THE LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL JOURNAL

Spring 1990
Volume 2 • Number 2

The Long Island Historical Journal

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

Spring 1990
Volume 2 • Number 2

PUBLISHED BY
THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK AT STONY BROOK

ISSN 0898-7084

Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in HISTORICAL ABSTRACTS and AMERICA: HISTORY AND LIFE

The editors gratefully acknowledge the support of the Office of the Provost and of the Dean of Social and Behavioral Sciences, USB. We thank the Long Island Savings Bank and the Chase Manhattan Bank, N.A. for their generous grants. We appreciate the unstinting assistance of Dr. Fred Weinstein, Chair, Department of History, USB. And we owe a special vote of thanks to Richard C. Koch and staff, Graphic Support Services, USB, and Patricia A. Foster and staff, Publications Office, USB, for their indispensable help in designing and printing the Journal.

The *Long Island Historical Journal* is published twice a year, in October and April. Yearly subscriptions are $15.00, single copies $8.00. Address articles, correspondence, books for review, and subscriptions to:

The Editor, LIHJ
Department of History
University at Stony Brook
Stony Brook, NY 11794-4348

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Cover: Shepard Alonzo Mount, *Portrait of John Divine Jones, ca.* 1853. Courtesy of the Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory. Jones was a founder, in 1890, of the Biological Laboratory at Cold Spring Harbor.

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Geoffrey S. Cahn, Chair of the History Department at Yeshiva University High School for Boys, has written extensively on the fine arts. Dr. Cahn is now working on a history of the Lewisohn Stadium Concerts.

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Wilbur R. Miller, a USB professor of American history and the author of *Cops and Bobbies,* has completed a forthcoming study of Appalachian moonshining during the era of Reconstruction.

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EDITORIAL COMMENT

Welcome to the study of Long Island as America. In this hundredth-anniversary year of the Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory, we present Lee Hiltzik's interview with its distinguished director, James D. Watson, and a summary of its origin and growth by Elizabeth Watson, his wife and associate. A new series, "State of the Island," begins with a look at our economic future by James Larocca, the president of the Long Island Association. Two articles deal with religion in colonial times—Robert E. Cray, Jr.'s on Anglicans in Calvinist Suffolk, and Christopher Densmore's on the Flushing jury which twice refused to convict a Quaker, Samuel Bownas, for blasphemy. Wilbur Miller interprets the colorful conflict in Brooklyn between the government and the moonshiners during the era of Reconstruction, while Geoffrey Cahn examines a landmark cultural center, the Brooklyn Academy of Music. Commodore Stephen Decatur's close encounter with the British fleet on Long Island Sound in the War of 1812 is recounted by W.M.P. Dunne, as Marilyn Weigold considers the Sound from early times to the present. Elaine Pasquali contributes a fascinating account of Cubans on Long Island, based on her interviews with immigrants. Our book reviews include Lee Koppelman on Robert Moses; Stuart Ewen on the New York World's Fair; Joshua Stoff and Roger Seybel on separate works on aviation; Carol Traynor on the Spinzia family's guidebook to Long Island; the late Paul Ettenson on Joann P. Krieg's survey of literature; and W.M.P. Dunne on the famous ship, the *Palestine*.

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The Editors

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Long Island Born and Bred: The Origin and Growth of Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory

By Elizabeth L. Watson

The Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory, a non-profit "village of science" now celebrating its hundredth birthday, was largely unknown to the Long Island public for most of its existence. Not anymore. The local influence of this center of biological research and education is beginning to keep pace with its far-reaching impact on the world. This in no small measure is due to the DNA Learning Center, dedicated in 1988, where Long Islanders can learn how the DNA revolution, sparked by discoveries made in Cold Spring Harbor, is changing everyone's life; this is the only place in the country where one can gain this kind of knowledge in a hands-on way.

Still not widely known is the role that Cold Spring Harbor and its people played in the Laboratory's first century. Tucked away from its Long Island neighbors, the Laboratory's hundred-acre campus nestles on the western shore of the inner harbor of Cold Spring, in the Nassau County village of Laurel Hollow. To leading geneticists of the world, however, the grounds of Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory have, for a century, been a "home away from home."

Geography and Demographics Were the Key

Nearness to the New York metropolitan area, with its superior library resources and wealth of professional talent, was one of the major factors that, in 1890, led the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences to choose Cold Spring Harbor as the site for its Biological Laboratory, the antecedent institute to Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory.[1] Even more important than proximity to the city was the abundance of flora and fauna due principally to the diverse geography of the head of the harbor. This suitability for natural studies was known to the Brooklyn Institute's trustees through their acquaintance with the Fish Hatchery, founded at Cold Spring Harbor in 1882. Finally, the Laboratory's founders may have sensed the potential for financial backing, organizational ability, and technical expertise on the part of local citizens; the administrative and architectural proficiency of key board members from the area proved invaluable in future projects of fund-raising and construction.

Although the early history of Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory is tied to the natural endowments of the site, Long Island's influence on the Laboratory was manifested by the calibre and the quantity of the local contribution. This "people factor" had three distinct aspects: first, the unstinting "boosterism" in the earliest days on the part of the Jones family

of Cold Spring Harbor, and other distinguished Long Islanders; second, the unflagging support of the families who settled on the North Shore after the turn of the century and brought up their children and grandchildren with an appreciation for science; and third, the singular body of research discoveries made by "adoptive" daughters and sons of Long Island, who came to Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory to join in pushing forward the frontiers of modern biology toward a greater understanding of the brain, of the causes of cancer, and of human life itself as spelled out in the genome, the collection of chromosomes that makes each of us who we are.

Cold Spring Harbor's Native Americans

Biologists were not the first to discover the wealth of natural resources in the Cold Spring Harbor area. Before the arrival of colonists from New England in the middle of the seventeenth century, small bands of Matinecock Indians encamped at the head of the harbor. They inhabited a naturalist's dream of Paradise—fresh-water springs and streams, brackish tidal flats, and a saltwater marsh navigable at high tide, all close at hand and teeming with life. It was common for Native Americans to live on or near bodies of water, such as the estuarine environment of Cold Spring Harbor, and for a group to take the name of its locality.[2] Accordingly, they called their settlement "Wawepex," an Algonquian word meaning "at the good little water-place or pond." Loosely translated as "at the place of the good spring of water," this accounts for the English designation of Cold Spring, changed in the mid-nineteenth century to Cold Spring Harbor so as not to cause confusion with the village of Cold Spring, in Putnam County.[3]

Few traces remain of the Wawepex except for countless arrowheads. Many of these were unearthed from the present campus of the Laboratory, which extends northwest from the head of the harbor to the Sand Spit—the breakwater that divides the inner harbor from the broader, deeper, outer harbor that opens into Long Island Sound. One can imagine the Wawepex enjoying peaceful lives based on fishing and small-game hunting in an idyllic natural setting. A 1940 report explained the appeal of their habitat to its latter-day population of biologists:

> The long, fiordlike, drowned valley, opening on rocky beaches of the Sound and leading to a shallow inner basin and in turn to a chain of hidden lakes, ponds, cool springs and peat bogs, offers an abounding habitat for plant and animal organisms of salt and fresh water and of the tension zone between the two.[4]

"Wawepex" was memorialized in the name of the Wawepex Society, a land-holding corporation formed in 1892 by John Divine Jones, the principal holder of land at the head of Cold Spring Harbor.[5] The company had the dual purpose of holding real estate and investing funds for scientific research. Why science? The Wawepex Society was organized to formalize land-leasing arrangements between various Joneses (many of whose family

lands were owned jointly) and the two natural history-oriented "stations" established in the closing decades of the nineteenth century—the Biological Laboratory of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences and the Fish Hatchery of the New York Fisheries Commission. The roles of the Brooklyn Institute and the Fisheries Commission were very much intertwined at the time of the founding of the Biological Laboratory, in 1890, on land adjacent to that of the Fish Hatchery, as will be shown below. However, it is necessary first to examine the history of the area after the period of Matinecock habitation but before the modern era of occupation by scientists.

The "Jones Industries" Are Established at Cold Spring Harbor

By the mid-seventeenth century, Cold Spring Harbor was flanked by sizable towns created by colonists who crossed the Sound from New England and secured the land rights from local sachems, confirmed by colonial patents.[6] As the lands became subdivided, farming gained a foothold; the ancient river at Cold Spring was dammed to form a series of lakes, and grist mills were built.[7] Because of abundant water resources and ready access to the sea, light industry—textile manufacture in particular—had begun to supplement agriculture early in the nineteenth century. On the west side of the harbor, near its head, John H. Jones and his equally entrepreneurial brother, Walter R. Jones, built a spinning mill, dye house, and several warehouses. Together with other family members, they also owned a weaving mill and some general stores on the shore of the Second Lake, south of the harbor, as well as a grist mill that had been built in 1791 on the eastern side of the harbor, in Cold Spring village.

The Jones brothers proved their business skills by their organization and management of the Cold Spring Whaling Company, incorporated in 1836 on the eve of a national recession. Whaling shored up the local economy by utilizing the manufactured goods and maritime services available in the immediate Cold Spring Harbor area—the multifarious "Jones Industries."[8] Shipbuilding, repairing, and sail-making were performed on the eastern shore of the harbor, while, in addition to the warehouses and spinning mill, a cooper's shop went up on the western side of the harbor, which became known as Bungtown, after the bungs, or wooden stoppers, that were used for sealing barrels.[9] By the middle of the nineteenth century, the former haunts of the Wawepex were thus not only occupied by the mills and houses erected specially for workers in the textile industry but also by the resident cooper and his workers and factory, filling the brisk demand for the barrels needed for storing foodstuffs and whale oil on whaling voyages.

Sailing out of Cold Spring Harbor between 1836 and 1858, nine whaling vessels completed thirty-eight expeditions, commanded by able captains commissioned by the Joneses. In the late 1850s, the deaths of Walter R. Jones, and, several years later, of John H. Jones adversely affected the Cold Spring Whaling Company. In addition, two ships were lost in the

Arctic during these final years. The company's death knell was the discovery of petroleum in Pennsylvania; the cleaner fuel of kerosene rapidly replaced whale oil in lamps throughout the land. Bungtown, the whaling era boomtown, soon looked like a deserted village. Everywhere along Bungtown Road (today the main thoroughfare of the Laboratory) the houses, mills, and warehouses went unused.

The Brooklyn Institute Founds a Biological Laboratory

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, a fortunate series of events stemmed the tide of neglect and decay. The natural scenic beauty of North Shore harbors became known to increasing numbers of summer visitors, from day-trippers who came and went by packet boat, to affluent excursionists who sailed their yachts into coves and inlets and later purchased waterfront estates. It was only a matter of time before Cold Spring Harbor's unusally diverse ecology would be discovered by scientifically-minded vacationers.

The first important event occurred in 1882, when the New York Fisheries Commission established at Cold Spring Harbor the first permanent fish hatchery on Long Island, under the direction of Frederick Mather, a well-known pisciculturist. In 1884, an elegant house was built for the director on a contiguous site near the head of the harbor, where the family homestead of John D. Jones once stood.[10] The "hatching station" was in an abandoned Jones factory building until 1887, when a new hatchery structure was erected.

One of the fishery commissioners of New York State, the Fulton Street fish merchant, Eugene Blackford, sat on the board of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences. In the fall of 1889, Blackford invited the board to Cold Spring Harbor for a luncheon meeting at Mather's home, at which it was decided to make Cold Spring Harbor the home of the summer biological laboratory of the Brooklyn Institute's Department of Zoology. The site, adjoining the Fish Hatchery, was to be leased, as was the hatchery's land, for a nominal sum from the Wawepex Society.

In July 1890, for the first time in New York State, biological instruction was offered to high school teachers and teachers-in-training. Classes were held in the hatchery building, and an abandoned nearby warehouse was fitted with a darkroom and used as a supplementary lecture hall. In 1893, John Divine Jones (1814-1895), the Wawepex Society founder and eldest son of the entrepreneurial wizard, John H. Jones, decreed that a facility expressly built as a laboratory be constructed for the exclusive use of the Biological Laboratory. The building, designed by Lindsay Watson, a New York City architect, was a long, shingled, single-story, wooden structure with an enormous attic for coolness and a cupola perched on its massive hipped roof. In front of the entrance to the new "schoolhouse and laboratory" was an elegant, classically-columned porch.

Named the John D. Jones Laboratory after its donor, this facility made it possible for additional courses to be taught at the Biological Laboratory. By 1900, a total of eight courses were offered: High-School Zoology,

Comparative Anatomy, Invertebrate Embryology, Variation, Crytogamic Biology, Phaenogamic Botany, Bacteriology, and Microscopic Methods.[11] Jones Laboratory also provided office and laboratory space for independent summer investigators. Not only was the 1901 course in ecology one of the earliest offered anywhere, but research scientists simultaneously commenced the ecological studies of the Cold Spring Harbor environs that served as models for future research around the world.[12]

The Laboratory's First Sponsors are the Joneses

The new building helped to attract the students needed to ensure the continued existence of the Biological Laboratory; without this generous act of John D. Jones and the Wawepex Society it is unlikely that the Laboratory would have seen the century out.[13] Jones, the Cold Spring Harbor native who rescued the fledgling laboratory from almost certain demise, was the son of John H. Jones and the nephew of Walter R. Jones, of the Cold Spring Whaling Company. Walter Restored Jones (1793-1855) entered the Manhattan business world at the age of eleven, by helping to market flour from his family's mills in Cold Spring Harbor; by the age of sixteen he held a position with the United States Insurance Company. As he advanced in the field of marine insurance, he assumed the role of financier of the "Jones Industries." The climax of his career was founding, in his forty-ninth year, the Atlantic Mutual Insurance Company, which under his astute tutelage became the nation's foremost marine insurance company. John Divine Jones, in turn, served this company as its president for forty years, an office he held at the time of his death at the age of eight-one.

