹

Similarly detailed information is not available for comparable Irish dominated parishes. One such parish, St. Agnes, was located in South Brooklyn, or "Red Hook." This waterfront area was divided between pockets of middle class residences and industrial areas dominated by warehouses, docks and railroad yards. Occupations represented in this parish ranged widely from assemblyman James Sheridan, a member of the McLaughlin machine, to wage laborer. There was no significant male or female majority in South Brooklyn, however, the Irish population stood at over fifty percent. The congregation and the marriage records of St. Agnes Church, however, reflected ethnic diversity. The sample for this parish spanned a longer period of time because of the absence of detail in the files, and a smaller congregation. Between the years 1878 and 1901, well over half of St. Agnes' marriages took place between Irish couples. However, there was a significant minority of purely German marriages and of cross ethnic combinations. The Irish did not create an isolated world immersed in Irish culture as did the Germans. This is not surprising because relatively few Irish spoke only Gaelic and the Irish born Bishop of Brooklyn posed no threat to the culture. Of the 1,273 marriages studied, sixty-one percent were between two Irish people; twelve percent united two Germans; seventeen percent mixed members of various indistinguishable ancestries, and ten percent took place between Irish and Germans. Interestingly, among mixed marriages between the Irish and German, exactly fifty percent involved Irish women marrying German men, while fifty percent involved the reverse.²⁰

The Church of Assumption was another small Brooklyn parish with a predominantly Irish congregation. Its makeup was typical of an Irish parish. In 1850, seventy percent of the marriages took place between two Irish individuals; five percent of the marriages were exclusively German; sixteen percent involved mixed unknown nationalities and nine percent of the marriages were German-Irish. Within this parish a significant gap existed between the percentages of Irish women intermarrying and those of Irish men. Fifty-nine percent of Irish/German marriages united an Irish woman to a German groom.²¹

The 1890 census showed Brooklyn's German population (i.e., residents who claimed a German-born mother) at its peak of 196,000 since it already contained the bulk of the two great waves of German migration. Between 1855 and 1865 differences in Irish and German migration can be seen in census figures. There was only a minimal increase in the Irish population since the Irish had generally come in

largest numbers in the late 1840s and 1880s, while the Germans arrived more gradually, decade by decade.

Table 1
Components of Growth of the Brooklyn Irish & German Population

Irish Born	German Born
1855 Population: 56,753	1855 Population: 17,902
1865 Population: 57,323	1865 Population: 26,048
Total Change: 570	Total Change: 8,146
Percent Change: + 1%	Percent Change: + 45.5%

Source: 1890 U.S. Census

The new influx of Germans helped to expand and augment the group's social structure, reinforcing older institutions and creating new ones, forging the German America that many would later remember fondly. There was a vast array of social organizations to suit every interest. Neighborhoods overflowed not only with German churches and newspapers, but also with German banks, confectioners, insurance companies, grocers, and taverns. Weekends offered a variety of "German-Sabbath" picnics, excursions and dances, all supported with an abundance of German beer.²² Schaefer and Rheingold were the last and most famous vestiges of the "golden age" of Brooklyn's breweries when each closed up their Brooklyn operations in the 1970s.²³

The institutional structure of German America, based on a booming population, was further enhanced by the relative prosperity of the group. German farmers could generally claim to be more prosperous than their neighbors. German workers were more frequently found in the skilled and semi-skilled trades giving a solidly middle class base to their German immigrant community. It is probably not inaccurate to call the resulting structure of German America "[t]he most successful effort of an immigrant group at establishing its institutions in America – even as we acknowledge in retrospect how fleeting this achievement was."²⁴

In both New York and Brooklyn, each ethnic group exhibited its own distinctive settlement pattern. The Germans tended to segregate themselves, whether they lived in the tenement districts of New York's Germantown and Brooklyn's Williamsburg, or the single family homes of Riverdale just south of the Bronx. By 1890, the Irish were virtually ubiquitous, inhabiting all areas and all housing types of Brooklyn. In Brooklyn, no single ward housed more than nine percent of the city's Irish, whereas thirty-six percent of Kings County Germans lived in only two of twenty-six wards. When the Irish "moved up" economically, they typically "moved out" of the old neighborhood to a nicer area of mixed

ethnicity. Upwardly mobile Germans tended to move to a nicer block in the same neighborhood when fortunes improved. Curiously, Italians often settled in areas vacated by the upwardly mobile Irish, founding Little Italy in Manhattan's old Sixth Ward and moving into the anachronistically named "Irish Town" of Brooklyn's Fifth Ward between 1880 and 1890.²⁵

Brooklyn's Irish, more than any other group, tended to be the most evenly dispersed throughout the municipality. According to the 1890 census *Vital Statistics Report* the least Irish districts had much higher population densities (119.3 persons per acre) than heavily Irish areas (89.1). Yet tenement housing was prevalent in both Irish and non-Irish districts. These two seemingly contradictory relationships support the hypothesis that the Irish presence was widely dispersed by the end of the nineteenth century. In addition, an inversely proportional relationship existed between Germans and Irish populations. Particularly in Brooklyn, the groups kept to their own areas. Perhaps this was due to the city's unique history – i.e., the heavily German Williamsburg had been an independent municipality until 1855. In fact, the Irish were more likely to live among the native born than the Germans. In New York City, the Irish lived most often in ten of the waterfront tenement areas. They did show some inclination for living among the newly arrived Italians in Ward Ten (in Brooklyn, the Irish and Italians mixed freely in Ward Two), but they seemed to avoid the Russian-Polish areas, for the Irish were nowhere to be found in Manhattan's Ward Six. In Manhattan, the Irish who successfully traveled up the socioeconomic ladder found themselves primarily in the northern Bronx (Ward Twenty-Four) and in Wards Twenty-Two, and Nineteen. Here in "suburbia" the Irish and Germans seemed to mix, but this was not so in tenement areas where these two groups seemed to be segregated into their own districts. Perhaps their rivalry was intensified by job competition in the poor neighborhoods.

The German population in Brooklyn was unlike that of other ethnic groups in that they seemed to purposely segregate themselves even when economic conditions allowed movement to nicer, less homogeneous areas. In particular, Williamsburg's Wards Fifteen, Sixteen, Eighteen, and Nineteen housed nearly fifty percent of the city's German population. This self-segregation seems to be the result of successful Germans moving from lower class German homes to upper class sections of the same predominantly German wards. Consequently, many of Brooklyn's Germans became concentrated in only a handful of wards, isolating themselves from most other ethnic groups. Here they worked, prayed and spoke their native tongue. In New York, too, the Irish and natives were both less likely to live with Germans. However, the voluntary segregation of the Germans was especially pronounced in Brooklyn.

In a sense, the impressive institutional variety of German America was also reinforced by the diversity of the Germans themselves. Not only were their recreational and social interests reflected in a multiplicity of societies, but their religious, ideological and even sociological differences had organizational effects as well. But while this diversity might foster growth, it naturally inhibited the solidarity that many German leaders sought.²⁶ Whenever institutions undertook to bind all Germans together by gaining the support of the entire community they had to appeal to the lowest common denominator. This often meant exaltation of a sort of homogenized German culture, combined with a studied avoidance of any hint of the controversies that plagued German America. Journalism provides one striking example. As E. Allen McCormick notes, "German newspapers which hoped for general circulation in the community also learned to avoid divisiveness; like their small town English language counterparts, they knew that taking sides often meant sacrificing subscribers. Thus the German language press often reflected a bland and optimistic view of the community which deliberately hid its internal conflicts."²⁷

Still, there were many cracks behind this solid mask of German America. Religious differences could be divisive. The call of late nineteenth century German nationalism could alternately undermine or strengthen German America's fragmented structures. Yet, although there were indeed many divisions among the German American people, their social clubs and organizations remained tightly knit. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, the forces of diversity within the community competed primarily with the forces of unity.²⁸ This foiled many a cooperative German effort, since the one-third to one-half of those who called themselves Roman Catholic often stood apart from the Protestant brethren. Even the Protestant Germans of various sects could find issues to quarrel about between themselves. A growing minority of urban radicals was vocally critical of those Germans who participated willingly in "spineless and servile" American partisan politics. Most of all, the two separate generations of immigrants who made up the population of German America at the end of the century regarded each other as different – more often perhaps on temperamental than on political or ideological grounds. Whereas the newer immigrants might be more influenced by the nationalistic spirit of the Germany they had left behind, the older ones might still cherish the image of their generation as spokesmen for liberalism and idealism in politics. Moreover, those who migrated before 1850 or 1860 often identified more parochially with a particular German principality rather than with the unified nation, which emerged only after the 1870 Franco-Prussian War.

A Discussion of Methodology

The sample employed in this project was drawn from inhabitants living in Brooklyn after mid-century who were listed in several *Brooklyn City Directories*. To enhance accuracy only the names considered “typically Irish” or “typically German” were considered for inclusion (Typically German names were drawn from a genealogy website – <http://www.serve.com/shea/germusa/surnames.htm> -- “German Names in America”). Characteristically Irish names were found in an 1891 *Special Report of the Registrar General*, quoted in Victor Walsh’s 1986 dissertation.²⁹ Each subject’s name, occupation and address were recorded. City Directories only include heads of households. Occupations were rated according to Thernstrom’s ranking of relative skill level (see tables 2 and 3). Individuals were then traced from address to address and from job to job over three year intervals. Thus, ethnic patterns of social and geographic mobility could be established at the level of the individual. As previously noted, ward level analysis seems to support the conventional notion that the Irish “moved ward” upon achieving prosperity whereas Germans generally only “moved block.” Following several hundred individuals from each ethnic group over a six to twelve year period lends further support for such “truisms.”