Longevity was a family trait, but perhaps the Jones's most significant characteristic was "the great eminence which many of its members have obtained in legal jurisprudence and the continuance of the latter through successive generations."[14] The Cold Spring Harbor Joneses had many distinguished lawyers as forebears, including Judge Samuel Jones (1734-1819), "the Father of the New York Bar," and his son, Judge David Samuel Jones (1777-1848), who, before being admitted to the New York Bar, was Governor John Jay's private secretary.[15] For fifteen years David S. Jones was a trustee of Columbia College, the alma mater of the majority of the lawyers in the family. His son, William Alfred Jones (1817-1900), trained in jurisprudence, worked as an editor, and for many years was the librarian of Columbia College.

The family's first notable philanthropist was Samuel Jones (1765-1836), a nephew of the "Father of the New York Bar." In his will, he established the Jones Fund "for the support of the poor in Oyster Bay and North Hempstead"; the bequest was for $30,000, a large sum for that day.[16]

When his uncle died in 1855, John Divine Jones assumed the presidency of the Atlantic Company at the age of forty-two. His long and distinguished career with this firm was highlighted during the Civil War, when he met with President Abraham Lincoln to discuss protection for Union shipping. The Atlantic, unlike other companies, offered to furnish

insurance—provided that when the war was over Great Britain would reimburse Union shippers for damage inflicted by cruisers sailing out of British ports.

Before the Civil War, John D. Jones's Long Island residence was the family homestead in Cold Spring Harbor where he was born. Later, he and his wife, whose maiden name was Josephine Katharine Floyd-Jones, moved to the South Shore where Joneses, particularly Floyd-Joneses, had lived since the time of Major Thomas Jones (d. 1713); Major Jones, the progenitor of both branches of Joneses, had dealt on a vast scale with Native Americans and settled his family on that side of the Island. In spite of having moved away, John D. Jones continued his interest in his birthplace. He leased his lands at the head of the harbor to the newly formed fish hatchery, and saw to the building of the hatchery director's home in 1884, on the site of the Jones family's homestead. He was in his seventies when he established the Wawepex Society, in whose coffers he deposited $5,000 to build the schoolhouse and laboratory for the Biological Laboratory.

Long Island's Biological Laboratory Compares Well to the Competition

The philanthropy of John D. Jones was not on the grand scale of Samuel Jones, the founder of the Jones Fund, but his gift of the innovative laboratory earned him the gratitude of the band of scientists determined to keep the facility going. As a new sort of place to go in the summer for intensive teaching and research, the Biological Laboratory at Cold Spring Harbor was the second of three seaside "zoological stations" founded on the eastern sea-board toward the end of the nineteenth century,[17] none of which officially were connected with universities. The others were the Marine Biological Laboratory, set up in Woods Hole, Massachusetts, in 1888, and a similar establishment founded at South Harpswell, Maine, in 1895. Although physically and programmatically they evolved in different ways, all three were the intellectual heirs of two antecedent zoological institutes, one a short-lived summer biological school on an island in Buzzards Bay, Massachusetts, and the other, the first permanent seaside biological research laboratory in the modern world, established at Naples, Italy.

The Stazione Zoologica, founded in 1874 at the edge of the Bay of Naples, became a magnet to scientists seeking to study, in a natural setting, the implications of Charles Darwin's theory of evolution. The key to the work at Naples was the use of marine organisms, which are excellent experimental subjects because their development can be closely monitored in a laboratory setting, provided that running salt water is available. The ocean shore of Massachusetts was the setting of the other prototypical seaside biological laboratory, the Anderson School of Natural History. It stressed going to the primordial source, to "study nature, not books"—the hand-lettered motto that hung in the Harvard office of Louis Agassiz, founder of the Anderson School on Penikese Island in Buzzards Bay. Although the Anderson School was convened for only two summers, 1873

and 1874 (Professor Agassiz died in the intervening winter), it was a watershed for American science.

Franklin Hooper, a future treasurer of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, studied at Anderson during its opening summer. Hooper, a Harvard College graduate, was a professor of zoology at Adelphi College, in Brooklyn (before it moved to Garden City). As the first director of the Brooklyn Institute, he, more than anyone on the board, desired the biological laboratory which, through his promotional efforts, was established at Cold Spring Harbor. One of the Laboratory's best and earliest friends, Franklin Hooper served as secretary of the board of managers from its founding until his death in 1914.

Although various structures for studying marine biology were built at the three early seaside biological laboratories, the only remaining one used for science is the Colonial Revival-style Jones Laboratory. John D. Jones had seen to it that the building was "planned to suit the convenience of the Brooklyn Institute and completed to the satisfaction of Eugene Blackford and of Professor Franklin W. Hooper."[18] Although for years it was used only in summer, its courses benefited more than two thousand biology students and teachers. When the building was recently winterized, the interior was transformed for state-of-the-art teaching of neuroscience (a project which preserved and accentuated its distinctive beaded-board interior) by the introduction of shiny, aluminum-clad, instructional modules, each individually climate-controlled. The exterior still looks as it did on the day it was built as the "schoolhouse" so urgently wanted by the precursors of the Biological Laboratory at Cold Spring Harbor.

Although ample laboratory space finally was secured, in those early days housing was scarce. Many summer students had to find lodgings in the village of Cold Spring Harbor, on the east side of the harbor. Only a small number could be housed on the grounds of the Laboratory, in whaling-era structures on land leased from the Joneses. These included two residential buildings—an abandoned multiple-family dwelling which served for a short while both as men's dormitory and dining hall, and a cottage occupied by the director and his family. Eventually, the Laboratory acquired a spacious new dining hall and women's dormitory, Eugene Blackford Memorial Hall, the gift of the widow and family of the New York State fishery commissioner who was instrumental in founding the Biological Laboratory.

Eugene Blackford (1839-1905), a resident of Brooklyn, began his business life as bookkeeper for a Fulton Street fish dealer, and went on to become a fish merchant himself. As the number of his retail stands on Fulton Street rose to twenty-two, he founded Blackford and Company, wholesale fish sellers and commission merchants.[19] He maintained a station in Canada where salmon were frozen before being shipped to New York City, imported fish from England, and introduced red snapper, white-bait, and pompano to metropolitan tables.[20] Three years after his 1879 appointment as a fishery commissioner, Blackford established the hatchery for sea and freshwater fish, at Cold Spring Harbor. At a board meeting

of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, held at the hatchery director's home, Blackford convinced Franklin Hooper that Cold Spring Harbor would be the appropriate site for the summer biological laboratory and school. From its founding in 1890 until his death in 1905, Blackford was the president of the Board of Managers of the Biological Laboratory.

Professor Davenport Brings in the Carnegie Institution

By the time Blackford Hall was under construction, the Biological Laboratory acquired a new scientific neighbor. On lands next to those of the Laboratory—also on lease from the Jones family through the Wawepex Society—the Carnegie Institution of Washington, D.C. established a Station for Experimental Evolution in 1904. The former residence of the fish hatchery's director was donated by the Wawepex Society for the use of the Carnegie station's director, Charles B. Davenport, who for six summers had been the director of the Biological Laboratory. Charles Benedict Davenport (1866-1944) is known for his pioneering experimental studies in Mendelian genetics, and for his genetical insights in the field of anthropology.[21] He was teaching zoology at Harvard (where he earned his Ph.D. in 1892), at the time of his recruitment to be the Laboratory's director. When the Station for Experimental Evolution was established he was an associate professor of zoology at the University of Chicago, his last position before assuming full-time responsibilities on Long Island.

Davenport directed the laboratory and school of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences until 1924, when he resigned in favor of Reginald Harris, his son-in-law; he continued as head of the experimental station of the Carnegie Institution until his retirement in 1934. During his tenure at Cold Spring Harbor he was deeply involved in the eugenics movement, establishing a Eugenics Record Office in 1910 on a site adjacent to the two autonomous laboratories. He wrote nearly 250 scientific papers and more than twenty books, including *Heredity in Relation to Eugenics* (1911), and made a considerable contribution to the genetic understanding of such physical disabilities as color blindness, Huntington's chorea, and epilepsy, that are caused by defects in a single gene. However, in an informative historical booklet published by the Laboratory in 1988, a team of authors reported that:

> he and other eugenicists grossly oversimplified the analysis of complex behaviors that are influenced by many genes. They crossed the line into science fiction when they claimed to show the Mendelian inheritance of "traits" such as feeble-mindedness, pauperism, shyness, moral control, nomadism, and shiftlessness.

American eugenicists furnished "the first basic understanding of humans genetic organisms," but tended toward

> heavy-handed preaching about what constituted the right genetic stuff. They were pronounced guilty by association with the radical

brand of inhumane genetic improvements that arose in fascist Europe during the 1930s. The Eugenics Record Office was closed in 1940."[22]

As director of the Carnegie Station for Experimental Evolution, Davenport supervised the construction of a wide variety of buildings needed to conduct breeding experiments and study Mendelian genetics. These included aviaries, brooder houses, chicken coops, greenhouses, poultry runs, sheep sheds, vivaria, and, most notably, two brick-trimmed, stuccoed laboratories still in use at Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory. George Shull, a full-time staff member appointed by Davenport, began to experiment with the hybridization of corn in 1905, and published his far-reaching results three years later. The original laboratory structure, which the Carnegie Institution built in 1905 and quickly outgrew, was called the Main Building; today it serves as the Laboratory's main library.

In 1912 construction began on the Animal House, now known as McClintock Laboratory. Several architects, among them two Huntington residents, had a hand in the design; the original one was by Robert W. Gardner, the designer of Blackford Hall. Even after construction began, plans were afoot for an amplified design about which the New York firm of Peabody, Wilson and Brown was consulted. The enlarged and modified plan, designed in Italian Classical style and executed in brick-trimmed stucco, was a scaled-down copy of the famous Naples Zoological Station. The architect, Julian Peabody, lived in nearby Old Brookville and was a friend of Davenport. The Animal Building was finished in 1914, along with a new headquarters building for the Eugenics Record Office, also designed by Julian Peabody.[23]

William John Matheson Gets Blackford Hall Built

Blackford Hall, designed by Robert W. Gardner, was one of the first residential structures built entirely of poured-on-the-site concrete, reinforced with iron bars. The site was proposed in 1905, in a letter to Franklin Hooper from Frederick Law Olmsted, of the celebrated Brookline, Massachusetts, firm of Olmsted Brothers, the landscape architects for more than 150 estates on Long Island alone.[24] Olmsted suggested that the Biological Laboratory negotiate with the Carnegie Institution and the Wawepex Society (the holder of the leases to all the lands) for a more desirable building site on higher ground which nominally was on lease to the Carnegie Institution. While negotiations were being completed, William J. Matheson, a Laboratory trustee, consulted with Gardner and Howes, the firm of architects and engineers he had retained to design the new concrete structures at "Fort Hill," his estate in nearby Lloyd Harbor.

William John Matheson (1856-1930), Eugene Blackford's successor, served for ten years as president of the Biological Laboratory Board of Managers. Matheson started in business as an importer of German dyestuffs, and taught himself organic chemistry in his spare time. During World War I he pioneered the American dye-producing industry, going

on to found the Allied Chemical and Dye Corporation in 1921.[25] After purchasing "Fort Hill," he campaigned to eradicate the mosquitos plaguing the area, and organized the North Shore Improvement Association with the purpose of locating mosquito breeding spots. In 1902, he consulted the Biological Laboratory for assistance in this undertaking and became interested in its work. It was Matheson who, with the advice of Gardner, a pioneer in the technique, proposed and planned the use of reinforced concrete for the Blackford memorial building.[26]

Sand for the concrete of Blackford Hall was obtained by excavating the hill opposite the site suggested by Olmsted. Except for leaks in the roof caused by minute cracks, a problem solved after countless attempts at patching with various patented processes (eventually a rubberized roof treatment worked), the building has held up extremely well, still serving as a dining hall, social center, and dormitory. Soon after its completion, it was, in 1907, the scene of the Seventh International Zoological Congress, and later of the comparably large colloquia of the Society for Experimental Biology and Medicine and the American Society of Naturalists.

1933 was a watershed in the history of Blackford Hall, marked by the holding of the first international Cold Spring Harbor Symposium on Quantitative Biology, a yearly gathering of researchers that has become the world's premier conference of the biological sciences. The inaugural Symposium signaled the Laboratory's coming of age as a year-round scientific center. The Laboratory had been reorganized nine years earlier, when the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences transferred ownership to the Long Island Biological Association, an organization of neighbors and scientists. Charles Davenport handed over the reins of the Biological Laboratory to his son-in-law, Reginald Gordon Harris, a newly-minted Ph.D., at the time of the Laboratory's reorganization.

Wealthy Neighbors Take up the Cause of the Biological Laboratory

John D. Jones, Hooper, Davenport, Blackford, and Matheson—the "Founders" and the "Old Guard"—had promoted the Biological Laboratory when it was under the auspices of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences. Now a new group of supporters came to the fore, the "Young Turks" led by Reginald G. Harris, the 26-year-old director. Like many other biologists trained at Brown University, Harris had been a summer student at Cold Spring Harbor and an assistant in the Carnegie Institution's Genetics Department, the new name, given in 1921, of the Station for Experimental Evolution.[27]

Once the Long Island Biological Association (LIBA) assumed the administration of the Biological Laboratory in 1924, its founding board of directors linked business men with scientists from such leading centers of higher learning as Brown, Columbia, Yale, Smith, Cornell Medical, and Johns Hopkins. The president was Timothy S. Williams, the recently retired head of the Brooklyn Manhattan Transit Company.[28] The vice president was a founding board member, Marshall Field III, the Chicago merchant, philanthropist, and endower of museums.[29] Charles B.

Davenport, the secretary, was also the representative of the Carnegie Institution of Washington; John H. Jones Stewart spoke for the Wawepex Society. The treasurer, Arthur Page, a prominent editor and publisher, became president in 1927,[30] succeeded twelve years later by Robert Cushman Murphy, the distinguished author, naturalist, and Curator of Ornithology at the Museum of Natural History. Some other board members were Walter Jennings, William K. Vanderbilt, Mortimer L. Schiff, Henry W. De Forest, Childs Frick, and Russell Leffingwell. Patrons included J.P. Morgan, the financier, and George Pratt, who, like Jennings, was a founder of the Standard Oil Company. Between the terms of Williams and Page, the president was Dr. Walter B. James, a retired professor of medicine at Columbia University and a trustee of that institution.[31] Many of the directors had homes in the "Three Harbors" area, comprised of Cold Spring Harbor, Lloyd Harbor and Huntington Harbor.

The founders were committed to acquiring, as soon as possible, additional lands on which to place new laboratories. The Carnegie Institution possessed many facilities for studying genetics, but the only purposely-built structures owned by the Biological Laboratory were Jones Laboratory and Blackford Hall. A successful fund drive in 1925 enabled LIBA to buy, from Jones family heirs, a large tract on higher ground to the north and west of lands the Laboratory leased from the Wawepex Society. A former dormitory on this property—a relic of the whaling days—was put to use for summer housing, and later named Williams House in honor of the first president.

With the financial backing of well-to-do neighbors, Harris augmented traditional summer teaching and research activities with a year-round program in biophysics. He also supervised the construction of three new research laboratories in as many years: Davenport Laboratory (completed in 1926), Nichols Memorial (1928), and James Laboratory (1929). The last two buildings were memorials, one to a nephew of Franklin Hooper, the other a gift from the family of LIBA's second president. All three were designed by a Huntington resident, the architect and architectural editor, Henry H. Saylor.

Henry H. Saylor Designs Labs in the "Long Island Colonial" Style

Henry Hodgman Saylor (1880-1967) knew Arthur W. Page through his editorial work with Doubleday, Page and Company, the publishing house founded by Walter H. Page, Arthur's father. Saylor served two separate terms (1906-1909 and 1914-1920) as editor of *Country Life in America*, the Doubleday, Page magazine that was a showcase of the residences of wealthy families, scores of which were located on the north and south shores of Long Island. Between his stints at Doubleday, Page, Saylor was the editorial director at McBride, Nast and Company, where, in the brief period 1912-1914, he brought out four "house and home" volumes: *Making a Rose Garden*; *Making a Fireplace*; *The Book of Annuals*; and *Architectural Styles for Country Homes*.[32]

Saylor's best-known book is *Bungalows* (1910), copies of which fetch high prices today from owners who want to restore these homey old houses, and vie with each other to acquire a copy of this profusely illustrated "bungalow bible." The last book published by Saylor—known in his day as America's "dean of architectural editors—" was *A Dictionary of Architecture* (1953), completed when he was seventy-three. This useful book, compiled throughout his editing life, is still in print in a paperback edition.[33]

The highlight of Saylor's career as an editor was his founding of the magazine, *The Architect's World.* He later adapted its popular format for the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, the Washington, D.C. publication he edited from its beginning in 1943 until 1956, the year of his retirement to his home in Huntington, Long Island. During his Washington years he also served as the devoted and self-appointed curator, librarian, and landscape architect of the historic "Octagon House," the headquarters of the American Institute of Architects.[34]

In the late 1920s and the 1930s, before he went to Washington, Saylor enjoyed his most active period of executing design commissions, while also finding time to edit the magazine, *Architecture*, from 1926 to 1936. Among his earliest commissions were the laboratories at Cold Spring Harbor, during the stage of his designing career when the "Long Island Colonial" style was a favorite.[35] Two of these three buildings—Nichols Memorial and Davenport Laboratory—were in this vernacular revival style. The remaining structure, named James Laboratory in honor of Walter B. James, M.D., LIBA's second chairman, was a single-story "utilitarian"-style laboratory of reinforced concrete.[36]

What made the Nichols and Davenport laboratories "Long Island Colonial" in style? Both were symmetrical, shingled, gable- roofed, and two stories high, with windows that featured the six-over-six sashes (six panes of glass on top, six below) that were typical of early- to mid-nineteenth-century Long Island houses. Evidently, in the popular architectural sense, "Colonial" simply indicated predating "Victorian." The entranceways of both of the "Long Island Colonial" laboratories have a distinctively Colonial Revival flair: the door to the Nichols Memorial is surmounted by an attractive pediment, and the original entrance to Davenport Laboratory (now a part of Delbruck Laboratory) is enframed with a pair of tall, narrow, multiple- pane "sidelight" windows.

In addition to the laboratories, Saylor designed many houses in the Cold Spring Harbor and Huntington areas.[37] Closest to the Biological Laboratory, on a site next to its campus in Laurel Hollow, is the single-story cottage in Modern Picturesque style that he planned in 1929 for Hugo Fricke, a biophysicist on the Laboratory's staff. Also in the vicinity of the Biological Laboratory, Saylor designed Charles B. Davenport's spacious retirement home in Modern French Classical style.

For a time Saylor made his home in the historic William Schenk House (*ca.* 1793) on the Huntington village green, later moving his family to a stuccoed house of his own design in Huntington Bay. He designed several

other houses close to the business district in Huntington village,[38] and worked on remodeling schemes for many old Long Island houses, particularly in the West Hills area of Huntington, where Arthur Page and several of his business partners lived.[39] Most of Saylor's work on Long Island was in a Colonial mode not dissimilar to the one he used at the Biological Laboratory.

Long Island Researchers Push Back the Frontiers of Genetics

First convened in 1933 under Reginald Harris's supervision, the yearly (except for a three-year hiatus during World War II) Cold Spring Harbor Symposium on Quantitative Biology became a major international event that changed the face of modern biology. The purpose was to draw together, from all over the world, the best minds in biology's varied disciplines. Biochemists, biophysicists, geneticists, microbiologists, and physiologists converged on Cold Spring Harbor for six weeks in the summertime (now shortened to one, thanks to jet travel and modern communication networks) to exchange ideas on the latest "hot" topic in basic biology. The Fiftieth Symposium, held in 1986, was on the subject of "Molecular Biology of *Homo sapiens*."

Research at both the Biological Laboratory and the Genetics Department of the Carnegie Institution was focused on genetics by the start of World War II. Milislav Demerec and other Cold Spring Harbor biochemists used X-ray mutegenesis to develop a new fungus that yielded a fivefold increase in wartime penicillin output. As physics blossomed before and during the war, so the postwar years ushered in the age of molecular biology.[40]

Of the Biological Laboratory's many new graduate-level summer courses, the most celebrated and innovative was the Phage Course, first taught, in 1945, by Max Delbruck, who first worked at Cold Spring Harbor in 1941 with Salvador Luria. Together with Alfred Hershey, a member of the staff of the Carnegie Genetics Department at Cold Spring Harbor, Delbruck and Luria eventually shared a Nobel Prize (1969) for their pioneering work in the 1940s on the genetics of phages, short for bacteriophages. These are the tiny viruses which "infect bacteria and then hijack the host cell's metabolic machinery to reproduce a new generation of offspring," providing "an ideal model system in which to study the chemical nature of the gene."[41] Hershey's special contribution was the famous "blender experiment" of 1952, which conclusively showed that deoxyribonucleic acid—DNA—is the master molecule of heredity. The work of this three-man team paved the way for later DNA and RNA (ribonucleic acid) discoveries, with much of the research performed at Cold Spring Harbor.

1953 was a watershed year. At the annual Symposium, the scientific world heard for the first time of the double helical nature of the genetic material DNA, a breakthrough for which the discoverers of DNA's structure, James D. Watson, Francis H.C. Crick and Maurice H.F. Wilkins shared a Nobel Prize in 1962. In 1968, James Watson became the director of Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory. He had come to Cold

Spring Harbor twenty years earlier as a graduate student of Salvador Luria. While Professor of Biochemistry at Harvard, he served as second vice president of the Laboratory's board of trustees. This was during the mid-1960s, a troubled period for the scientific institutions at Cold Spring Harbor.

In 1962, the Carnegie Institution withdrew the funding for their Genetics Department at Cold Spring Harbor. Later that year, negotiations between the Carnegie Institution, the Long Island Biological Association, and an advisory committee of prominent scientists representing major eastern universities, resulted in the consolidation of the two research institutions at Cold Spring Harbor into a single entity called the Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory of Quantitative Biology. The words "of Quantitative Biology" were dropped in 1968, giving the institution its present name of Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory.

Over the last two decades, the program at Cold Spring Harbor has been re-oriented in a number of distinct but closely related directions—cancer biology, molecular neuroscience, structural biology, and plant genetics. The Laboratory made a major commitment to studying the genetics of tumor viruses, with a view toward solving the cancer problem. After "War on Cancer" was declared by President Richard M. Nixon in 1971, a new crop of talented scientists was recruited to Cold Spring Harbor. Substantial Federal funding enabled revitalization of programs and refurbishing of buildings, all of which have been winterized and a number of older structures adapted to programmatic needs in "state-of-the-art" neurobiological and plant genetics, as well as in the now computer-dominated field of structural biology.

Plant genetics, a recent concentration of Cold Spring Harbor biology, is a wide-open field today, thanks to the new DNA technologies, particularly recombinant DNA. In 1983, a Nobel Prize was awarded to Barbara McClintock, a resident researcher, for the discovery of "movable genes" that she made more than thirty years earlier, in her experimental corn fields and her laboratory in the Animal House (now renamed McClintock Laboratory). In time, related discoveries using recombinant DNA techniques proved the validity of her early trail-blazing observations. The same technologies are used to elucidate the functioning of the nervous system and its most intriguing component, the brain, as well as to isolate and investigate human cancer genes.

Now the Laboratory Influences Long Island—-and the World

After the usefulness of genetic recombination techniques exploded during the mid-1970s, the Laboratory began to exert a local influence on Long Island. Before this, the Laboratory was little known in its neighborhood except to long-enrolled, friendly members of the Long Island Biological Association. Its scientific breakthroughs were thoroughly reported in the local and national press, but residents of Long Island were not aware of the Laboratory's national and international stature.

This has changed, partly because the Laboratory is much bigger than

in the past. The high quality of science at Cold Spring Harbor now is matched by quantity and diversity. Growth has been fostered in part by the vastly accelerated pace of research, made possible by cloning and recombinant DNA techniques and the latest technologies using restriction enzymes. This also accounts for diverse threads which are tied together by universal genetic themes.

The continued excellence of the Laboratory as an independent research institute may reflect the director's hands-on leadership style, patterned on the "sink-or-swim" model.[42] James Watson has gathered an outstanding team of scientists, and made sure that they are provided with attractive, efficient laboratories. At the same time, he employs a hands-off policy regarding individual game plans.

Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory scientists are frequently in the news, increasingly in articles about how science affects everyone's life. Most recently, the Laboratory sponsors the world's first outreach program in DNA literacy, with headquarters at its DNA Learning Center in the village of Cold Spring Harbor. Now one not only can read about such things as"DNA finger- printing," which, when correctly utilized, is immensely helpful in criminal cases, but, as thousands of school children already have, one can try the process for oneself at the DNA Learning Center.

As deep as the Laboratory's local historical roots are, its current impact on Long Island is a story yet to be written. It is the subject of the companion article, an interview with the man who championed the cause of Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory in its darkest financial hour. He was once the lone spokesman for upholding the freedom of scientists to use the revolutionary new recombinant DNA techniques, when their potential for changing the world of biology and medicine was perceived as a threat to humanity instead of the boon they have proven to be.

James Watson, who has directed the Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory since 1968, is also (since 1988) in charge of the Office of Genome Research of the National Institutes of Health. He and his teammates at Cold Spring Harbor, 450 researchers and support staff living on Long Island, personify "the influence of Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory on Long Island"—and on the world.

NOTES

1. "Semi-Centennial of the Biological Laboratory: I. How the Laboratory was Planted at Cold Spring Harbor and Why It Grew There," 29 June 1940 [unpaginated]; bound with the *Annual Report 1940 of the Biological Laboratory.*

2. Gaynell Stone, "Long Island as America: A New Look at the First Inhabitants," *Long Island Historical Journal* 1 (Spring 1989): 163.

3. William W. Tooker, *The Indian Place-Names on Long Island and Islands Adjacent With Their Probably Significations,* Published for the John Jermain Memorial Library, Sag Harbor, N.Y. (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1911), 277; Rufus B. Langhans, ed., *Place Names in the Town of Huntington: Their Location, Origin, and Meaning* (Huntington: Town of Huntington, 1988), 5.