Ultimately, the data provides empirical evidence that the Irish generally moved out to a different ward when they obtained better jobs, whereas the Germans typically displayed more clannish behavior by simply moving to a different (presumably better) home in the same ward. Yet, these wonderfully specific case studies present their own unique problem. By their nature, City Directory entries do not provide the property values associated with tax assessments or census manuscripts. Thus, the researcher must assume that when a household head obtained a better job, he would move to a better home. Three logical options existed for the upwardly mobile: movement to a) a nicer home in a similar ward, b) a nicer home in a wealthier ward, or c) a nicer home in the same ward.

Generally, the Germans “moved out” less frequently than the Irish did. Approximately forty percent of the German sample moved between wards in the 1850s, a decade in which well over sixty percent of the Irish moved. Even more telling, upwardly mobile Germans moved to a different ward far less frequently than did upwardly mobile Irish. Of the Germans in the sample who improved their job status during the three decades under study, 84.2 percent moved from their original domicile, but only 6.9 percent of these “improving Germans moved to a ward with a lower German population share. Most stayed in the same ward or moved to a nearby ward that was just as heavily German. Even those who were not upwardly mobile displayed a similar pattern. Most moved to a ward with at least as high a German concentration or moved to a new

address in the same ward. Of the ninety-four Germans who did not change occupation from year one to year seven, only one moved “out” to a less German ward. Fifty-one remained at the same address while forty-three moved elsewhere in the same ward or to a nearby and similarly German dominated ward. In sum, most of Brooklyn’s Germans chose to remain in the heavily German wards of central Williamsburg, rarely straying far from “home” – even those who attained sufficient material success to move elsewhere.

The Irish, on the other hand, displayed much more geographic mobility when they achieved financial success. Over seventy-nine percent of upwardly mobile Irish Americans left their pre-success homes, a proportion not unlike their German counterparts. However, among the Irish “up and comers,” 38.3 percent moved to wards of lower Irish concentration, generally to more affluent outlying wards. Like their German counterparts, forty-six percent of those Irish who were upwardly socially mobile and who did move, relocated within their original ward or to an area of similar or greater Irish concentration. The typical Irish household head had more room for improvement and promotion than did his German peer. One might conclude that “Paddy” often had more opportunity to move up in the social ladder than did “Karl,” since he began life in America several rungs lower on the socioeconomic ladder. This, however, was not the case. Indeed, many Germans realized early mobility. Furthermore, a great deal of economic “improvement” among German craftsmen and shopkeepers can be missed by the historian who chooses to employ City directories because wealth and property holding is not represented in the directories. For example, a “butcher” who doubles his business and hires three assistants would still be listed as “butcher” three or six years later. However, the German pattern of staying put even as fortunes improve might be even more pronounced among such successful proprietors who could be expected to remain near their regular customers. Although it is possible that upwardly mobile Germans may have left Brooklyn altogether, the high growth rate of the city’s economy seems more likely to attract the successful, rather than to encourage them to migrate.

Even over the relatively short span of six years, Irish and German individuals drawn from the Brooklyn sample appear to have moved from one occupation to another with surprising frequency. Approximately fifty-four percent of household heads in the sample drawn from the City Directories changed occupational status over any given six year time span. Only a handful of Brooklynites in the sample suffered downward social mobility, so virtually all movement is to better jobs and higher status. Ironically, a smaller proportion of the Irish sample improved their job status rung during the period under study despite their lower initial

occupational status. The median initial Irish occupation level in the sample was approximately 3.5 (skilled/semiskilled) while that of the Germans was 2.5 (petty proprietors/skilled craftsmen). How can we account for the combination of higher initial status and faster occupational mobility among Germans? Perhaps one reason was the greater likelihood of religious bigotry towards the mostly Catholic Irish. Perhaps eighty percent of the city's Irish were deemed Catholics by the predominantly Protestant populace, whereas approximately one-third to one-half of Kings County Germans were practicing Catholics. Also most Germans came to America with more money, skills, and literacy than did most Irish. It is also possible that the Germans gained support from their various German societies. Here, McCormick's example of German reading societies is instructive. Thus, the emerging German American middle class united on the basis of common interests. With education as their practical objective, it is not surprising to find the type of reading material favored by societies to be instructional as well as culturally focused.³⁰ Such a support system may have given German newcomers just the boost they needed to move socially upward as well.

Specific examples of typical Irish and German geographic movement help breathe a little life into the cold statistics presented above. The case of James O'Neil, a carpenter traced from 1844 to 1857 shows the Irish-American propensity to frequently relocate. First found in Ward Three, O'Neil was later located in Ward Six and three years after that in Ward Ten. On the other hand, Charles Pfizer represented German stability rather well. A "chemist" in 1857, Pfizer was listed as a "chemists' manufacturer" in 1860, yet he had only moved a block and a half after his fortunes improved. Although Pfizer "moved up" socially, he did not "move out" like his Irish counterparts. In fact, the second Pfizer home on North Flushing Avenue was improved and expanded several times as Charles and his family developed the pharmaceutical giant which still bears his name.³¹ Irishmen like the carpenter Charles McChesney generally "moved out" as soon as they earned sufficient income to do so. McChesney appears in several City Directories as a carpenter, from 1844 to 1857. In 1844, he lived in Ward Two, Brooklyn's busy run down ferry district, where tenements predominated and there was a heavy Irish presence. Three years later, McChesney lived in Ward Five. Ironically, "Irishtown" was slightly less Irish, but just as poor. After another three years of carpentry experience, and perhaps additional financial success, McChesney moved to a nicer home on Lafayette Street and Hudson Avenue in Brooklyn's Twentieth Ward. Ward Twenty was a much more affluent inland ward than either ~~Wards Two~~ or Five, which lay along the waterfront. Ward Twenty also held a significantly smaller Irish population.

Table 2
Occupational Distribution of the German Labor Force of Brooklyn,
1844-1860 (%)

	1844- 1845	1847- 1848	1850- 1851	1853- 1854	1856- 1857	1859- 1860
<i>White Collar</i>	59	77	73	73	73	84
Professions	0	10	10	9	7	10
Other White Collar	59	67	63	64	66	74
<i>Blue Collar</i>	41	23	27	27	27	16
Skilled Manual	19	13	10	6	10	13
Semiskilled and Service	0	0	3	6	6	3
Unskilled Labor	23	10	14	15	11	0

Source: Brooklyn City Directories

Table 3
Occupational Distribution of the Irish Labor Force of Brooklyn,
1844-1860 (%)

	1844- 1845	1847- 1848	1850- 1851	1853- 1854	1856- 1857	1859- 1860
<i>White Collar</i>	38	42	41	38	25	29
Professions	2	4	2	2	2	3
Other White Collar	36	38	39	36	23	26
<i>Blue Collar</i>	62	58	59	62	75	71
Skilled Manual	15	13	15	16	14	21
Semiskilled and Service	12	14	9	7	12	7
Unskilled Labor	35	32	35	39	49	44

Source: Brooklyn City Directories

It has been three decades since Thernstrom wrote *The Other Bostonians*, thus defining the field of social mobility studies. His work

has inspired a widespread literature on social mobility. But interestingly Thernstrom has inspired very few studies of *intraurban geographic mobility* among nineteenth century immigrants. Authors like Thernstrom and Nathan Glazer have noted the “even distribution” of the New York Irish and the German “groups” but have not employed empirical methods to support these claims.³⁵ Hopefully this paper has provided sufficient empirical evidence to support something so many historians have long “known” intuitively about “typically Irish” or “typically German” settlement patterns.

NOTES

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21. *Ibid.*, 32.
22. McCormick, *Germans in America*, 43.
23. Ment, *The Shaping of a City*, 91-92.
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AN OVERVIEW OF PLUM ISLAND: HISTORY, RESEARCH AND EFFECTS ON LONG ISLAND

By Alexandra Cella

At the Plum Island Animal Disease Center, the United States Department of Agriculture currently performs research on agricultural production methods, crops, farm animals, and diseases. Alexandra Cella tells the interesting history and contemporary politics of one of Long Island's most important off-shore islands.

National security in the United States has become one of its citizens biggest concerns and fears. The Plum Island Animal Disease Center, located just off the shore of Long Island, can be considered both a security measure and also a public health risk. Plum Island is used as a research center to develop protection against foreign animal diseases, and is a part of the United States Department of Agriculture. The nature of the work done there is supported by many, yet others object to the risks that the research center brings. Having both current and historical importance Plum Island attracts attention and interest in its history, safety procedures, facilities and research.

Plum Island is located two miles from Orient Point. It was created by retreating glaciers and is naturally isolated. The shrub covered island measures 643 acres, and is located between the north and south fork of Long Island's "fish tail" east end, next to Gardiner's Island. Prevailing winds in this area generally blow out to sea, which makes Plum Island a safe place to experiment with dangerous infectious diseases.¹

Plum Island has a rich history of exploration, ownership and government acquisition. It was originally known as the Isle of Patmos, and explorers later renamed the island because of the abundance of native plum trees found there. The first recorded owner of Plum Island was Samuel Wyllys. He acquired the island in 1669 from the Corchough and Mantauk Indian tribes for "a coat, a barrel of biscuits and 100 muxes." In 1688 Joseph Dudley bought the island. Dudley later served as governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony from 1702 to 1715. Joseph Beebe and Daniel Tuthill shared the island beginning in the early 1700s.² During the mid-eighteenth century John Gardiner, a well-known explorer of the Long Island Sound, ventured to the island and settled there. Record shows that the grave of Thomas Gardiner, John Gardiner's son, still remains on the island.³ During the American Revolution, Plum Island was a point of interest for both sides in the conflict. In one foraging expedition British warships attacked and stole about twenty sheep from

the island. Raids like this were eventually stopped in August of 1775 when the continental Congress ruled all livestock removed from the island.