4. "Semi-Centennial of the Biological Laboratory..."

5. Walter R. T. Jones, "Address of Presentation of Wawepex Society Lands to the Carnegie Institute of Washington," 11 June 1904, in *Year Book 2* (1903-1904), Carnegie Institution of Washington, D.C., 34-36.

6. To the east is the town of Huntington, founded 1655; to the west, the town of Oyster Bay, founded 1653.

7. The Matinecock name for the river (actually a large creek) at Cold Spring was "Nachaquatuck," meaning "the ending tidal stream, so-called because it was the western boundary of Hungtington" (Tooker, *Indian Place-Names*, 149).

8. The evocative term "Jones Industries" was coined by Walter K. Earle, former curator of the Whaling Museum in Cold Spring Harbor in his well-referenced local history, *Out of the Wilderness* (Cold Spring Harbor: Whaling Museum Society, Inc., 1966), chapter V.

9. The map reference for "Bungtown" as the western side of Cold Spring Harbor is E. Belcher Hyde, *Atlas of Nassau County*, 1896.

10. This was the old homestead of John H. Jones, co-founder of the "Jones Industries," who inherited it from his uncle, Captain David Jones. Situated just west of the head of the harbor, the house enjoyed a view down the length of Cold Spring Harbor, an ideal spot from which to survey the Jones enterprises. The house burned to the ground in 1861; see John Henry Jones, *The Jones Family of Long Island: Descendants of Major Thomas Jones (1665-1726) and Allied Families* (New York: Tobias A. Wright, 1907), 100-101.

11. Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, *Year Book #12 (1899-1900)*, 368-370. Also founded in 1890, the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences now functions as the Brooklyn Museum. It gave up its supervision of the Brooklyn Academy of Music in 1970, and of the Brooklyn Botanic Garden in 1977.

12. Duncan S. Johnson and Harlan B. York, *The Relation of Man to Tide Levels: A Study of the Factors Affecting the Distribution of Marine Plants* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1915).

13. Walter R. T. Jones to John D. Jones, 9 February 1893: "It is quite questionable in my mind whether their institution will be permanent, but do not let their failure be upon our shoulders, if a reasonable aid can be extended to them." Walter R.T. Jones, as executive "Director" of the Wawepex Society, was the local executor of the wishes of John D. Jones, the "Governor" of the Society; other members in 1893, the year of the gift of the Jones Laboratory, were Townsend Jones, "Scribe," and Walter M. Jones, "Custodian"—according to the printer's first proof of biographical notes on Walter R. T. Jones and the Jones family of Long Island, prepared for publication by the New York History Company, in the Collection of Dudley Stoddard, New York City.

14. Jones, *Jones Family*, 15.

15. For the life and times of the "Father of the New York Bar" see Edward J. Smits, "Samuel Jones of West Neck: His Role in Early New York State Politics," *Nassau County Historical Society Journal XLII* (1987): 1-9; Luise Weiss, "The Election of Long Island Delegates to the New York State Convention to Consider the Federal Constitution," *LIHJ 1* (Fall 1988): 71-80.

16. Jones, *Jones Family*, 137.

17. For architectural analysis of the laboratory structures erected by these institutes, see

Elizabeth L. Watson, "Science by the Sea: An Investigation of the Architecture and Preservation of Three Biological Laboratories Founded in the Late-Nineteenth Century." Masters Thesis, Columbia University Graduate School of Architecture and Planning, 1983.

18. John D. Jones to Walter R.T. Jones, 6 April 1893.

19. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York: James J. White and Company, 1906): 394.

20. James Grant Wilson and John Fiske, *Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, (1888), 273.

21. The two best-known biographical sketches of Davenport, written by scientific colleagues after his death, are: E. Carleton MacDowell, "Charles Benedict Davenport, 1866-1944: A Study of Conflicting Influences," *Biographical Memoirs* (Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences, n.d.), 75-110, and Morris Steggerda, "Dr. Charles B. Davenport and His Contributions to Eugenics," *Eugenical News* 21 (March 1944): 3-10. Numerous references to Davenport are in Garland E. Allen, *Thomas Hunt Morgan: The Man and His Science* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), and Daniel J. Kevles, *In the Name of Eugenics: Genetics and the Uses of Human Heredity* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985.)

22. David Micklos with Susan Zehl, Daniel Schechter and Ellen Skaggs, *The First 100 Years* (Cold Spring Harbor, 1988), 16.

23. The architectural firm of Peabody, Wilson and Brown executed many institutional commissions on Long Island, mostly in the Georgian Revival mode of the Colonial Revival style. In the Cold Spring Harbor and Huntington areas, besides the Animal House and the Eugenics Record Office, they designed the Huntington Town Hall (now Sammis Realty), 1912; the Cold Spring Harbor Library (now the Gallery of the Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities), 1913; and the Cold Spring Harbor Union Free School (now occupied by the DNA Learning Center), 1925. In Westbury, they did the Children's Library and the Robert Mason Memorial Children's Hospital. Designers of numerous country homes in addition to institutional buildings, this firm is the subject of a chapter in *Long Island Country Houses and Their Architects, 1860-1940*, Robert B. MacKay and Carol Traynor, eds., New York: Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities and W. W. Norton, forthcoming.

24. See Charles E. Beveridge and Carolyn F. Hoffman, with Shary Page Berg and Arleyn A. Levee, *The Master List of Design Projects of the Olmsted Firm 1857-1950* (Boston: Massachusetts Association for Olmsted Parks, 1987). Frederick Law Olmsted is best known for designing (with Calvert Vaux) Central Park in New York City.

25. Dumas Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933), VI: 400-401. Matheson was the original real estate developer of Key Biscayne, Florida, his winter home.

26. "Robert Gardner, Architect, 70, Dies—Designer of Many Residences Here—Pioneer in Use of Reinforced Concrete," *New York Times*, 9 September 1937.

27. *American Men of Science: A Biographical Directory* (New York: The Science Press, 1933), 476.

28. *Who's Who in New York (City and State) 1924* (New York: Who's Who Publications, Inc., 1924), 1377.

29. Ibid., 438.

30. Ibid., 965.

31. Ibid., 679.

32. "Dean of Architectural Editors Dies," press release by the American Institute of Architects, Washington, D.C., 22 August 1967. This is the most complete source for Saylor as architectural editor, but has no reference to buildings designed by him.

33. See Henry H. Saylor, *Dictionary of Architecture* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1952).

34. A.I.A. members rescued and restored this beautiful Federal-style home, where President and Mrs. James Madison took refuge after the British burned the White House, and where Madison signed the Treaty of Ghent that ended the War of 1812.

35. "Long Island Colonial" was first used in the Biological Laboratory's 1927 *Annual Report*, 33, to describe the architecture of the Nichols Memorial, then under construction.

36. Ibid., 21.

37. Information on buildings designed by Saylor has been derived from his drawings, a small collection of which was given to Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory by his daughter, Mary Saylor Muhlhausen.

38. Mary Saylor Muhlhausen, personal communication, 9 June 1989.

39. Ibid.

40. See Micklos, *The First 100 Years*, 22-25.

41. Ibid., 23.

42. "Cold Spring Harbor Packs Twice the Punch of Other Independent Labs," *Science Watch*, June 1989, 3.

The Director, The Laboratory, and the Genome Project: An Interview with James D. Watson

By Lee R. Hiltzik

During our recent conversation, Dr. James D. Watson spoke enthusiastically about science, his work, and the activities of his institution. Dr. Watson was born in 1928 in Chicago, completed his B.S. in zoology at the University of Chicago in 1947, and continued his graduate work in the same field at Indiana University, from which he received his Ph.D. in 1950. From 1955 to 1976, he was affiliated with Harvard University, rising to the position of full professor at the age of thirty-three. Since 1968, he has been the director of the Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory.

Dr. Watson, the recipient of numerous honorary degrees from institutions around the world, shared the 1962 Nobel Prize in physiology or medicine with Drs. Francis H.C. Crick and Maurice H.F. Wilkins for their 1953 discovery of the structure of DNA, the molecule of heredity. The double helix model, known as the "Watson-Crick model," is the key to understanding the process of genetic replication. Dr. Watson vividly described his search in his book, *The Double Helix* (New York: Atheneum, 1968), which was also the basis for *Life Story*, a 1987 British television movie shown here the same year on cable (Arts and Entertainment Network) as *The Race for the Double Helix.*

At the Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory, Dr. Watson administers one of the nation's foremost centers for DNA research, where 130 scientists work full-time, their number augmented in summer by some two dozen from other institutions and countries. In November 1988, he assumed an additional responsibility at the forefront of DNA research by his appointment as associate director of the National Institutes of Health, where he is overseer of the National Center for Human Genome Research. This multi-billion dollar, fifteen-year project for mapping the genetic make-up of the species *Homo sapiens* will harness the energies of scientists throughout the United States. The effort will greatly enhance our understanding of the structure of human genetics and the process of heredity. Ultimately, the project will provide critical insights for use in the battle against genetic and genetic- related diseases afflicting humanity.

On the picturesque shore of a protected inlet straddling the Nassau-Suffolk border, Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory can trace its history back to another time and era in the annals of science, as told in the preceding article by Elizabeth L. Watson, Dr. Watson's wife and associate. Thisyear of centennial celebration is an excellent time to reflect on the Laboratory's

direction as well as on its director's career. Occasionally glancing out of his office window onto the grounds of the Laboratory, Dr. Watson spoke freely about the following topics.

On the difference between Cold Spring Harbor in 1948 and now

There were far fewer people in those days—it was a very quiet place. This part of Long Island was altogether different—there still were potato fields close to Syosset. The subdivisions had not reached out here. There were discrete towns like Oyster Bay or Huntington, and there were large estates.

On the comparison between science conducted in 1948 and now

Molecular biology was a very small field, dominated by a few people. Now it seems to have increased in number at least one hundred fold, so things move very fast. Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory at that time was already an important institution because it was totally devoted to trying to understand the gene...like very few other places. There was Cal Tech and there was Cold Spring Harbor, and if you asked, "Well, what's happening [in genetic research] at MIT or Harvard?" the answer was, "Nothing." In that sense, Cold Spring Harbor was really important because the Carnegie Institution of Washington placed an experimental station here in 1904. This was before the time when government supported science. Private money was extremely important.

On changes at Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory

I would like to see a strengthening of our educational role. We are building our Neuroscience Center now, with new, heated dormitories on the hill above it, and will start advanced courses this spring and fall. We'll become a teaching institution for about eight months a year. When I first came here, teaching was done for three months a year and everything was prepared for summer use. One of my principal accomplishments was to change Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory into a year-round teaching institution. Scientists need so much better facilities than they did back in 1948, so to use a facility only for summers is not realistic.

We have a number of graduate students from Stony Brook. Now that our programs are developing, I am sure we will have more students. In that way, I see ourselves going in somewhat the same direction that Det [Detlev W.] Bronk did with the Rockefeller University when he changed it from an institute to a university. At least in the United States, most scientists prefer to have students because it creates a turnover—it's less stable. We also get a good deal of stimulation from our short courses and from the visitors who attend our meetings.

On the challenges facing a growing scientific institution

Every institution I know is getting bigger. At some point, the bigness becomes hard to manage. It becomes impersonal, to the point where the director or the president of an institution does not know the majority of

the people working in his behalf. Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory, as a whole, I know pretty well, particularly in dealing with the science area. That is one of the attractions of here—you can identify yourself with the success of an institution.

Even as we get bigger, through our Neuroscience Center, I think we will still have some degree of personality. If you get too big, your personality becomes formed just by what people see of the buildings. They don't see the people...and the scientists are hidden away in different labs. By walking down Bungtown Road and looking into the buildings you can still see the scientists—most of our buildings are still mid-sized.

On Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory's DNA Learning Center

We are really a DNA institution and I hope we stay pretty much DNA-based. It's a means by which people can talk with each other. The DNA Learning Center fits into our place in the community. I think it's essential that the public knows what is done here. Some people are surely apprehensive about us and the knowledge we give. There are always questions about, for example, gene therapy and genetic engineering of plants. The best way to teach the public is to involve it. When the 1926 school building became available in Cold Spring Harbor, it was an obvious site for a very solid and attractive building. And I think it is better that school children go to the Learning Center instead of to the grounds of the Laboratory, which should be restricted to research.

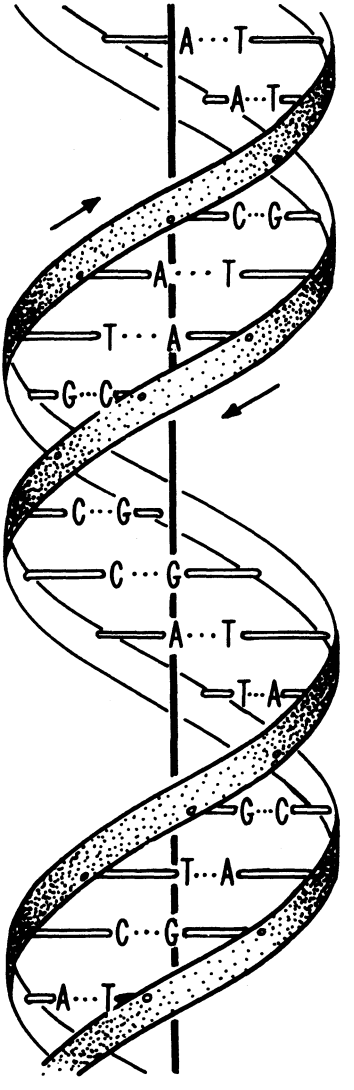
The DNA Learning Center has its own budget and its own director, David Micklos. It does a number of things. It mounts exhibits—in that sense it is like a museum. More importantly for the children, it does work in the teaching area. Children from elementary and high schools come in buses to spend an afternoon or a day. They do experiments. It also has an outreach program that serves as a model for different places in the country. So we are really the first solidly DNA-based museum. "Learning Center" is a better term than "museum," though—that name sounds so passive. You really want to involve the public. Lay people are rather excited about it—almost thrilled.

On the Laboratory's location between Nassau and Suffolk Counties

Our employees are pretty much oriented toward the town of Huntington. Living in Laurel Hollow with two acres is just too expensive for most of them. So Huntington, I guess, is the closest. Even though the main campus is in Laurel Hollow, in Nassau County, I think that socially and domestically we are directed in large part toward Suffolk County.

On the tempo of work as director

My days here are largely spent talking to people, and increasingly interacting by fax with my office in Washington. I'm devoting about half my time to my role as head of the NIH genome team in Washington. But in either case, I used to spend more time writing than I do now. It's tough. Also, I try to walk the grounds a lot—just to clear my thoughts or exercise,



A schematic illustration of the double helix. The two sugar-phosphate backbones twist about on the outside with the flat hydrogen-bonded base pairs forming the core. Seen this way, the structure resembles a spiral staircase with the base pairs forming the steps.

Courtesy of the Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory Archives. From James D. Watson, The Double Helix *(New York: Atheneum, 1968.)*

and get some air, but also to get a better feel of what's happening here. I was always conscious that the president of Harvard seldom walked into any of the Harvard buildings. Usually, he was in his own office. He did lots of ceremonial things but he probably would never know whether one of his dormitories was clean or dirty. But I can see why he didn't—he was just too busy, scheduled all the time. I guess I am scheduled quite a bit but I still like to get around. I'm concerned how the laboratory looks.

On Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory's independence from outside university affiliation

If we would have been dominated by a nearby university, we would never have had to stand on our own feet. A case in point is the Hopkins Marine Laboratory in Monterey, California, a station owned and operated by Stanford University. Hopkins has never really grown into an independent national institution, being both protected and inhibited by being part of Stanford. It has to see that it's serving Stanford's use, rather than the needs of the country. That leaves it vulnerable to decisions made off site.

When the Carnegie Institution of Washington withdrew its financial support in 1961, the possibility was raised that the Rockefeller University should take us over. But we would have become a summer colony for the Rockefeller. There were many Rockefeller summer visitors here, so it would almost have been a natural thing. By being so poor in the late 1960s, we had to be very good to survive. As part of a university we wouldn't have had to be so good. Everyone had to stand on his or her own feet. One of our chief functions is to provide a place for people who are making their careers, and that's exciting.

We never want twenty-five senior people. Then we would become a typical university with much of our faculty resting on reputations acquired when they were much younger. In most universities, it is very unusual if a science department has more than half of its faculty on the cutting edge of research—a percent that shows the department is world class. For an average university, it might be 10 or 20 percent. We are now 80-to-90 percent effective—that is, nearly all of our scientists are young and involved in current research. Almost everything is really competitive on the world scene. You can't maintain that hustle unless most of your labs are directed by scientists in their thirties. There are very few scientists in their fifties who are working at world-class levels—they may have world-class reputations but they're not working on Saturday afternoons. Universities don't have to be 100 percent efficient to survive because they are teaching institutions. But we're largely a research institution that depends upon monies that go where difficult research is done.

On putting together the genome project in different institutions

Bob Sinsheimer [Professor Robert Sinsheimer, Department of Biological Science, University of California at Santa Cruz] thought you could do the whole thing at the University of California at Santa Cruz, and

organized a meeting there about it in 1985. But even with an optimistic scenario, it is a project of 30,000 person years.' He would need about 2,000 people on site to complete the project in a reasonable period. So if Cold Spring Harbor totally devoted itself to the genome project, it would need to be joined by at least five other institutions. But all that concentration in one place probably would not work. Groups of about fifty people—may be the optimum size—they would be big enough to work out the complete DNA sequence of single chromosomes. In doing so they will compete with each other to see whose technology works best. Most likely, we will have no more than fifteen or twenty people here working in this area. Our main focus will be cancer research.

On directing the genome project

My main task will be to find incisive scientists to direct the main laboratories involved in the initiative. You look for leaders with the intelligence and the personality to get the job done. Some of the people who could do it have not yet come into the game...We still have to recruit people.

On the scope of the genome project

When it's finally done, we are going to have the human genetic blueprint, and a number of smaller and simpler model organisms will also have their genomes worked out. You don't, for example, have to wait fifteen years for the sequence of a number of bacterial DNA's to be worked out. The impression is still out there that the genome initiative is a big, dull, monotonous job. Actually, I think it will be more exciting than most of the so-called pure science stuff done today. Scientists don't go around yelling "Eureka!" most of the time. In fact, I think that when we start getting DNA sequences in the million base-pair amounts we will be overwhelmed by excitement.

On comparing the genome project to the Manhattan Project

It's much smaller, by a factor of at least ten and most likely fifty. I think the Manhattan Project cost two-to-three billion dollars from 1941 through 1945. The human genome project is a unique project—you only do it once. It's not like the super collider now being built...in Texas. When it is finished, we will be asked to fund a super-super collider of still greater expense.

On creating a prototype blueprint of the human genome

We only have to do one blueprint, not a new one, of every person. It's as if the words are the same, and the question is how they are exactly spelled. In any case, there are not, say, English genomes and Swedish genomes, both needing to be separately worked out.

On the practical benefits of the human genome project

There are a number of disease genes which are very hard to find. One, for example, is a gene which has been identified as causing early Alzheimer's disease. This is a disease for which we have no idea what goes wrong. If we could get to the gene which predisposes it, we might have a way into the puzzle, likewise for diseases like schizophrenia and manic depression, which have strong genetic components. We are beginning to understand cancer, but only because we now can work at the DNA level. By being able to do something at the DNA level, you progress a hundred to a thousand times faster than if you are left to non-genetic approaches.

On dealing with ethical issues connected with the genome project

We have formed an NIH committee on ethics, on which we will spend at least 3 percent of our money. For ethics this is really a lot of money. It involves very complicated issues, such as what to do if your family is diagnosed as susceptible to cancer. Do you want to know that? The answer probably is that you do not, unless you can do something to prevent it. And should an employer know that you are susceptible? I think the answer is, "No." Many of these dilemmas do not have simple answers; different people are going to react differently. I don't think we should expect that our ethics group will leap toward an answer. In any case, however, we don't want routinely to use DNA fingerprints to tell us whether members of a family are really related. Another terrible misuse, in my opinion, would be to screen someone running for president to see if his or her anti-cancer genes were in good shape. You could say, "Why not?" but I think that we must leave some privacy to people—we have to accept some uncertainty in this world.

On seeing himself as a Long Islander

Cold Spring Harbor is our home, where we have our friends. My life is more exciting than if I were at Harvard. During the twenty years when I lived in Cambridge, I felt no identification with Massachusetts and its challenges. If there is a place I do identify with it's Cold Spring Harbor and its people, the people who work here.

Long Island, of course, has its own identity problem because of the domination of New York City. The better New York is, the better we are. On the other hand, we don't have the time to get into the city that much. Things like museums and concerts are very important to many of my staff. So we are dependent on New York for much of our non-science-related stimulation. Many people I know only remain here because they sometimes go into New York City.

Long Island is a very expensive place to live, but a very nice place, too. You shouldn't expect to get something for nothing. It all comes back to the fact that if you want to do science in a very expensive location, you will have to do very good science. Long Island is just too expensive for an average scientific institution to survive.

Economy in Transition

By James L. Larocca

Editor's note: This article introduces our State of the Island department, a forum for analysis of Long Island's present and future. The author is president of the Long Island Association, a regional "Chamber of Commerce" composed of more than four thousand representatives of Nassau and Suffolk County business, government, civic, academic, and labor organizations.

We are fortunate to live on Long Island, which consistently ranks among the ten best places to live in the country. Long Island's economy has escaped the hard times experienced by other areas of the country, but not completely. Our strong defense manufacturing sectors and diversified service industries helped to insulate the Island from the changes which adversely affected the northern "Iron Belt," and led to rapid yet painful expansion in the southern and southwestern "Sun Belt."

During the 1980s, Long Island's economy virtually exploded with health, fostering new entrepreneurial enterprises, creating jobs, and stimulating consumer spending. At the same time, the unemployment rate was maintained at a minimum level, comparable to the lowest in the country. Our average percentage of unemployment in 1988 was 3.2, a year when the national rate was 5.5, and New York City's was 4.6. Our population has risen to 2.7 million people, more than that of twenty-two states; our work force of over one million men and women generates a gross annual product approaching the $100-billion mark.

The 1990s will be a transitional phase in which our economy will continue to grow, but at a somewhat slower pace. The signposts are healthy, as evidenced by the decision of Computer Associates International, Inc., the world's largest independent computer software company, to build its new headquarters in Islandia, near Exit 57 of the Expressway. The new facility, which will add three thousand jobs to our economy, is a powerful indication that Long Island and its people still have a lot to offer. Other regions, especially the Sun Belt, have successfully marketed their areas, perhaps forced to make concessions because their economies were weaker than ours. In the case of Computer Associates, fortunately, officials of Nassau and Suffolk showed that they understood the need to compete by presenting location packages that favorably compared with those of other states and sections. Suffolk County's final proposal, combining governmental and other inducements, convinced Computer Associates to keep its base on Long Island.

As part of the continuing transition, the defense industry's slice of Long Island's economic pie is shrinking. Our economy has been strong enough and diverse in the past, and has adequately absorbed the closings of

Fairchild-Republic and Hartman Systems, and the layoffs at Hazeltine and Grumman. However, Congress has said that Grumman must phase out production of the F-14D fighter jet in the next few years.

Grumman's situation underscores the fact that, to compete for national contracts, Long Island's manufacturers are faced with enormous problems. The cost of doing business is high, specifically pertaining to labor, taxes, utility rates, transportation, rent, and building. Long Island is at a further disadvantage because we have no center, no "downtown." There are thirty-three business concentrations on Long Island that employ at least ten thousand people. We are separated into multiple towns and villages, and essentially into different communities; Long Island can best be described as a community of communities, making it difficult to work together on the broad regional problems and issues before us.

The Island has changed fundamentally in recent decades, but we have not fully come to terms with these changes and what they mean for the future. As we enter the 1990s, we must be willing to tackle the obstacles that diminish our competitiveness, and we must be willing to come together to do it. As Long Island matures economically, we are beginning to recognize this basic fact. The result is a new sense of regionalism in resolving some of our thorniest problems. The Long Island Project 2000 was launched in 1986 to determine how we arrived where we are today, and what decisions we must make to ensure a bright and stable economic future. Among its charter members were Nassau and Suffolk Counties, the Long Island Association, the League of Women Voters, the Long Island Regional Planning Board, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the New York State Urban Development Corporation, Hofstra University, SUNY at Stony Brook, and Long Island University.

This coalition of private and public agencies is a shining example of what is required to maintain the Island's ability to compete. Project 2000's goal was to coordinate civic and professional groups in planning an economic agenda for the protection and enhancement of our economy and our environment. Advisory panels were set up to study the ten major fields of interest; each panel, comprised of twenty to thirty members and co-chaired by representatives of the public and private sectors, had a direct influence and input in the creation of a report designed as a guideline to shape Long Island's future. The ten areas studied, and the professors who wrote the corresponding segments of the project's report, are as follows:

From the Business Research Institute, Hofstra University:
Taxation: Angelica P. Groppelli and Dr. George Papaioannau.
Identity: Elaine Sherman
Housing: Diane Fischer
Education: Carol Shakeshaft
Culture: Joann Peck Krieg

From the Coastal Ocean Science and Management Alternatives Program, the Living Marine Resources Institute, and the Waste

Management Institute, SUNY at Stony Brook:
Environment: J.R. Schubel

From the Harriman School for Management and Policy, SUNY at Stony Brook:
Human Resources: Michael Napoli and Dennis Young
Economic Development: Glenn Yago, Sen-Yuan Wu, Charlene S. Siefert
Transportation: Glenn Yago, Sen-Yuan Wu, Charlene S. Siefert, Sally Sleeper, and Neal T. Drobenare, and

From the School of Business, Hofstra University:
Energy: Martin Melkonian and Robert A. Marose.

Others who served on the project's team of writers, researchers, and compilers of statistical data included Dr. Russell Moore, director of the Business Research Institute at Hofstra University; Dr. Philip Schorr, of Long Island University; Dr. Lee Koppelman, executive director of the Long Island Regional Planning Board and Leading Professor, Department of Political Science, USB; William Shore, senior vice president of the Regional Plan Association; Dr. Gerald Heeger, formerly of Adelphi University and the present dean of the New School for Social Research; and Arthur D. Little, Inc., an international management consultant firm. The participants of the project found that over the past thirty years Long Island has evolved from an essentially commuter, or bedroom community, into a post-suburban entity with an increasingly independent economy.

The vast majority of postwar employed Long Islanders once commuted to New York City; now, as revealed by data developed through Project 2000, some four out of five work in Nassau and Suffolk Counties. This change has obvious implications for our transportation system, as well as for the broader aspect of the quality of life on Long Island.