In 1805, ownership of Plum Island changed again, when Benjamin Jerome, followed by his son Richard, began buying property there. By 1834 the Jeromes' owned a majority of the land on the island, and used it for cattle and farming. The U.S. government purchased thirteen acres on the island in 1826 and constructed a lighthouse there in 1827.⁴

The Plum Gut Light House holds significant importance to the development of the island and offers some insight into the lives of one of its nineteenth century inhabitants. The first lighthouse built on Plum Island was described as a "30 foot stone tower with iron lantern."⁵ The light guided ships through the Long Island Sound and Gardiners Bay. A poem written by an inhabitant of the island, Sarah Bowditch, in 1843, describes how she felt during that Christmas season. It is unknown whether she lived in the lighthouse or on a farm during this time, but her poem captures her view of Plum Island.

No ray from Hope's bright star is cast
To this lone isle of the sea;
And lonely and sad the Christmas has passed,
And left no mirth for me
Then let me not murmur at my fate,
Though lonely and sad I may be,
For the angels whose birth we celebrate,
Brought 'tidings of joy' to me.⁶

Bowditch's poem captured the loneliness and secluded nature of the island and the lighthouse quarters. Twenty-five years after Bowditch's lonely Christmas the government built a new updated lighthouse on the site, which was operational by 1870. This octagon shaped, black and white lantern lighthouse continued to function until 1978.⁷

The last private owner of property on Plum Island was A.S. Hewitt, who planned to turn the island into a summer resort. He was unsuccessful, however, and in 1897 Hewitt sold 150 acres to the U.S. War Department. This land was developed into Fort Terry, named in honor of Army Major General Alfred N. Terry.⁸ The fort was designed to protect Long Island's coast and harbor. The first gun was placed in service on the island during the Spanish-American War. In 1901, the rest of the island was turned over to the War Department, and by 1914 the army located electronic batteries, submarine mining capabilities, advanced fire regulation, and a position-finding system on the island. During the first World War the Fort acquired anti-aircraft guns. Fort

Terry was declared surplus at the end of that war, and was maintained by personnel from Fort H.G. Wright, located near Fishers Island. With the beginning of a second World War the island became an army training camp, and replenished submarines and patrolling ships with new supplies. By August 1948, the Fort was declared surplus once again.

Plans for an animal research facility at Plum Island began in 1952 when Fort Terry was transferred to the U.S. Army Chemical Corps. Turning the Fort into such a facility required the remodeling of eighteen buildings, which was only partially completed by May 1954. The laboratory, however, was deactivated even before opening its doors. This was not a complete loss due to the fact that the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) was already planning to build a new facility to study foot and mouth disease, a contagious viral disease of cattle and swine known for fever and blisters around the mouth and hooves. Congress was urged to do this after numerous outbreaks of this contagious disease in Mexico in 1946, and in Canada in 1952. The new USDA facility was completed in June 1954. The eighteen buildings planned as part of the Chemical Corps were now used in conjunction with the Plum Island research facility.¹⁰ Research on foreign animal diseases was originally done with the intent of developing biological weapons. President Richard Nixon stopped this research program in 1969.¹¹

By 1977 the facilities were deemed outdated and the USDA instituted a modernization plan for its Plum Island site. New facilities were erected for most of the functions at the island. Safety concerns erupted and were addressed in 1978 when an outbreak of foot and mouth disease occurred on the island. Further modernization was pursued in the 1990s with the construction of additional buildings as well as renovations to some of the old buildings. In October 1991 research and operations were put under private control, as the U.S. Government no longer wanted the responsibility of overseeing and conducting the operations and research on the island. Trusted private owners were allowed to run the island, under strict supervision of the USDA. Maintenance and operations are currently conducted at Plum Island by LB&B Associates Incorporated.¹²

The Plum Island Animal Disease Center is world renowned for its safety protocol and procedures. Former staff member Tilahun Yilma believes the island has “the cleanest federal employees you can find on the Earth.” Upon arrival at the facility every morning, employees are mandated to disrobe and use sterile government issued garments. Before departing the facility employees are scrubbed clean, even down to their fingernails, and then are allowed to dress in their own clothes again. All non-human materials are sterilized twice by means of autoclaving, a process of applying pressurized steam of high temperature to a material

for decontamination. As an added step of precaution, these laboratories are designed with “negative pressure” which draws air inward instead of pushing it out if an air leak was to occur. Yilma also stated “the center of the laboratory is used for housing the animals and that area is under the most negative pressure.” This important safety precaution is designed to protect the island as well as the agriculture of the entire nation. Biologists working on samples use special hoods and two different kinds of decontaminates for the equipment. When Yilma was employed at the facility, he worked on a genetically engineered virus called rinderpest, later developed into a vaccine for a disease found in cattle.¹³

Presently the island houses and researches many highly classified biological agents, including foot and mouth disease, African swine fever, and vesicular stomatitis. Foot and mouth disease, being a highly contagious and infectious viral disease, could pose a severe threat to the agricultural industry of any country. This disease manifests primarily in sheep, swine, and goats, but also can effect deer and elk. Symptoms include “salivation, blister lesions, and erosions and ulcers of the epithelium of the lips, gums, soft palate, nostrils, muzzle, coronary bands, between the toes and on the teats, and may also be accompanied by a fever.” The infected animal will also lose weight, refuse to eat, and decline milk and meat products due to the painful lesions in the mouth. Lesions on the feet can also cause the animal to become lame. Many strains of this disease exist, which makes synthesizing a vaccine nearly impossible. “Seven immunologically distinct types of FMD virus are known. Over sixty subtypes have been identified over the years by special laboratory tests,” said Murray E. Fowler, who conducts research on foot and mouth disease. The fear of this disease becoming an epidemic has prompted every nation with a large cattle, sheep, and goat population to take precautions and attempt to develop a vaccine.¹⁴ A large enough outbreak could spread and destroy the agriculture industry.

African Swine Fever is also being studied at Plum Island. This disease only affects animals in the swine family, but is incurable. Symptoms include “fever, depression, and diarrhea due to massive hemorrhaging of internal organs-particularly the lymph nodes, kidney, spleen, and gastrointestinal tissue.” It is similar to the symptoms of hog cholera and the only way to stop the virus from spreading is to kill all of the animals that come in contact with the infected herds. A vaccine is almost impossible since this is a very complicated DNA arbovirus. The virus has one hundred and fifty genes and is usually transmitted from a tick to the swine, then from the infected swine to another swine. Procedures are being taken to find a vaccine. The genetic sequence has been mapped out and proteins have been found that can stimulate immunity.¹⁵

Vesicular stomatitis is another incurable animal disease which threatens the United States, but is of less importance to the research at Plum Island. It affects horses, cattle, swine, sheep, goats, and wild animals, but rarely results in death. Symptoms include “excessive salivation, followed by a fever and the appearance of blisters and/or whitened and raised vesicles in and around the mouth, nose, hooves and teats. The blisters swell and break, resulting in raw tissue and pain for the effected horse. Some lesions may only swell to the size of a pea; some may be larger.” It can be transmitted through saliva and fluids from open wounds. Humans are also capable of contracting this disease, which causes muscle aches, fever, and blisters on the hands and mouth. Dr. Tim Cordes, the U.S. Department of Agriculture senior staff veterinarian for equine programs states: “Secondary infections of the mouth and hooves can be treated. Mild antiseptic mouthwashes may help to ease the pain of oral blisters. Nutritional programs may have to be modified for horses who will not eat. The zoonotic nature of vesicular stomatitis makes it essential that humans use protective measures when handling effected animals.”¹⁶

Plum Island is important to the history of Long Island. It brings international attention due to its interesting history and mysterious research. This small, secluded island protected us during war with Fort Terry, and still protects us and the rest of the world from outbreaks of dangerous animal diseases. This highly secure animal research facility is not very well known, but is an institution all Long Islanders should be informed about.

NOTES

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THE HOME OF AN AMERICAN POET: THE STORY OF WALT WHITMAN'S BIRTHPLACE

By Rachel Brandstadter

In this essay Rachel Brandstadter looks into the long protracted effort to make Walt Whitman's family home in Huntington a State Historical Site.

*O to go back to the place where I was born,
To hear the birds once more,
To ramble about the house and bar
and over the fields once more
And through the orchard and along
the old lands once more.*

- A Songs of Joys¹

These famous words, printed in the collection of poetry entitled *Leaves of Grass*, were crafted by one of the most profound poets in American history - Walt Whitman. Born in South Huntington (West Hills) on May 31, 1819, Whitman was raised on Long Island, and it was there that he developed and wrote some of his most meaningful works.² His life and times had a significant impact on Long Island, and Long Island residents have long revered him. Walt Whitman embodied the spirit of the Island and incorporated it into his poetry. Because of the strong attachment Whitman had to his "Paumanok" (an Indian name for Long Island), his admirers felt a deep sense of responsibility to properly commemorate his birthplace. From these sentiments emerged the desire to preserve his birthplace as a landmark to ensure its survival through time. Those in favor of deeming the birthplace an official historical site did not easily achieve this memorial to the poet. There were many barriers that blocked the path towards state recognition of this landmark, which gave rise to a grassroots movement. The life of the house is one of particular historic importance and interest, as it truly reflects the legacy of the man who touched the lives of so many through his works and who embraced the place of his birth.