Project 2000 revealed significant change in the characteristics of our population related to our pattern of development. In the years following World War II, a typical household consisted of a nuclear family—father, mother, and several children. Today, the average household size has shrunk from five to fewer than three people. Moreover, in this post-baby-boom era, there are not as many young people in proportion to the total; our population is "aging-up." The staff of Project 2000 estimated that by the end of the century the number of Long Islanders eighty-five years old and older will double, with a concomitant effect on our population growth and economic development.

The changing nature of family life and demographics carry significant implications for the economy of Long Island. Eighty percent of our housing stock is single-family, owner-occupied, and on sizeable lots, the highest incidence of this pattern anywhere in the country, even in southern California. Such a pattern of development is not encouraging to the one-parent household, or to the senior citizen who requires a concentration of resources and services that are available without total dependence on

an automobile. But are we prepared to face the results of this trend, and are we willing to change it?

In the mid-1980s, a group of business executives, with the Long Island Association as catalyst, created the LIA Housing Committee and began to devise a program to remedy the spiraling shortage of low-cost, quality housing. Fearing that young professionals—the future staffs of growing businesses and industries—were being forced to move to less costly areas, the committee initiated a comprehensive plan to reverse this trend. This led to the formation of the Long Island Housing Partnership (LIHP), a not-for-profit organization dedicated to changing the future of the Island's housing market. LIHP pulled together land donated by government agencies and developers committed to building homes at the lowest possible price. The membership has grown to more than fifty persons from business, government, education, religion, and organized labor, working together to make the dream of owning a home a reality for many Long Islanders. The Partnership intends to build at least eighty houses, but this will not conclude its work. Plans now in the development stage will propose actions calculated to increase the amount of affordable housing.

Long Island Project 2000 is committed to addressing the manner in which so many problems and issues have become regional in scope. A prime example of this phenomenon is the future of our drinking water. The ground water resource that underlies Long Island knows nothing of county, town, or village lines, yet we are loathe to disturb local governance of this essential resource. Dozens of separate and independent authorities struggle to make intelligent decisions about this sort of quantity- and quality-related problem.

In addition, surface environmental issues—most notably waste disposal—cry out for integrated decision-making that crosses current political boundaries. To address the changing demographics of Long Island, one recommendation consistently appeared in all ten areas studied in Project 2000: the need to look at issues on a regional basis, for the good of all Long Islanders. Villages, towns, and counties must stop making decisions independent of the effect they will have on neighboring areas.

Late in 1989, Congressman Thomas J. Downey, the young-old veteran of fifteen years in the House of Representatives (in 1974 he was the youngest member ever elected), issued a timely call for bicounty, bipartisan action. Now that the cold war is on the wane, it is inevitable that defense spending will decline. Downey called for a regional summit of Long Island's leadership to map a future that provides tax relief for overburdened residents and businesses, while streamlining the onerous layers of government. A basic component of future strategy must be the planning of our evolution from an economy based on defense dollars to one that is grounded in the emerging technologies and services that will define economic success in the 1990s and beyond. The first step in Downey's proposal is a meeting of the region's leadership, to be followed by legislation authorizing a referendum enabling the people of Long Island to confirm and define the urgency of the task. A commission of prominent

citizens would then be charged with addressing the hard questions that elected officials often seem reluctant to tackle. The key ingredient is the involvement of the public, early on, in expressing a consensus that there is an urgent need to reform the structure and cost of Long Island government and to define an economic strategy for the future.

Newsday supports the concept and strong bipartisan support is emerging, although some believe that the proposed timetable should be accelerated—an issue that can be addressed at forthcoming regional meetings. In the meantime, all Long Islanders should applaud this timely and essential effort to take stock of ourselves and get on with the business of keeping our economy attuned to a changing world.

Project 2000 called for a master plan to spur economic growth and address underlying problems of energy, housing, and high taxation. A regional strategy is also needed for environmental protection and supervision, recycling and resource-recovery programs, hazardous waste disposal, and ground water management. The report emphasized the need for better coordination of currently fragmented, overlapping governmental jurisdictions, to increase efficiency, centralize planning, assume management of public services where appropriate, and establish balanced tax and financial incentives for growth.

For Long Island's infrastructure, the Project recommended a major capacity-improvement plan, the reallocation of funding to where it is needed most, the establishment of better links across the Sound to New England, and the creation of a reverse-commuting program on the Long Island Rail Road. Energy resources must be conserved, and dependence on foreign oil reduced, as we devise new methods for securing economical and reliable sources of fuel for our power plants. Our shortage of affordable housing can be addressed by realistic financing programs that include the involvement of county government and the adoption of more flexible zoning policies.

The report recommended an increase of local support for those who help with food and shelter, a stronger effort by the schools to teach our children the technical skills they will need to fill the jobs of the future, and coordination of resources in the fields of recreation and tourism. It also proposed to foster a Long Island cultural identity, as well as to encourage the preservation of historic houses and other vanishing links to our heritage.

Long Island Project 2000 is a valuable tool for provoking examination of matters affecting succeeding generations. Moreover, if we are to ensure that the Long Island dream remains alive for our children, the next few decades will probably be the last chance to make major decisions about the use of our open space and environment. It is encouraging that business and government leaders have begun to see and understand the implications of an economy in transition. When, in the 1970s, New York City finally realized that it stood on the brink of fiscal collapse, the scrambling began to make the changes needed to restore its economic health. But on Long Island, it is fortunate that we are reacting now, before the crisis hits.

Important steps are being taken to make the adjustments required to stimulate economic growth and at the same time to be aware of the need to protect our natural environment.

The two county executives, Thomas S. Gulotta of Nassau and Patrick G. Halpin of Suffolk, are making efforts jointly to address the issues which influence economic growth. New legislation permits qualified firms to obtain energy at lower cost as an inducement for them to stay here, and has appropriated millions of dollars to improve our traffic capacity. John O'Brien, the C.E.O. of Grumman, has offered to hire consultants to help government employees work more efficiently. The Long Island Housing Partnership is setting a good example by building affordable houses to keep younger workers on the Island.

This is only a beginning, but it is a good beginning. There is much to be done. As our economy changes in the 1990s, we must work together to face the challenges confronting us on our way into the twenty-first century. New York City's business and civic leadership came to life after financial crisis set in; I hope that we will be wise enough to anticipate and solve our problems before they get out of hand. Long Islanders of the future will be the ultimate benefactors of such actions.

Editor's note: the following tables are presented by permission of the Long Island Almanac 1989, *a publication of* Long Island Business News, *Paul Townsend, editor:*

LI Firms
(By Employment Size)

	Nassau	Suffolk	N/S
1-9 Employees	37,616	28,122	65,738
10-49	7,445	5,929	13,374
50-99	957	760	1,717
100-499	670	508	1,178
500-999	55	36	91
1,000 or more	31	19	50
TOTAL	**46,774**	**35,374**	**82,148**

Source: US Dept of Commerce — 1986 County Business Patterns
Published 1988

LI Firms
(By Major Categories)

Business Type	# Establishments			# Employees		
	Nass	Suff	N-S	Nass	Suff	N-S
Agricultural Svcs, Forestry, Fisheries	786	729	1,515	3,239	2,763	6,002
Mining (Sand & Gravel)	19	22	41	89	175	264
Construction	3,395	4,112	7,507	24,881	25,049	49,930
Manufacturing	2,252	2,667	4,919	96,529	99,002	195,531
Transportation & Public Utilities	1,549	1,222	2,771	27,778	22,105	49,883
Wholesale Trade	4,716	2,991	7,707	50,363	37,685	88,048
Retail Trade	10,415	8,499	18,914	119,403	88,865	208,268
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate, Banking	4,843	2,253	7,096	54,597	21,773	76,370
Services	15,574	10,061	25,635	176,465	101,394	277,859
Nonclassified	3,225	2,818	6,043	6,301	4,669	10,970
TOTALS	**46,774**	**35,374**	**82,148**	**559,645**	**403,480**	**963,125**

Source: US Dept of Commerce — 1986 County Business Patterns (Published 10/88)

Changes In LI Employment & Total Payroll
(By Major Categories)

Business Type	Total # Employees		%	Total Yearly Payroll ($000)	
	1985	1986	Change	Nassau	Suffolk
Agricultural Svcs, Forestry, Fisheries	5,345	6,002	12.3%	$52,409	$50,910
Mining (Sand & Gravel)	449	264	-41.2	1,900	6,464
Construction	43,985	49,930	13.5	664,869	619,107
Manufacturing	190,169	195,531	2.8	2,606,566	2,237,805
Transportation & Public Utilities	48,176	49,883	3.5	683,988	522,464
Wholesale Trade	81,975	88,048	7.4	1,317,230	920,190
Retail Trade	200,175	208,268	4.0	1,494,315	1,102,470
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate, Banking	70,041	76,370	9.0	1,350,023	501,669
Services	269,161	277,859	3.2	3,317,656	1,808,631
Nonclassified	9,924	10,970	10.5	142,109	85,774
TOTALS	**919,400**	**963,125**	**4.8%**	**$11,631,065**	**$7,855,484**

Source: US Dept of Commerce — 1986 County Business Patterns (Published 10/88)

The Samuel Bownas Case: Religious Toleration and the Independence of Juries in Colonial New York, 1703-1704

By Christopher Densmore

We are accustomed to think of Quakers as a relatively small denomination, but in the first half of the eighteenth century they were the third largest religious body in British North America, at least in number of congregations. The two major religious groups, Congregationalists and Anglicans, were centered in New England and Virginia, respectively. With the exception of Connecticut, Quaker meetings existed in every colony from what is now Maine to the Carolinas. In Pennsylvania, the Jerseys, Rhode Island, North Carolina, Delaware, and Maryland, Quakers were either dominant or a substantial minority of the organized religious life of the colony. On the other hand, Quakers in Virginia faced the established Anglican church, and in Massachusetts the Congregational orthodoxy.[1]

In New York, the most ethnically and religiously mixed of the colonies, Quakers held second place among English-speaking churches. Richard W. Pointer identifies forty-eight congregations in 1700, representing seven denominations. Nineteen churches were Dutch Reformed; of the English-speaking denominations, the Congregationalists were the most numerous with nine congregations, followed closely by the Quakers with eight, and then by the Presbyterians with four, and the Anglicans last with two congregations. Quakerism flourished on Long Island, the site of six of the eight New York Colony local, or "Preparative," meetings listed by Rufus Jones as existing *ca.* 1700—Flushing, Westbury, Matinecock, Jericho, Cow Neck (Manhasset), and Newtown (the remaining two were New York City and Westchester).[2]

In the 1650s and early 1660s, the Quakers were subject to persecution: some were whipped, imprisoned, and deported in New Netherland, and, in several instances, hung in Boston. Since that time, Quakers had gained first a *de facto* and later a legal toleration in most of the colonies. However, toleration did not assure legal equality or respect. Puritans and Anglicans of the early 1700s were vehement objectors to accepting Quakers as Christians, and Quakers could be equally scathing in denouncing their opponents.

In the past few years several books have appeared which examine in detail the experience of Quakerism in colonial America. While these have contributed greatly to understanding of the underlying structure of the Quaker community, the social history approach tends to minimize the sectarian nature of colonial Quakerism.[3] Howard Beeth, of Texas Southern University, has argued that much of the current scholarship has tended unrealistically to "mainstream" Quakers, creating a new species of

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"non-sectarian sectarians."[4]

Most scholarship has focused on the experience of Quakers in the Delaware Valley, where at first they were culturally dominant with considerable influence on the development of the local social structure. Not enough attention has been paid to Quakerism in New York or New England.[5] Recent studies of the colonial period in New York recognize the importance of the colony's religious and ethnic diversity, as evidenced by the work of Patricia U. Bonomi, Richard W. Pointer, and Joyce Goodfriend.[6]

New England community studies of the relationships of Baptists, Quakers, Gortonists, supposed witches, and other groups that dissented or deviated from the colonial government and their own local communities offer suggestive parallels with the Samuel Bownas case, the subject of this article. Of these studies, Carla Gardina Pestana, "The Social World of Salem: William King's 1681 Blasphemy Trial," offers interesting similarities with the Bownas case in the reaction of the local community to legal proceedings against religious deviants.[7]

On 29 November 1703, Samuel Bownas, an English Quaker, was arrested while attending the Quaker Half-Years Meeting in Flushing. The charge was blasphemy, for remarks made one week earlier at a Quaker meeting in Hempstead at which he was critical of Anglican forms of baptism and communion. Bownas believed that the original deposition against him was written at the instigation of George Keith, a missionary for the (Anglican) Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In February 1704, the case came before a "special Commission of Oyer and Terminer, and general Goal Delivery" headed by John Bridges, the chief justice of New York Colony, and held in Queens County.[8]

The grand jury returned a decision of *ignoramus*, meaning that there was not sufficient evidence or cause to bring the case to trial. The judge threatened the jury with fines and its foreman with the stocks, but the jury remained committed to its decision. Judge Bridges then threatened to send Bownas in chains to England for trial. Bownas remained in the Flushing jail until a second hearing in October 1704, with a new chief justice, Roger Mompesson, presiding. The second jury also returned a decision of *ignoramus*, and Bownas was released by Mompesson after almost a year in prison.

Bownas never was shown a copy of the indictment against him, but we must assume that he was in serious trouble; after his arrest, the justices of the peace set his bail at two thousand pounds. The primary source for the incident is Bownas's journal, first published in 1756, which includes copies of the depositions against him and a verbatim record of the dispute between judge and jury. The basic story has been retold by historians of Quakerism and of Long Island, with both groups tending to focus on two themes. First, Bownas's difficulties are understood within the tradition of Quaker sufferings for conscience' sake. Thus, he is seen as a later version of John Bowne, the Flushing Quaker imprisoned under the government of New Netherland in 1662. Second, the defense of Bownas by Long

Islanders is viewed within the tradition of local protection of dissenters against the arbitrary authority of the central government, begun by the Flushing Remonstrance of 1657.[9] However, these perceptions of the case do not address the specific situation in 1703-1704.

With the passage of the Act of Toleration in 1689, British Quakers gained protection from persecution as a religious body. By the early 1700s, Quaker "sufferings" were largely limited to fines and imprisonment for refusal to pay tithes and church rates. In 1703, London Yearly Meeting reported that during the previous year Friends were fined 4200 pounds, five died in prison, and forty-three remained prisoners at year's end for refusing to pay fines. A record of sufferings kept by Long Island Quakers records fines and seizure of property for the typical offenses of "not appearing to be trained up to war," and not paying "priests wages." Occasionally Quakers were arrested for other offenses—Bownas himself had been arrested in Scotland for preaching in 1701—but Quakers assumed that the Act of Toleration had secured their right to exist as a religious body.[10]

I originally approached the Bownas journal as a document of Quaker history. As a bibliographer, tracking down source material on Quakers in New York, I was interested in Bownas's statement that the Anglican missionary had "printed some sheets" against him.[11] As a printed sheet of paper, folded in octavo equals sixteen pages, the statement suggested that there was an anti-Quaker pamphlet or book of at least that size. I was hoping for Keith's side of the story. Keith's journal, published in London in 1706, includes a list of ten tracts written in America. One of these was Keith's *Great Necessity of the Use of the Holy Sacraments*, a sermon preached at Trinity Church in New York City on 28 November 1703, and printed by William Bradford in 1704, contains a reference to persons "ridiculing God's holy Ordinance...vilely and wretched lying against the Church of England & her Christian Practice." A footnote identified one such as "Sam. Bownas; in a Quakers Meeting at Hempstead on Long-Island the 21st of November 1703."[12] This was the date of Bownas's offending remarks, according to the original deposition by William Bradford.

However, in searching for Keith's attack on Bownas, I made a discovery and an observation. My discovery was that the editors of the 1756 edition of Bownas's journal had evidently misread the dates of Bownas's arrest and trials. In that edition, and all Quaker and Long Island histories deriving from that account, Bownas was arrested in 1702 and tried in 1703. Yet the chronology in Bownas' journal simply did not match the chronology of events in Keith's journal, or that of the Quaker, Thomas Story,[13] who visited Bownas in jail, or the dates of the appointments of Chief Justices Bridges or Mompesson. The dates in Bownas are internally consistent, off by just one year. In two hundred years of writing about Bownas, no historian seems to have noticed this. My observation was that George Keith, who wrote extensively during and about his North American missionary tour, did not once mention Bownas's arrest or imprisonment.

Quakers had a long, firsthand experience with the court system. While Quakers of the generation of George Fox and William Penn were willing to go to jail for their beliefs, they did not want to do so needlessly. Consequently, Quakers learned to use the legal system. Their journals often contained detailed accounts of court cases, among them the very interesting one embedded in Bownas's journal.

The issue at the first trial was not religion, but the rights of the jury. Angered by the jury's refusal to indict Bownas, Justice Bridges asked for the reasons. James Clement, described by Bownas as a man "well skill'd in the Law," responded that "we are sworn to keep the Queen's secrets, our Fellows, and our own, and for that Reason we declare no reasons." The Judge replied,

> Now Mr. Wiseman speaks, but I tell you, you are not so sworn, and I could find it in my heart to lay you by the Heels [put him in the stocks], and a Fine upon your Brethren. Clement reply'd; he might if he pleased, but when it was done, it should be exposed with as much Expedition, as the case would admit in Westminster-hall, for, adds he, Juries, neither Grand nor Petty, are to be menaced with Threats of Stocks or Fines, but they are to act freely, according to the best of their Judgements on the Evidence before them.[14]

The principle that juries were not to be coerced by the bench is generally considered to have been established in English law by the decision in Bushel's case, in 1671, which arose from the treatment of the jury in the trial of the English Quakers, William Penn and William Mead, in 1670. At that trial, Penn asserted that:

> My jury, who are my judges ought not to be thus menaced. Their verdict should be free, not compelled...I do desire that justice may be done me, and that the arbitrary resolves of the bench may not be made the measure of my jury's verdict.[15]

When the jury refused to change its decision, Bridges returned Bownas to jail and threatened to send him to England to stand trial for his crimes. Thomas Hicks, a former judge of the Court of Common Pleas in Queens County, visited Bownas in jail and assured him that "they can no more send you there than they can send me; for the Law both here and in England is such, that every Criminal must be tried where the Cause of Action is."[16]

The Bownas account seems to be the only extant record of his trial, apart from a single reference in the minutes of the New York Council, 6 January 1704, to a "Special court of oyer and terminer to sit in Queens County for the trial of a Quaker [unnamed] for blasphemy." As far as I can determine, no legal historian has made use of the case. Bownas's account of his difficulties is confirmed by Thomas Story, the Quaker who visited him in jail in March and August of 1704. Both Bownas and Story thought that George Keith was behind the arrest and trial.[17]

Keith, a missionary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel

(SPG), and William Bradford, who prepared the original deposition against Bownas that caused his arrest, were former Quakers who now were leading figures in the "Keithian Schism" dividing Pennsylvania and New Jersey Quakers in the 1690s. Keith had undertaken missionary tours among the Quakers in Britain both before and after becoming an Anglican priest in 1700. His North American missionary tour of 1702-1704 for the newly-formed SPG was in many ways a continuation of his decade-long dispute with the Quakers. But Keith, in his *Journal of Travels*, did not discuss the Bownas arrest; the name of Bownas is not mentioned in letters to the SPG by Keith and his associates. Bownas and Thomas Story's contention that Keith was behind the arrest and trial has been accepted, or at least not challenged, by Quaker and Long Island historians, and Anglican historians have not countered Bownas's accusation. Ethyn William Kirby's biography of Keith, Edgar L. Pennington's biography of Keith's fellow missionary, John Talbot, and Pennington's extensive notes on Keith's journal make no mention of the affair.[18]

Was Keith responsible for Bownas's arrest and, more importantly, did the arrest represent a policy of repression of Quakers on the part of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, or by Viscount Cornbury (Edward Hyde), the Royal Governor of New York? In 1703, Quakers were at the height of their relative strength in North America. They were also still considered heretics by most, if not all, of the religious leadership of the colonies. And Bownas and his fellow Quaker ministers were not mere dissenters who spoke for an insignificant sect; they were representatives of a comparatively numerous, well organized, and widespread group. To Lord Cornbury and many others, the Quakers were a significant threat to the religious and political structure of the North American colonies.[19]

During his missionary tour, Keith was particularly interested in converting Quakers. Soon after his arrival in 1702, he announced at the Quaker meeting in Lynn, Massachusetts, that "he was come in the Queen's Name to gather the Quakers from Quakerism, to the Mother church, the good old church of England."[20] However, Quakers were not interested in hearing from or debating Keith. On his first visit to Flushing in September 1702, Quakers told him he was interrupting their meeting and under the Act of Toleration could be fined. Keith maintained that the Act provided that doors of religious meeting houses remain open. He challenged the Quakers by asserting that their meeting houses were not licensed, as the Act required, and that Quaker preachers were not qualified to speak because Quakers were not in conformity with the thirty-four Articles of Religion. When Keith returned to Flushing in December, with a letter from Governor Cornbury instructing justices of the peace to see that Quakers did not interrupt his speaking. He then asserted that,

> in the Act of Toleration there is an express Clause that excludes all such from the Benefit of the Act, That either in their Speaking or Writing, deny the Holy Trinity, as taught and professed in the Church of England.[21]

Although Quakers rejected "priestcraft" they recognized certain members as ministers who could, and often did, make lengthy journeys to visit Quaker meetings and to hold meetings among non-Quakers. Bownas was one of these ministers, engaged in a lengthy visit to North America and speaking as an acknowledged representative of the Society of Friends. Two other well known English Friends, John Richardson and Thomas Story, also traveled in the Quaker ministry during Keith's visit.

As noted, Quakers were not interested in debating Keith. Bownas responded to his challenge by writing that Keith was "an heathen and a publican," meaning that Friends had disowned Keith and would have no more to do with him. In 1703, when William Bradford came to Hempstead to dispute with Quakers in place of Keith, he was answered by John Rodman that the issues were available in print, with no need for more verbal argument. Bownas told Bradford that because the latter's questions were "more for Contention than Edification," he did not feel obliged to answer.[22]

Despite their refusal to debate, John Richardson, Thomas Story, and Samuel Bownas all spoke against "water baptism" as understood in the Anglican Church. On Staten Island in 1702, Story called infant baptism "an old Popish remain; set up by them under a false notion of an ordinance of Christ." One may speculate whether Keith—if he were responsible—would have resorted to legal action had the Quakers agreed to his challenges to open and public debate, or if the Quakers preferred simply to expound their doctrine rather than to attack Anglican practice within the hearing of Keith and his supporters. Thomas Story was told it was common talk in New York in 1704 that there was a warrant for his arrest for "words falsely alleged to have been spoken by me...about the national church of England, her sacraments, order and catechism." However, Story visited New York in January and August 1704 without trouble, although he was at the house of the sheriff several times. After his release, Bownas was informed that Keith had proposed a law to stop Friends from traveling in the ministry except to their own meetings.[23]

Lord Cornbury, a supporter of Anglican orthodoxy, equated religious dissent with political disloyalty. In a letter to the SPG written 21 March 1704, following the first Bownas trial, he referred to the "Insolent Behaviour of a generation of people settled in these Parts, who are Enemies to all Religion and all manner of Govmt. but their own, I mean the Quakers." Cornbury believed that Keith had risked his life by going among the Quakers.[24]

However, if there were a smoking gun in this case it was in the hand of John Talbot, who claimed to have been little acquainted with Quakers until he met Keith. In a letter of 10 April 1703, Talbot warned that dissenters would take up the sword and,

> we shall perish with it for not opposing them in due time. Notwithstanding the Tolleration they are subject to all the Penal Laws, as you'l find if you read the Act, & were I in England and

> had as much Knowledge in the Law as you, I would bring Statutes and Judgements against them. I have don So att N. York were there is a good governour my Ld Cornbury.[25]

This letter, written before the Bownas affair, may refer to the decision by the Colonial Council in January and February to depose two Queens County justices of the peace, John Talman and Jonathan Whitehead, because of their religious views.[26]

As did Lord Cornbury, John Talbot looked upon Quakers and other dissenters as dangerous radicals. The *Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, published in London in 1706, cited a letter from the clergy of New York about those who "had gone astray among Heretics and Quakers, who have denied the Faith, and are worse than Infidels and Indians that never knew it." Keith's *Journal*, published the same year, contained his reasons for contending that the Toleration did not cover Quakers. However, the same SPG *Account* also stated that missionaries ought to "convince and reclaim" dissenters with a "Spirit of Meekness and Gentleness." Caleb Heathcote, a strong supporter of the Anglican cause in New York Colony, wrote to the SPG from Scarsdale on 10 April 1704, two months after the first Bownas trial, to suggest that the way to make converts was by

> soft & Easy Means, in Convincing Men's Minds & Satisfying them in all their ffolish Notions against the best of Churches, for as these Methods are not only most Agreeable to Christian Religion, so they likewise do the Work most Effectually, for when anything of that Nature is Carried on with Heat, Loose and Irreligious Men Imediatly own the Faith and turn Violent Persecutors, being overjoy'd of any opportunity To Gratify their Naturall Temper, & by the Rigour of their Proceedings, as well as their Vitious lives, not only bring a Scandall upon the Church, but prevent its Growth...[27]

Heathcote spoke in generalities, but it seems reasonable to assume that his reference to "Loose and Irreligious Men" referred to Lord Cornbury or some of his party.

If the jury in the first Bownas trial maintained its rights under British legal precedent, it had practical reasons for defying the authority of the Governor. Having ejected dissenting ministers from their churches on Long Island, Cornbury demanded that local residents support the Anglican clergy. When Thomas Hicks, a former judge, came to comfort Bownas in jail he told him that "the Lord hath made Use of you as an instrument, to put a Stop to arbitrary Proceedings in our Courts of Justice." Hicks added that, if "the Presbyterians stood as you have done," they would not have "so tamely left their Meeting-houses to the church."[28]

The network of support that Bownas described in his journal was primarily non-Quaker. One of the deposed justices of the peace, Jonathan Whitehead, had offered to stand bond for Bownas after his arrest.[29] While in jail, Bownas supported himself as a shoemaker, a trade taught him by

one Charles Williams, described by Bownas as a "Scotch Churchman" who also sold Bownas's products in his shop. In addition to Hicks and Thomas Story, visitors to Bownas in jail included a group of Indians, and John Rogers, of New London, Connecticut. Before the second trial, the sheriff informed Bownas that he had been instructed to select jurymen willing to convict, but assured the defendant that he would do no such thing.[30] Thus, Bownas, a traveling Quaker from England, became a Queens County champion of resistance to the external forces of Lord Cornbury.