Whitman's love for Long Island began in childhood, in his beloved birthplace in Huntington. Whitman's father, Walter Whitman Sr., is credited with constructing the house, adding more meaning to the dwelling for both Whitman and his enthusiasts. Whitman fondly reminisced about this house in his poem "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd," which described the flowers planted around one side of the house, and remain there to this day. The poet's birthplace had a

significant impact on his character and his writing. Whitman himself wrote, "The successive growth stages of my infancy, childhood, youth and manhood were all pass'd on Long Island, which I sometimes feel as if I had incorporated."³ Numerous allusions to his home in his literature display his deep sense of reverence and love for Long Island. Readers of his work can see a beautiful depiction of the Island in his writings. Furthermore, William O'Connor, author of *The Good Gray Poet* and friend of Whitman, noted that it is impossible to fully understand Whitman's poetry unless familiar with "the sea-beauty of this rugged land."⁴

Whitman lived and worked on Long Island his whole life. His occupations ranged from a schoolteacher, owner of a newspaper, builder, businessman, and most importantly, poet and writer. Whitman said of his newspaper "my first real venture was the *Long Islander* in my own beautiful town of Huntington."⁵ It was on Long Island where Whitman wrote a great deal of his works. Long Island served as a muse, and had a great effect on the poet. The author of *Walt Whitman On Long Island*, Bertha H. Funnell, identified references to Long Island in several poems, including "Wild Frank's Return," "The Last Loyalist," and "The Child and the Profligate." In a letter to Walt Whitman on July 21, 1855, Ralph Waldo Emerson famously wrote "I greet you at the beginning of a great career, which yet must have had a long foreground somewhere."⁶ Whitman's "foreground" was the wonderful inspiration of Long Island.

The history of the Whitman's birthplace after his family moved out on May 27, 1823 is limited and without detail.⁷ Records indicate that the Jarvis family possessed the property for a period of approximately seventy-five years.⁸ Georgia Mitchell Watson wrote a book entitled, *So We Bought a Poet's Shrine*, whose purpose was to shed light on many of the ambiguous facts on the home's lineage and to set the record straight, without the flowery details that many newspaper articles tend to add. Watson chronicles the course of events that led up to her purchase of the property, and its final deposition into the hands of the Walt Whitman Birthplace Association. "These chapters will rectify some of the statements. They will also give a correct version of the events which led our family to become the owners of this long, neglected landmark; with a description of the house and grounds as we found them, and some reminiscences from our years of ownership."⁹

When asked how she happened to buy the Walt Whitman birthplace Watson candidly unraveled the explanation. Watson and her family did not seek out the poet's birthplace, but it believed it came serendipitously to them. In 1917 the family first began to consider Long Island as a possible location for a summer residence. Wanting a cool summer residence away from the city -- her husband John Dunham Watson was a

Wall Street businessman -- they eventually agreed on exploring their options for the home. Originally, they had a poor opinion of Long Island. Upon looking in the real estate ads in the newspaper, however, they found a section called "Little Farms" where a number of homes were being sold in Huntington. Reluctantly, Watson and her sister visited the site. While more carefully examining ads of the plots they were to be looking at, they read this description about plot number four:

Farm of two acres situated at Huntington on the trolley and macadamized road running to Amityville; two miles from station . . . Old-fashioned house of eight rooms, large farm barns, shade trees, large apple orchard, good well of water. Trolley running to station, stores, school, passes door. This property is the birthplace of Walt Whitman, the Long Island poet.¹⁰

The two women were immediately captivated by this advertisement, and concentrated all of their energy on the Whitman home.

The poor condition of the house was readily apparent to visitors. It was in a dilapidated state and much work was needed. Georgia Watson noted, "In appearance it was pathetically run down and gave the impression of a lonely old patriarch, neglected and forlorn."¹¹ Despite this, the sisters felt enveloped by the charm that the house possessed, and were enamored by the vision they had for it for the future. After a long period of discussion and debate the Watsons finally decided to purchase the property. They faced a tremendous expense in repairing the "disheartening" condition of the old farmhouse.

After a long and arduous struggle the house was repaired to a comfortable state, and the Watsons settled into their summer residence. The family enjoyed their time in the house and became ever more fond of the fact that Walt Whitman, the "Great Grey Poet," had once occupied the home. The Watsons generally welcomed the frequent visitors who came from various locations to view the house. The Whitman Centenary was even held on the grounds on May 31, 1919 and the Watsons happily received the approximately two hundred guests who turned out for the event. Dr. Edward Hagamen Hall, secretary of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, Mr. Charles Werner, president of the Suffolk County Historical Society, and Dr. Charles D. Atkins, director of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, organized the Centenary celebration.¹² During this time Whitman enjoyed a resurgence in popularity. George Watson noted "In confirmation of his own belief, publishers and book shops reported increased sales, librarians a wider

circulation of Whitman's poetry and prose and of books relating to him."¹³

During the Watsons' time in the home public efforts materialized in favor of making the birthplace an official landmark. On a few occasions the Watsons were confronted about their willingness to sell the house. All offers were refused, however, due to all of the time and effort the family had put into the home. By the autumn of 1935, however, the situation changed when Miss Elizabeth Putt, who was connected with a real estate office in Brooklyn, asked the Watsons if they wanted to sell. Due to repercussions from the Great Depression, and for other personal reasons, the need to sell the home became a reality. The family wanted to offer the property to people who might turn it into a memorial, but if that failed the plan was to advertise it for other purposes. The process of selling the home was a very complicated and difficult one for the Watson family.

Over the next fifteen to twenty years various attempts to make the house a state historic landmark failed, while the Watson's continued to own the home. A 1951 *Newsday* article called for the galvanization of the public in the endeavor. This article reported that \$10,000 had to be raised for the purchase of the Walt Whitman home by October 15, or the home would be handed over to commercial interests.¹⁴ The author of the article, Virginia Pasley, deemed the Walt Whitman house to be the most significant Long Island landmark, as it had attracted the greatest number of overseas visitors. Pasley lamented the fact that other less important sites had been saved and preserved while "the birthplace of the man who sang the praises and beauties of Long Island from one end of the world to another is subject to the whim of private ownership and the possibility of eventual destruction."¹⁵

Pasley rallied the people of Nassau and Suffolk to take action. Two years prior to the article, a fundraising campaign had been started in an attempt to purchase and restore the Whitman home. Only half of the amount needed had been pledged or received and the majority of it came from outside the Long Island region. Pasley emphasized the need for local participation and quoted New York City planning commissioner Cleveland Rodgers in her article. "It is up to the local people to show their interest in this project."¹⁶ She stressed again that the birthplace should rightfully be considered Long Island's most important historical site. As a final plea for contribution the article requested a dime from each school child in Nassau and Suffolk counties or a dollar from each of 10,000 Long Islanders in order to "put the campaign over and Long Island would be saved the shame of having neglected its most famous citizen."¹⁷

Preservation of the site where the epic poet had been born was of crucial importance to many Whitman enthusiasts and others who believed he deserved this honor. To enable a more concerted and ordered effort, the Walt Whitman Birthplace Association (WWBA) was formally created on Thursday, December 15, 1949 at the offices of attorney's LeBoeuf and Lamb, located at 15 Broad Street, New York, NY.¹⁸ Officers for the preservation group were subsequently elected. Cleveland Rodgers was chosen to lead as President, Mrs. Frank J. Sprague and Duncan M. Findlay served as Vice Presidents, Randall J. LeBoeuf, Jr. was elected secretary, and Harold L. Tuttle became Treasurer.¹⁹

The WWBA worked to achieve three main goals, the first of which was to preserve and protect the Birthplace of Walt Whitman of Huntington, N.Y as a historical landmark. Another important aim of the group was to promote awareness among the public and spark interest in Walt Whitman, his life, and his works. Finally, the WWBA strove to acquire the birthplace from its private owners. The group was granted a provisional charter on 16 February 1950, and on 19 November 1954 the charter was made absolute.²⁰ As a method of raising public attention to their cause the WWBA printed articles in major newspapers and magazines. Presentations and programs on Whitman were given at meetings and in radio broadcasts.

John D. Watson, who still owned the birthplace at this time and recognized the significance of the house, offered to sell it for twenty thousand dollars. The WWBA then proceeded to rally for the money to purchase the Whitman property. However, by September 1951 only half of the sum had been either pledged or collected. This marked the involvement of Miss Alicia Patterson, the owner of *Newsday*.²¹ Patterson provided the assistance the WWBA needed. Through her newspaper Patterson managed a campaign that successfully raised \$14,000 from donors all across Long Island. Amazingly, a good percentage of the money was raised by school children. Each child contributed only a small amount, but collectively it added up to the total needed by the WWBA. All those who participated are recorded on an "honor roll" that is kept in the permanent records of *Newsday*.

On October 15, 1951 the WWBA obtained the property, and on May 31, 1952, held dedication ceremonies.²² *Newsday* reported, "The people Walt Whitman loved so well have saved his birthplace, West Hills, Long Island."²³ Shortly thereafter, the house was opened to the public. Congratulations were sent from Ralph Westcott of the Walt Whitman Foundation of Camden, New Jersey, trustee of the home where Whitman died in 1892. Despite its victory, the WWBA knew monetary struggles would be encountered in its attempts to maintain and restore the house and grounds. Many actions were taken to reconstruct the environment

and habitat that the Whitmans had created when they owned the home. Architectural surveying and restructuring took place in order to completely preserve the property. For instance, measures were taken to restore the walls and floors to their original form, and the furnishings were changed to match those of Whitman's time. In addition, a library was constructed to house the collection of books and streams of gifts and pictures that arrived at the birthplace. A special collection named in honor of donors Horace and Anne Montgomerie Traubel was added to the library.

Although it was hard to part with their cherished landmark, the Watson family acknowledged the birthplace's significance and was glad that their former property would be well cared for as an official historical site under the control of the WWBA. Despite her reverence for the home, Georgia Watson acknowledged the extreme caution that had to be taken while living on the property. "There are sometimes when it is comparable to inhabiting a glass house or a goldfish bowl."²⁴ The Watsons felt the responsibility to care for the home very strongly, though many visitors, who believed the Town owned the building, felt it was their right to simply walk in for a tour as they pleased. However, despite the worries of living in Walt Whitman's birthplace, Georgia Mitchell Watson affectionately regarded her experience with the home as one that was both satisfying and memorable.

The ultimate goal of the WWBA was to make the Whitman birthplace a state historic landmark. Directly after the purchase of the home the WWBA offered it to the state, but bills presented in both 1952 and 1953 failed to pass through the legislature.²⁵ To maintain the house during this interim period, the WWBA charged all adult visitors a twenty-five cent fee, and set up a drive to increase WWBA. By 1954, it became apparent that the revenue raised would not be enough to sustain the property, so the Town of Huntington agreed to give it an annual grant of two thousand dollars.²⁶ From 1951-56, interest in Whitman and the birthplace property increased dramatically, and by 1956 more than 2,500 adults had signed the guest book.²⁷

In March 1957 New York State approved the birthplace as a State Historical Site, and on April 29, 1957 Governor Averell Harriman signed the bill giving historic status to the Whitman home in the State Office Building located on Centre Street in New York City.²⁸ The birthplace of one of America's most profound and celebrated poets officially received the respect, title, and proper position on Long Island that it deserved.

Walt Whitman's work had a lasting impact on the entire world. His writings have been translated into twenty-five different languages and have impacted ideas and literature in countries such as India, Japan, and Russia. The houseguest book reveals that people from Norway,

Argentina, and the Philippines have visited the Walt Whitman Birthplace. Long Island influenced Whitman, and he had a profound impact on Long Island. Through the grassroots movement that developed on Long Island to save his birthplace, Whitman established a permanent place not only in the minds of his admirers, but on his much loved Island. His influence did not end with his death on March 26, 1892. The struggle to preserve his birthplace rang with the message of the significant importance of this historical tribute.

NOTES

¹ Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass* (New York: Library of America, 1982) ed. Justin Kaplan.

² Bertha H. Funnell, *Walt Whitman On Long Island* (New York: Kennikat Press, 1971).

³ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁸ Verne Dyson, *Whitmanland* (New York: Verne Dyson, 1960), 59.

⁹ Georgia Mitchell Watson, *So We Bought A Poet's Shrine* (New York: Pageant Press, Inc., 1955), foreword.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹² *Ibid.*, 39.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 55.

¹⁴ Virginia Pasley, "Landmark Lovers May Lose Historic Home of Whitman," *Newsday*, September 14, 1951, B3.

15 *Ibid.*

16 *Ibid.*

17 *Ibid.*

18 Martha K. Hall, *The Story of the Walt Whitman Birthplace Association 1949-1957* (South Huntington, New York: Walt Whitman Birthplace Association), 1.

19 *Ibid.*

20 *Ibid.*

21 Robert F. Keeler, *Newsday: A Candid History of the Respectable Tabloid* (New York: Newsday, Inc. , 1990), 171.

22 *Ibid.*, 2.

23 Dyson, 63.

24 Watson, 106.

25 Hall, 7.

26 *Ibid.*

27 *Ibid.*

28 *Ibid.*

BOOK REVIEWS

Natalie Aurucci Stiefler. *Looking Back at Rocky Point; In the Shadow of the Radio Towers*. Vol. 1, *Remembering Highlights of the Twentieth Century at Rocky Point, Long Island, N.Y.* Rocky Point, New York: Amron Copy and Printing Center, 2003. Pp 102.

Robert F. Sisler. *Long Island's Contribution to the Development of Radio & Television*. Hauppauge, New York: Self-Published/Kinko Photo Copies, 2002. Index, bibliography, Pp 92.

As with the devil, history is often found in the details, many of which are lost over time as people come and go; roads are widened, terminated, or redirected, and buildings are razed and replaced. This is particularly so in local history where we tend to take our community for granted until it is gone, or more happily, someone comes along to rescue it, write down its history and publish it for us.

Local history is rarely the work of a single individual, however. A significant role is played by those who save the minutiae of daily life in attic trunks or basement boxes; those who unearth and value these collections, depositing the letters, photos, gloves and trinkets into libraries and archives; and those who spend hours poring over the elements, sorting or analyzing the details and assembling them to tell the story of the past.

Among the under-sung heroes of this process is the dedicated researcher who seeks out and gathers the elements from a variety of repositories, from attic to archives, and publishes them, providing an invaluable resource for those who would study the documentary evidence of a community's past. Natalie Stiefler and Robert Sisler have each performed that function for the hamlet of Rocky Point, Long Island.

Each of these authors has pulled together a rich body of data, images and clippings, oral histories and private papers, from a number of sources. Each has produced a volume that not only stands alone as a tribute to Rocky Point's past, but can also serve as a resource for other historians who may use them as a springboard to more specialized topics, particularly the early years of radio or the rise of the middle class summer community.

Much of Rocky Point's history has receded into a past remembered primarily by those whose families pioneered its settlement and growth. Its many paved roads, modern shops and schools mask its early days as a rural hamlet or summer community for the newly developed white collar middle class in the late 1920s and early 1930s. It may also surprise more recent residents to learn of the role the quiet hamlet played in the larger

history of the American nation, and the rise of modern telecommunications.

This history is the basis of Robert F. Sisler's study of Long Island's role in the development of telecommunications. Drawn largely from the materials and notes in the collection of Clarence Weston Hansell, Sisler rescues Hansell and his colleagues in Rocky Point as well as their more than 500 patents from obscurity.

Beginning with Thomas Edison's 1885 patent for the electromotograph, Sisler traces the growth of the electronic tube and its application for sound transmission with particular attention to the role played by Rocky Point and Nicola Tesla in that process. Tesla's somewhat controversial choice of Rocky Point/Shoreham as the site for his 1901 radio transmission towers (which were dynamited by the local residents when it was closed in 1906), established Rocky Point as a valuable site for future radio developments.

In a well documented inventory of events, Sisler traces the stages of development of radio from the mere amplification of static and sound in ever improving vacuum tubes to the actual transmission of voice and music. However, his primary goal is to rescue Rocky Point's role in this process from obscurity.

Long Island was a significant participant in the heyday of radio at the turn of the twentieth century. Its combination of long flat plains and high moraine made it a fine environment for the new technologies of telecommunication and flight.

Sisler's explication of the role of Long Island, and Rocky Point in particular, in the history of radio is interspersed with technical details. The book includes some nineteen photos of the machinery, structures, and players whose work placed Rocky Point in the forefront of radio technology.

The narrative draws on the reports, correspondence, and other records found in the Clarence Weston Hansell collection at the Melville Library, University at Stony Brook. Although Sisler focuses his account on Hansell and his 300 patents in telecommunication, he also pays tribute to the many inventors and developers – from Reginald Fessenden to Lee DeForest and Guglielmo Marconi – whose inventions and enhancements mark the evolution of telecommunications, as well as to Edwin Howard Armstrong and David Sarnoff who frequented Rocky Point in its RCA days.

In her series "Looking Back at Rocky Point..." Natalie Aurucci Stieffle has gathered Rocky Point's past into a portable archive that documents the high points of the hamlet from its settlement days to the present. Volume 1, "The 20th Century," draws on a variety of resources from real estate ads and newspaper clippings to photographs and oral

histories. The volume documents Rocky Point from its pioneer role in radio to its discovery by the *New York Daily Mirror* as a summer colony. The rise of support systems for the summer residents, the railroad station, restaurants and pavilions, gas stations and the barbershop whose sign announced as late as 1948 that it was "Open All Year," trace the hamlet's evolution into a modern suburb.

The book is rich with the names and faces of those who settled the community, built its beach and boat clubs, its restaurants and shops, and attended its schools and houses of worship. Similarly, those who organized the fire and rescue services, summered on the beaches and contributed to its cultural life are represented in both photographs and vignettes.

Both books are highly readable, making them accessible for students as well as for avocational historians and scholars. They provide invaluable access to the social and cultural particulars of Rocky Point's past, but are also a resource for the study of telecommunications and the socio-economic transition of Long Island from agrarian homestead to seasonal recreation usage as it developed into its present role as a residential suburb.

BARBARA KELLY
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Marilee Foster. *Dirt Under My Nails: An American Farmer and Her Changing Land*. Bridgehampton, New York: Bridge Works Publishing Company, 2003. Pp. 175.

In *Dirt Under My Nails*, Marilee Foster brings sensitivity, wit, and detail to descriptions of work experiences and nature, her family, and to her deeply personal conversations with local history. She writes as a farmer and an artist who grew up and lives in Sagaponack, a hamlet on eastern Long Island where, she insists, local farmers are the true custodians of the land that remains undeveloped on the South Fork. One hundred miles from New York City, farmers in this community have proven resilient in living with the Hamptons' most recent settlers, the second-homeowners. First published in 2002, her work is part essay, part journal, and is based on the author's weekly column for the *Southampton Press*, her town's newspaper. The book is organized according to the seasons of the year.

In the first chapter, "Winter," the season when the cycle of agricultural production slows, Foster identifies political issues and tensions, but not before she traces the paths of her "polka-dotted birds," the guinea hens on the farm where "droppings of other creatures bleed into the surface of the guinea hens' tramping" (p. 7). Recently, Southampton Town legislators

proposed zoning changes to require that eighty percent of large parcels of land remain as “open space” without houses when they are developed. Farmers organized to fight the proposal. It meant that they would lose some of the potential profit from developing their land in the future. Sympathetically, the author notes that farmers should not be made to “pay for everyone else’s view” (p. 14). When the nearby ocean rages and the dunes erode, placing oceanfront homes at risk, local government does nothing to persuade owners of the “temporary” and changing status of beach dunes (p. 34). It thereby encourages building near dunes and nature suffers.

March is cleanup time on the farm. The compost heap is improved with rotten squash, potatoes, and tomatoes. In “Spring” the planting of 300 acres of potatoes is the vehicle that reveals the “fragility of . . . relationships” among family members as they work the fields together (p. 67). In this essay, Foster’s ironic human-animal juxtapositions, that often color the art of people who feel close to the land and nature, pepper her prose. She writes “nest building for humans is a ritualized process but it is rarely so gracefully executed as it is with the birds” (p. 76). And, again, “I recognize the mythic chemistry between humans and frogs” (p. 79).

Summer is largely spent battling weeds, pests, and the effects of drought. But in this chapter, the author returns to a favorite theme, the value of the individual’s freedom to act juxtaposed against freedom’s often destructive effects. SUVs, allowed on the beach during specific hours, try to breach a wall of dunes and tire tracks mar the sand near the nesting terns. Attempting to protect nature, Foster and a friend “erect a fence for their territory and their freedom - and maybe for ours, as well” (p. 119). August and fall, the time “for selecting caskets” (p. 155), bring harvests, deer damage to crops, the threat of hurricanes, and the hunting season. While Foster sees killing pheasants and deer as necessary for “keeping wild populations in check” (p. 168), the greatest threat to wildlife remains human encroachment. The book concludes with the author’s cautious optimism about the future: it is derived from a commitment to place and to her farm, the “unqualified essence of my life” (p.175).

The historian can reap a rich harvest from this impassioned plea for balance between humans and the natural environment. It is a primary source for those interested in contemporary farming, women entrepreneurs, the environment, and farm preservation. It is a secondary source for historical vignettes about Sagaponack farm families and agricultural technology. While this book is a delightful read, its organization, following an annual chronology, often leads to repetition. Topics such as potato growing or Sagg Pond water levels tend to lose

their narrative of cycle and rhythm over time. Yet the impressions manage to blend. Above all, it is clear that Marilee Foster, without anger or resentment, is teaching us how to celebrate what we have left.

ANN SANDFORD
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Louisa Thomas Hargrave. *The Vineyard: The Pleasures and Perils of Creating an American Family Winery*. New York: Viking, 2003. Pp. 254.

Louisa Hargrave's *The Vineyard* is as memorable as the superb wine produced at the family vineyard. A unique blend of autobiography, sociology and business history, it chronicles the evolution of the famed vineyard from the first planting to its sale, in 1999, to Marco and Anne Marie Borghese. Telling it like it was, Louisa Hargrave recounts how she and her husband Alex traveled throughout the United States in search of ideal grape growing property before finally settling down on Long Island. Louisa grew up on Long Island, albeit in Cold Spring Harbor, a considerable distance west of the Cutchogue potato farm, which they purchased, complete with historic (circa 1680) house. The year was 1973 and the eager young bride and her husband were about to launch an industry which would produce internationally acclaimed wines, while simultaneously preserving a huge swath of the East End's vanishing open space.

With skill and wit Louisa Hargrave explains how a Harvard educated couple, enamored of poetry, literature, history and, in Alex's case, Chinese Studies, opted to embrace farm life with all of its trials and tribulations. Their transformation into early risers and relentless workers is detailed in such a lively manner that the reader cannot help but admire their commitment. The myriad tasks, many of them labor intensive, associated with this formidable undertaking were at times overwhelming for Louisa who was paid a compliment of sorts by a Russian born grape grower from the Finger Lakes who visited the fledgling Hargrave Vineyard. "I like you. You nice dirty farmer," declared the distinguished guest (p. 38). Like the women and men who had toiled away on the rich farmland of the North Fork since the 1600s, the Hargraves possessed a genuine reverence for the land. Admitting that "we had to learn everything from scratch," she noted that the vineyard "was a total do-it-yourself operation" (p. 33).

When her son and daughter were babies, Louisa worked amongst the vines with the children in tow. Although a farm turned vineyard was an

ideal place to raise a family, there were times when her multitudinous responsibilities wore Louisa down. "I was completely exhausted, taking care of the kids, the animals, and the housework; working in the field, the winery, and the store," she confided (p. 179-180). But, somehow, she managed to recoup. In the early days supportive neighbors, with whom the Hargraves interacted at get acquainted social teas and at a novel cheesecake contest organized by Alex, made a real difference. As the new kids on the block the Hargraves were grateful to receive pointers from wise old potato farmers, but some of the data presented by a university scientist could have spelled doom. Louisa provides insightful commentary on this and other challenges she and her husband faced, among them licensing regulations, a battle with the New York State Department of Environmental Conservation over pest control, and the precipitous withdrawal of a major investor. Overcoming these hurdles was no easy task but intelligence, determination and a dash or two of good luck enabled the couple to save the day and savor such high points as the first harvest, international recognition for their award winning wines, and the acclaim of food and wine writers.

Along the way there were recurring problems posed by uncontrollable weeds. Alex thought sheep were the answer but the four footed weed whackers he acquired feasted on the rose bushes while ignoring the weeds. Another experiment, which involved driving around in a Red Toyota while tooting the horn to scare off grape nibbling birds, was slightly more successful. The birds fled at the sound of the noise but quickly returned when it ceased. Weather was another obstacle, especially in winter when the vines were pruned. Besides layers of clothing, the Hargraves and their workers donned "little nose warmers made of reddish-brown wool," which made everyone resemble "Irish setters, especially Alex, who wore a hat with fur earflaps" (p. 98). Despite the challenges, the Hargraves managed to survive and, ultimately, thrive but it surely wasn't easy being pioneers.

Visitors lured to the winery's tasting room by appealing pictures in *Time* magazine may have concluded that their gracious and exceedingly knowledgeable hostess, accompanied by her faithful dog Zeus, led a charmed life. But the hospitality dispensed along with the wine camouflaged the long hours, physically demanding work and complex decision making required to not only produce good wine but to market it successfully. When visitation to the winery plummeted in the aftermath of a severe hurricane in 1985, the Hargraves opted for an early release of their Pinot Noir. Calling it "Hurricane Gloria Candlelight Burgundy," they sold more than a thousand cases in a single week following the publication of a *Newsday* article touting this innovative wine. Alex's idea for selling wine futures was another brilliant marketing strategy. Had

they not been so adept at innovating and multi-tasking, the Hargraves' concept of transforming a corner of Long Island into one of North America's premier wine producing areas would have been doomed to failure. That they succeeded is testimony not only to their diligence but to their vision. The subtitle of this captivating volume - *The Pleasures and Perils of Creating an American Family Winery* -really sums it up. *The Vineyard* is a good read and a volume, which will take its place as a Long Island classic. The book is well written, forthright and exceptionally informative. Its author merits a toast!

MARILYN E. WEIGOLD
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Ann M. Becker. *Images of America, Mount Sinai*. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2003. Pp. 128.

Antonia Booth and Thomas Monsell. *Images of America, Greenport*. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2003. Pp. 128.

Geoffrey K. Fleming. *Images of America, Bridgehampton*. Geoffrey K. Fleming. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2003. Pp. 128.

What is brown and tan with a group of people from the past illustrated on its cover? Well, any lover of pictorial local history knows that I am speaking of the ubiquitous soft cover volumes that are partnered between regional historians and Tempus Publishing through their Arcadia imprint. They appear everywhere nineteenth and twentieth century photographers have snapped their shots. I was surprised to even see the series when I was in Normandy several years ago.

I am not sure if the uniformity of the separate books is a positive or negative feature, but certainly this similarity has added to cuts in production costs that have made these projects both profitable for the publishing house as well as feasible for the authors and sponsors. And we now have many more prideful photographic publications of counties, cities, villages and the like than we ever would have had without Arcadia's intervention.

Obviously the production and design restraints have placed some limits on creativity. From the "antique" browned down group shot covers (often like an old yearbook) to the exact number of conforming pages, these volumes stand out from other local history publications, but not from each other – at least on the surface. At a county historical society's museum shop, the shelf of "Images of America" series individual titles

tends to look like many copies of the same book. But the moment you crack open one of these trim and thin booklets, you are immersed in local folklore, architectural icons and founding families. All the sameness disappears.

The distant editors seek little control of the one hundred and eighty (or so) pictures that illustrate each volume, but they do suggest a people shot for the cover. This humanizes and animates what could become a very dull and unappealing introduction to local lore. So it is the author (or authors) who makes each book what it is. What looks standard isn't. But who, precisely, is the audience for these books, and how successful are the publications under review in serving that audience?

These three volumes are intended for a local readership and all three are enjoyable to peruse. There is no pretense here at either broad stroked regional relevance or revisionism. These are picture books where the text is relegated to caption status. Each volume celebrates the community of its title, recording mostly the lives of regular people, making merry and making money. The purpose here is not to critique or make social comment in the Hutchins Hapgood sense, but to document the development and evolution of a community.

Ann M. Becker's *Mount Sinai* cover greets us with a 1906 photograph of Guiletta Hutchinson's students in front of their one room schoolhouse. It is a wonderful detail, but I had to go through forty-eight pages to finally identify this charming image. A useful 1858 map helps site this small Long Island community. Since many of these books become gifts for relatives long removed from the communities highlighted in the titles, maps are especially helpful in broadening the audience for local history. Impressively, Ms. Becker shows us eight maps, while the "Greenport" volume uses but one and "Bridgehampton" gives the reader none.

Mount Sinai includes a short introduction that starts in 1664. Since photography only becomes common twenty years before the Civil War it is awkward for a photo history, to dwell on that which cannot be shown. Here the introduction glides swiftly into the late nineteenth and twentieth century leaving only the first of the six chapters to reflect on the images of older times. The photographic quality is mostly crisp with some remarkably beautiful works. Outstanding is a nostalgic porch scene with Gus Tooker showing off rope braiding to a pair of children resembling no one so much as Huckleberry Finn. Mary Van Pelt's cycling with a pug dog, James Davis in his vegetable field, the "Commit no Nuisance" sign posted in the 1940's at the natural spring near the harbor, Lavinia Griffiths posing on a motorcycle, a soft focus Maypole gathering and an Eve Grant classic of sexy Marilyn Monroe atop a children's playground

merry-go-round are all treasures that inspire as well as teach. They are as special as Mount Sinai is special.

The last chapter, "Development and Preservation," reads slightly like chamber of commerce boosterism, but brings to an end this charming ramble through the old photo albums of Mount Sinai. At times the author gives the reader more credit than he or she deserves when it comes to local knowledge. But the book is all about one community and its shared history and heritage. For those outside this private preserve, the last chapter lacks the nostalgia of the old fashioned world that these dated photos help reconstruct. The more modern trustee and supervisor professional portraits seem too real, but like in any family album, we are honored to have them shared with us.

The *Greenport* book comes from the pens of Antonia Booth and Thomas Monsell. The cover is the 1904 graduating class exposing that clear but uneasy young adulthood demeanor. But again, one has to go to page sixty-eight to find out this information. The introduction is a swift but pungent overview, and along with a map, the authors illustrate the beautiful wood engraving of Greenport harbor done in 1843 but with no reference to its source. This seems to be a common problem with many in this series, information is given but rarely is the reader privy to any clues as to where it came from or where to find out more. Only in Geoffrey Fleming's *Bridgehampton* does one find a bibliography, which happens to be an excellent one.

The richness of Greenport's fishing history makes the tapestry of the community seaport images fascinating. The seven chapters start with "Sterling Days" and go right into "The Sound of the Sea," the latter being filled with dock activity. I found that I got tired, very quickly, of the sometimes cute and clever bold faced headings used for every one of the two hundred and thirteen illustrations. Headings like "Miss Havisham Would Have Loved It," "A is for Adorable," and "An Early Aerobics Program" seem to detract from the often beautiful and serious photographs used throughout this volume. Outstanding images include the Tall Ships in the harbor, the gate on the fence in front of the house of George Lyons, the Paradise Sweets shop façade, Sam Mazzo's barbershop, packing oysters for Seapure, Fredwin Thompson's paint shop, and the lifesavers behind their boat. Every image is worth more words than the format allows. Sometimes the authors stretch to make a point, such as with the photograph of a wagon holding a group of well dressed ladies. The caption is titled "Women at Work," and goes on to talk about all the jobs women held in turn-of-the-twentieth-century Greenport. Without any actual information about this specific scene, the caption makes little sense. Who are these women? How do we know they are going to work and not to a church social? The mixture of ethnic

images and varied social classes makes "Greenport" a captivating introduction to this town that remains both a working village and the summer destination of New York artists. It is the contrasts between church going, seafaring, salon drinking, summering, rail working, scouting, landscape painting, house building, and soldiering, that place people in the forefront of the creation of any community. This stew of personalities is the recipe that produced Greenport. Antonia Booth and Thomas Monsell's book truly illustrates this photogenic hodge-podge that makes Greenport a lively north fork seaport town.

More staid are the old south fork farming villages. One of these communities is Bridgehampton, which is also the title of Geoffrey Fleming's fine book. This volume is one of the best in the popular Arcadia series. From the revealing "Introduction" by Bridgehampton Historical Society president, Ann Sandford, we are in good hands as the history of this community unfurls before us. Long famous for its road races, the cover illustration (described on the colophon page) shows Rink Bassington and Courtney Rogers displaying their racing car about 1915. The ten chapters are arranged from "Farms and Mills," to "People and Places," ending with "Sports and Leisure," and "The Races." What adds to both the casual and research oriented readers pleasure is the extra care Mr. Fleming has taken with supplying very accurate information.

When possible, all the illustrated people, whose names are known, are given birth and death dates. Buildings are carefully documented to include dates of construction and later additions. The author includes an extensive bibliography, which helps identify the caption's references and also lead the reader to further avenues of information. There are some misreadings from some of the photos, a shingled frame barn is referred to as being metal, a carriage has its driver identified as a woman, which he isn't, and a classic Queen Anne style home is reclassified as a shingle style cottage. Also some of the locations could be made clearer. The author knows something is located on Main Street, but the reader may not. But these are editing points that can be cleared up in the next printing.

Some really wonderful photographs grace this book. Among my favorites are scenes from the shooting of the 1916 Mary Pickford film "Huldah from Holland," the interior of Minden, Tremedden with its tower, the Judge Abraham Topping House as it was built, Mr. and Mrs. Stephen Halsey's servant girl, and Orlando Rogers bringing grain to the Hayground Windmill.

All of these community books take us on a journey to a prideful past. These photographs are by professionals, hobbyists and snap-shooters. They were all taken because someone wanted to record something. Most of the images have survived through luck or sentimental associations.

Bringing together these diverse picture pieces of the past helps us further understand the puzzle that is always presented when we try to fathom times that are lost.

RICHARD I. BARONS
Southampton Historical Museum

Tom Andersen. *This Fine Piece of Water: An Environmental History of Long Island Sound*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002. Notes. Index, bibliography, Pp. 233.

More than eight million people live within Long Island Sound's watershed. Consequently, the Sound has become the most heavily used estuary in North America. Human activities have taken their toll on this 1,310 square mile coastal estuary, prompting some to predict an ecological crisis of unprecedented magnitude. In his book, *This Fine Piece of Water*, Tom Andersen suggests that the Sound "is undergoing an ecological crisis that threatens to turn it into a dead sea" (p. 6). Long Island Sound not only supports millions of fish, bivalves, and crustaceans, it is also a vital resource for the conflicting activities of commercial and recreational fisherman, local town industries, and citizens who crave its picturesque seascapes. In his sobering book, Andersen outlines the history of the Sound and its use and abuse as a resource.

Throughout *This Fine Piece of Water* the reader is taken on a fascinating journey from the Sound's geological beginnings, through Native American predominance and early Dutch exploration, to today's industrial development and suburban sprawl. Andersen aptly depicts the dilemma of the Long Island Sound as commerce versus nature. The book's first few chapters contrast the earliest residents of Long Island Sound with the early European explorers. As Andersen explains, the Indians "were dwellers in the land, not consumers of it" (p. 34). The Native Americans lived off the land and understood that conservation of resources was critical to their own survival. However, the arrival of Adriaen Block and others whose primary business was trading brought settlement of towns and the opening of the Long Island Sound watershed to European trade. While such business development was an achievement, it "would have cataclysmic, even devastating, effects on nature and native life in the region" (p. 37). Block's influence created a sociological shift from subsistence to a more economically oriented mindset. The emerging commodity driven attitude was further facilitated by a new era of Industrialization. Waterways subsequently became

convenient dumping sites for industrial waste – primarily copper from brass mills – and sewage.

The oystering industry grew steadily in the early eighteenth centuries and peaked between the 1850's and 1880's. By the early 1900's, however, the oyster beds were depleted. Overharvesting and sewage pollution contributed to the decline of the oyster industry, but an outbreak of Typhoid Fever linked to eating oysters from New York City, New Haven, and Norwalk exacerbated the decline. The outbreak occurred because the Sound's oysters had been feeding on the sewage of the ever-expanding populations of Connecticut and New York. As Andersen writes, "Public confidence in the oyster industry collapsed, and the oyster industry itself went down with it" (p. 98).

In Chapter Seven the book launches into the present-day assault on the ecology of Long Island Sound. With commuter railroad lines and the invention of the automobile came an enhanced freedom of movement from New York City to suburbia. Real estate development mogul Abraham Levitt, and parkway designers William K. Vanderbilt and Robert Moses, advanced the extensive suburbanization of Westchester County and Long Island Sound. One major damaging effect of this rapid growth was a tremendous increase in sewage production, adding large amounts of nitrogen directly to the Sound. Development in the form of impermeable structures, driveways, sidewalks, and roads impairs the land's ability to naturally absorb nitrogen. The combination of higher nitrogen input and increased impermeable surface area created an ecosystem over-enriched with nitrogen. As a result, oxygen concentrations in the Sound's water plummeted toward hypoxic and anoxic conditions. For readers not familiar with estuarine science, Chapter Eight provides a basic overview of the biology and organic chemistry of Long Island Sound.

The second half of Andersen's work focuses on the massive lobster deaths of the late 1980's and how scientists and citizens have been working to restore the Sound. The studies of 1987-1989 concentrated attention and interest on the Sound as never before. News of the devastating effects of hypoxia touched every level of society – researchers, politicians, fisherman, and citizens focused on the issue of cleaning up the Sound. Public forums and meetings held by Listen to the Sound generated much discussion and "placed the link between development and the collapse of an ecosystem into a regional perspective, perhaps for the first time" (p. 172). The Long Island Sound Study Policy Committee issued a recommendation to institute a nitrogen cap, directing that sewage treatment plants could not release more than their 1990 outputs. The directive was steeped in political controversy, but was eventually adopted as a formal policy of the federal government. The

Clean Water Coalition, comprised of an unlikely mix of laborers, industry and environmentalists, lobbied for state support to fund clean up of the Sound, plus federal funds to upgrade sewage treatment plants. Although Assemblyman George Pataki, now Governor of New York, supported the Coalition, no money would flow from Washington to fund sewage plant improvements. Andersen dedicates Chapter Ten to sewage treatment solutions, since studies have linked the cause of hypoxia to increased nitrogen levels, primarily due to ineffective sewage treatment processes. Stamford's cutting-edge wastewater treatment system for removing nitrogen serves as an effective case study.

In his final chapter, Andersen discusses the role of activism and environmentalism in the restoration of Long Island Sound. He makes a notable statement that the Sound does not evoke a sense of cultural history like the Hudson River and therefore is lacking the public's support. Anderson quotes John Cronin, "When we start to believe and to feel that the Sound is our place, we will take pollution personally" (p. 206). Moreover, there exists a need for additional public access, open space preservation, and a focus on water quality. A constituency is necessary to successfully clean up the Sound, but people are more likely to care and act if they experience it firsthand.

A few comments. The first half of the book is a riveting account of Long Island Sound's earliest history, however it quickly loses steam in its repetitive description of sewage disposal effects on the lobster and oyster industry. For example, Andersen focuses too heavily on reports of quantitative catch comparisons from year to year. This information could have been more clear and concise if presented in chart format. Sentences choked with numbers are distracting and detract from the overall content of the narrative. Additionally, what was likely an intentional suppression of heavy science appeared as a glaring omission. Rather than explore the full spectrum of causes linked to nitrogen enrichment, he focuses solely on sewage disposal - other contributors of increased nitrogen content in the Sound, such as stormwater runoff, land use, and nitrogen fertilizers are only briefly mentioned. Although the studies are described in general, the scientific basis of many conclusions is lacking.

This Fine Piece of Water is worth reading for its rich detail about the early explorations of Adriaen Block, the lobster and oyster industry, and effects of suburban sprawl. While the book falls short on significant scientific data, it provides an interesting general overview of how environmental issues can both polarize and unite environmentalists, politicians, developers, government agencies and citizens.

MICHELLE LAND
Pace University

Sylvie Murray. *The Progressive Housewife; Community Activism in Suburban Queens, 1945-1965*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2003. Notes. Index, bibliography, Pp. 239.

The received wisdom on the postwar suburban wife and mother has too often been rooted in the cardboard stereotypes of Donna Reed and the wives of Stepford, nourished in part by the self-serving assumptions of the manufacturers of household products and their Madison Avenue minions. Sylvie Murray's study of the housewife activists of northeastern Queens is an instructive counterpoint, particularly for those whose memories of the postwar suburbs bear little resemblance to the sterile existences in the works of such analysts as C. Wright Mills and Betty Friedan.

Murray provides both a contextual examination of Queens in the postwar era and an analysis of the political activism of the women who settled the newly constructed suburbs in the northeastern section of that County. Her study centers on the experience of the housewife and mother as political activist, fighting for her share of the necessary amenities that the city had traditionally provided for its residents – schools, transportation, and services.

The book is divided into three related but distinct sections. The first sets Queens into a social and economic context in the period from the late depression through the onset of World War II when Queens shifted from mixed residence, with spot building among small truck and dairy farms. By the 1950s it had become fully suburbanized.

Murray then examines the difficulties faced by the new residents in attempting to acquire quality housing and sets this issue against the economic and political forces at work in the larger national scene. The experience of being part of a major metropolis, but underserved by its municipal government, triggered the dissatisfaction of her subjects. This section introduces the progressive and left leaning forces at work in the area and the ideological debates that arose in postwar American society.

She is particularly concerned with both the progressive and left-leaning forces at work in northeastern Queens and the ideological debates of postwar American society. Her population is disproportionately composed of two major groups of women: middle class Jews and blue-collar unionists. It was this group, which she terms a small but influential minority, who provided more progressive voices on "issues related to economic and racial justice, pacifism and civil liberties" (p. 8).

The second section of the book is a specific exploration of the rising political consciousness of the Queens residents, which centered on the acquisition of adequate public services. Because of this emphasis, the

diverse population was able to “transcend [their] ideological differences” in pursuit of a larger common good (p. 8).

Murray notes the emergence of “responsible citizens” urged on by a combination of a tradition of civic republicanism, the editors of community newspapers, and the leaders of local organizations. She examines the dichotomy between the community activists and their supporters on the one hand, and the career politicians on the other, and finds that the local activists served as watchdogs against the professionals in order to protect and promote their interests.

Although the tension between the citizens and the municipal government regarding schools was the focal point of their protests, there was also a general distress over the issue of services. In showing that the women of her study were becoming seasoned politicians, she examines their strategies and rhetoric. Contrary to the stereotype of postwar women relying heavily on maternalist politics, her activists did not limit their arguments or their protest to baby carriage parades. The protests and petitions that the women generated were typical of wider community activism, and her subjects did not limit the framing of their arguments to maternal and domestic issues. Thus, despite the notoriety attached to it as a phenomenon of the 1940s, the baby carriage parade was used only as a last resort when more traditional means of civic protest had gone unanswered.

Indeed, their use of hard data to make their points and their assumption that logical appeals would elicit a favorable response from those in power reveal both a tendency toward mature political action and a naïve belief in the system.

The third section moves to the national arena with a comparative study of the more sophisticated Volunteers for Stevens. This group of activists shared many of the concerns and strategies of the Queens group as well as a national vision. In their rhetoric, they “drew explicit connections between housewives and rational independent voters” and reinforced the rising political self-identity of the Queens residents in her case study, ratifying Betty Friedan’s thesis that volunteerism was a training ground for women’s political skills (p. 11).

In extending her argument to the national arena, Murray challenges the implications of the traditional assessment of middle class anti-liberalism in postwar America. She concludes that the Queens experience was part of the “simmering crisis of liberalism that has permeated the history of northern metropolitan areas since World War II” and that a number of factors “fueled the growing resentment that local residents felt toward New York City politicians” (p. 12). In other words, it was the municipal government’s failure to provide the services and their dismissal of the input of the citizens that provided the roots of the

civic frustration that would emerge in the 1960s in the form of NIMBYism, obscuring the collaborative activism of the former years. It was these factors rather than race which “set the stage for the residents’ negative reaction toward the integration plans devised by New York City officials in the late 1950s and 1960s” (p. 12).

Murray finds that “the model of citizenship embraced by middle class citizens was based on the assumption that one has a right to a residential community of quality and that both citizens and the state were obligated to the community’s welfare” (p. 13). These assumptions led to their participation in the civic and political life of their residential communities.

Although the status of Queens as a suburb within a city provides some differences from the experience of the more traditional bedroom communities we associate with the term suburb, Murray argues that the similarities in form and lifestyle were significant in her determination of Queens as an example of the postwar suburbs. In addition, the somewhat atypical demographic mix of the area, she argues, makes the case study of the area translatable to other areas of the country.

However, it is here that the use of a case study becomes problematic for anyone attempting to generalize its findings. As Murray is careful to point out, the number of Jewish and working class families moving into her study area was atypically high for the time. Thus, although the population resembled the demographic distribution of the nation, it did not reflect the populations of the many suburban subdivisions that were created after the war, which were abnormally homogeneous.

In addition, it appears likely that her population had only recently left the more left-leaning and progressively charged environment of Manhattan and Brooklyn. Given the role of middle class Jews and blue-collar unionists in the socialist labor movements of the thirties, it may be that her study group was already atypically political when they moved to Queens. Thus, despite the high quality of this particular work, further study is required before we can draw too many conclusions from their experience.

The book is well researched and written. Murray is precise in her use of terminology, being careful to draw fine lines, for example between ‘the suburbs and her region in Queens, which is politically a part of Greater New York, and therefore technically a city. Although comparing her subjects to activists at the national level, she does not claim that they are either typical or unique and urges deeper examination of women in the political arena.

BARBARA KELLY
Hofstra University

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

I would like to extend the highest praise and most sincere gratitude to David Yehling Allen, a long time member of the editorial and advisory boards of the *Long Island Historical Journal*. Mr. Allen retired from Stony Brook University in January and will be returning to his native California. Mr. Allen served as a reference librarian in the Melville Library at Stony Brook since 1978, and as the Map Librarian since 1985. During this time, Dr. Allen curated a major map collection and in the last ten years used his knowledge of scanning technology to make maps available over the Internet and his knowledge of Geographic Information Systems software to service the needs of faculty and other library users (found at www.stonybrook.edu/library/map). David was an exemplary scholar librarian. In addition to building map and history collections and to providing reference service, he wrote a number of books and articles on maps. His bibliography includes *Long Island Maps and Their Makers: Five Centuries of Cartographic History* (Amereon House, 1997), "Using the Dublin Core with CORC to Catalog Digital Images of Maps" (*Journal of Internet Cataloging*, 2001), "The Enigmatic Topographic Maps of the U.S. Coast Survey" (*Meridian*, 1998), and several articles on Long Island maps in the *Long Island Historical Journal*. These articles included "Long Island History on the Worldwide Web," (Spring 2002: 188-204). This article is must reading for any Long Island researcher. He also wrote "Dutch and English Mapping of Seventeenth-Century Long Island," (Fall 1991: 45-62), and "Long Island Triangulated: Nineteenth-Century Maps and Charts of the U.S. Coast Survey" (Spring 1994: 191-207). David's current work involves starting an on-line cartographic journal and research on early New York State maps.

Chris Filstrup, Dean of Libraries, Stony Brook University

EDITOR'S NOTE

The editorial board of the *Long Island Historical Journal* would like to thank David Yehling Allen for his many contributions. He was instrumental in keeping this journal going after the passing of its founding editor. He will be sorely missed. We wish him well in his retirement.

Long Island Historical Journal

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