The Bownas journal records a long religious discussion with John Rogers, a unique mixture of Baptist, Quaker, and his own particular theology, who for years had been at odds with the Connecticut establishment. One suspects that when not discussing religion the two were comparing notes on how to survive the persecutive tendencies of unfriendly governments.

The presence of Rogers introduces the second option for dissenters—appeal to England. The Connecticut code of laws, published in 1702, contained a provision barring "Heretics, whether Quakers, Ranters, Adamites or such like." Heretics were to be imprisoned or banished, and fines imposed on anyone who entertained or discoursed with such people, or even owned Quaker books. In 1703, the Meeting for Sufferings of London Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends began a campaign to revoke the law, and a Quaker petition to Queen Anne was referred to her two years later. When the agent for Connecticut Colony argued equivocally that the thirty-two-year-old law was now considered obsolete, the Quakers responded that it was in force, that it was contrary to the laws of the Kingdom, and that the Queen should disallow it and "recommend to yt. Colony a Tolleration at least equal to wt. ye Queen hath been graciously pleased to maintain here." The Board of Trade agreed, and the Queen repealed the oppressive provision on 11 October 1705. Had Cornbury still intended to limit the toleration of dissenters, he would not have had the backing of the Board of Trade or the Queen.[31]

British Quakers were responding to a perceived threat from Puritan New England, not from Anglican-governed New York. While North American Friends were attempting to ignore Keith, British Friends were busily lobbying against the laws of Connecticut, and writing opposing arguments to Cotton Mather's history of New England, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702).[32] I have found no mention of his case in the records of the Board of Trade, but, in effect, the defense of Friends in New England under a general policy of toleration also served to defend Samuel Bownas.

Quakers worked through their networks of influence in England, where William Penn, in his efforts to free Bownas, secured the assistance of none other that Lord Clarendon, Governor Cornbury's father. In July 1704, Penn sent a letter from Clarendon to Cornbury on to John Logan, his agent in Pennsylvania, informing him that the letter should secure Bownas's release. Penn commented to Logan that he wondered at Cornbury's proceedings "at this time of day, when the Queen & Ministry show so moderate a Side toward dissenters" and "would be very ready

to resent & reprimand Such a differing Conduct."[33]

John Bridges, the chief justice of the New York Supreme Court, who presided at the first Bownas trial, died in July 1704 and was succeeded by Roger Mompesson. Mompesson was on the bench at the second trial in which the jury again returned a verdict of *ignoramus*. This time the decision was accepted, and Bownas was offered his liberty upon payment of his fees. Although Bownas refused to pay, as a matter of principle, he was nevertheless set free—Mompesson was not the sort of judge who prosecuted Quakers. Early in 1703, William Penn wrote to Logan introducing Mompesson, a "moderat Churchman....a favorite of Ld. Cornberrys Father Ld Clarendon," and Penn's choice for chief justice of Pennsylvania.[34]

We are forced to rely on Quaker sources for the Bownas arrest and trial—on the journals of Bownas and Story and a brief reference in a letter by Penn. The dissenters speak, but the voices of the supposed persecutors are mute. In the absence of a court record or other reference in the colony's documents, we can only draw inferences from the available information in our attempt to assign responsibility for the prosecution of Bownas. The case seems entirely consistent with Cornbury's attitude toward dissenters. It also appears to jibe with the opinions of John Talbot, the SPG missionary. I am unsure about Keith. He did argue, both at Quaker meetings and in his published account of his North American tour, that Quakers were not covered by the Act of Toleration. However, Keith's approach was to debate Quakers, not to imprison them. He was certainly displeased by the refusal of Bownas, Story, and other Quakers traveling in the ministry to debate with him, and specifically angered by statements of Bownas and Story against the practices of the Anglican Church. Was he behind Bownas's arrest for blasphemy? Possibly. Would he have approved of an attempt to end the legal toleration of Friends? I regard the case as unproven.

Bownas's remarks at Hempstead, criticizing the practices of the Anglican Church, were part of a running debate between Keith and Talbot for the Anglican Church, and Bownas, Story, and John Richardson for the Quakers. Keith focused much of his efforts on Quakers and provided the intellectual argument against Quaker doctrine and practice. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel supported and legitimized Keith and Talbot. Cornbury was willing to use government authority to exert Anglican claims. In the final analysis, Bownas's arrest was brought about by three factors: Keith, the SPG, and Lord Cornbury. Remove any one of the three and there might have been no incident, no arrest, and no trial.

By the time of Bownas's arrest, the Act of Toleration had been in effect for fifteen years. As suggested earlier, it appears unlikely that toleration of dissenters, including Quakers, could have been overturned, either by Puritan Connecticut or by New York's Anglican governor. However, dissenters still needed to defend their interests. Bownas and other Quakers were willing to go to prison for the cause of freedom of conscience in religion. Significantly, Bownas was supported by a jury of twenty-two

non-Quaker residents of Flushing, who risked fines and the stocks to uphold the right of juries to make decisions without coercion from the bench.

NOTES

1. By 1780, Quaker meetings were outnumbered both by Presbyterian and Baptist congregations. For a general discussion of Quaker numbers in colonial America, see Edwin Scott Gaustead, *Historical Atlas of Religion in America* rev. ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), 21-26; however, Gaustead omits Quakers in his general tables on numbers of congregations, 3-4. Number of congregations is a better comparative measurement than number of communicants, due to denominational differences in methods of counting members.

2. Richard W. Pointer, *Protestant Pluralism and the New York Experience: A Study of Eighteenth Century Religious Diversity*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 4, table 1; for the list of New York meetings, see Rufus Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1911), 250-51.

3. Jack D. Marietta, *Reformation of American Quakerism, 1748-1783* (Philadelphia, 1984), examines the internal structure of the Society of Friends; Jean R. Soderlund, *Quakers and Slavery: A Divided Spirit* (Princeton, 1985), critically analyzes the process of Quaker reform; and Barry Levy, *Quakers and the American Family* (New York, 1988) considers the wider implications of Quaker family attitudes on American social structure.

4. Howard Beeth, "Historiographical Developments in Early North American Quaker Studies," *Southern Friend* 11 (Autumn 1989): 17-32, a paper delivered at the 1988 Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists, Pickering College, New Market, Ontario.

5. New York historians must still rely on Rufus Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies* (London, 1911); John Cox Jr., *Quakerism in the City of New York* (New York, 1930), and Arthur Worrall, *Quakers in the Colonial Northeast* (Hanover, New Hampshire, 1980). While Jones and Cox outline major events and Worrall explores Quaker practice, more work is needed on the basic denominational history of the Society of Friends in New York State.

6. Patrica U. Bonomi, *A Factious People: Politics and Society in Colonial New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971); Richard W. Pointer, *Protestant Pluralism*; Joyce Goodfriend, "The Social Dimensions of Congregational Life in Colonial New York City," *William and Mary Quarterly* Third Series 46 (April 1989): 252-278, focus on the intersection of religious and social life.

7. Carla Gardina Pestana, "The Social World of Salem: William King's 1681 Blasphemy Trial," *American Quarterly* 41 (1989): 308-327.

8. Samuel Bownas, *Account of the Life, Travels, and Christian Experiences*. (London, 1756), 62-95. Other editions: London, 1759; Philadelphia, 1759; Stanford, NY, 1805, and in *Friends Library* 3 (Philadelphia, 1839), 1-70.

9. See John Gough, *History of the People Called Quakers* (Dublin, 1790), 4: 134-144; Henry J. Onderdonk Jr., *Annals of Hempstead* (Hempstead, 1878), 12-14; G. Henry Mandeville, *Flushing, Past and Present* (Flushing, 1860), 147-150; Arthur Worrall, *Quakers in the Colonial Northeast* (Hanover, NH, 1980), 55-57; and Roy W. Moger, "An English Quaker Visits Long Island in 1702," *Nassau County Historical Society Journal 37* (1982): 37-50.

10. Sufferings, 1702-1756, recorded in the minute book of Westbury Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, 1704-1756. Haviland Records Room, New York Yearly Meeting, New

York City; Society of Friends, London Yearly Meeting, *A Collection of the Epistles from the Yearly Meeting of Friends in London* (Baltimore, 1806), 84; Bownas, *Account*, 36-41.

11. Bownas, *Account*, 76.

12. George Keith, *Great Necessity* (New York, 1704), 14; for a list of Keith's tracts, see Keith's *Journal of Travels from New-Hampshire to Caratuck on the Continent of North America* (London, 1706), 89; William S. Reese, "Works of George Keith Printed in America: A Critical Bibliography"; *Princeton Library Chronicle* 39 (1978): 98-124, provides context for Keith's works but does not refer to the Bownas affair.

13. Thomas Story, *Journal of the Life of Thomas Story* (Newcastle Upon Tyne, 1747) 260, reprinted in an abridged version which omits some important details of the Bownas affair in *Friends Library* 10 (1846), 1-372.

14. Bownas, *Account*, 73.

15. From *The People's Ancient and Just Liberties Asserted, in the Trial of William Penn and William Mead* in Penn's *Select Works* (London, 1825), 1: 191; also see Thomas A. Green's chapter, "Principle of Noncohersion: The Contest of the Role of the Jury in the Restoration" in his *Verdict According to Conscience: Perspectives on the English Criminal Trial, 1200-1800* (Chicago, 1985), 200-264.

16. Bownas, *Account*, 75.

17. Ibid., 62-64; Story, *Journal*, 259, attributing the arrest to Lord Cornbury— "George Keith's Work of Envy remaining fresh in [Cornbury's] Memory" (this clause is omitted in the abridged version in *Friends Library* 10 (1846), 140).

18. Ethyn Williams Kirby, *George Keith* (New York, 1942); Edgar L. Pennington, *Apostle of New Jersey, John Talbot* (Philadelphia, 1938); for Pennington's annotated edition of Keith's *Journal*, see *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 20 (1951), 372-487. These and George M. Hill, *History of the Church in Burlington, N.J.* (Trenton, 1885), make extensive use of SPG archives for the careers of Keith and Talbot; New York Council Minutes, January 9, 1703/4, Series A1895, New York State Archives. My inquiries to the Clerk of the New York Supreme Court, and to the Public Records Office in London located no additional references to the Bownas case.

19. Remarkable even in his own era for arbitrary rule and his own eccentricities, Cornbury "gave away great chunks of real estate to his favorites...He favored the Anglicans unfairly and illegally. Worst of all, he made public appearances in the elegant costumes of his cousin, Queen Anne." For these reasons, "he was despised by his contemporaries as the most venal of all the colonial governors" (Michael Kammen, *Colonial New York: A History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975), 156. Others of his class and station were more judicious, but Cornbury's attitudes were shared by many of his contemporaries. Though the Bownas case involved a web of personalities and happenstance, no one involved may be said to have acted outside his expected role.

20. John Richardson, *An Account of the Life of that Ancient Servant of Christ* (Bolton, MA, 1807), 105, 116; this book was reprinted several times in England and America from the 1750s onward, and in *Friends Library* 4 (1840), 60-122; Richardson's journal included a lengthy section on his disputes with Keith in New England and Long Island in 1702 (103-128).

21. Keith, *Journal*, 44-46, referring to Articles V and VIII of the Act; ibid., 55-57; also see Keith's letters to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 29 November 1702 and 26 February 1702/3, and John Talbot's letter of 11 December 1702, *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Archives* [microfilm], Series 1, Vol. 1, Letters 50, 51, and 81.

22. Bownas, *Account*, 57; Richardson, An Account, 185, also described Keith as a "heathen and publican" (Matthew 18:17). Bownas, *Account*, 62 posited Keith at Hempstead on 21 November 1703, a place and date confirmed by Keith, *Journal of Travels*, 77-78. Keith reported preaching another sermon in New York City one week later, but made no mention of Bownas, Bradford, or any dispute with the Quakers at that time.

23. Bownas, *Account*, 63; Story, *Journal*, 256; Bownas, *Account*, 370, 106.

24. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Archives, Series 1, Vol. 1, Letter 189.

25. Ibid., Letter 99, also quoted in Pennington, *John Talbot*, 87-90, and in Hill, *History*, 32-35.

26. The orders for the prosecutions of Talman and Whitehead in early 1703 are reprinted in the *Documentary History of the State of New York* 3 (Albany, 1850), 124-125. Also see Keith's letter to the SPG, 26 February 1702/3, SPG Archives, Series l, Vol. 1, Letter 88.

27. *An Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* (London, 1706), 48; Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Series 1, Vol. 1: 182; Caleb Heathcote to Secretary, Manor of Scarsdale, New York, 10 April 1704.

28. Bownas, *Account*, 74-75.

29. Ibid., 69-70; Whitehead is also mentioned in Story, *Journal*, 260.

30. Bownas, *Account*, 76-79; on Williams, ibid., 79-85; on the Indians and on Rogers, ibid., 85-93.

31. Worrall *Quakers*, 115-118; *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series*, 1704-1705 (London, 1906), nos. 1060, 1100, 1153, 1356, 1362, 1370.

32. For Quaker response to Mather, see John Whiting, *Truth and Innocency Defended Against Falsehood and Envy* (London, 1702), and the expanded reprinting of George Bishop, *New England Judged by the Spirit of the Lord* (London, 1703).

33. *Papers of William Penn* 4 (1987), 285. page 287, n. 53, misdates the Bownas arrest as 1702.

34. Ibid., 211-212; for biographical sketch of Mompesson, see Paul M. Hamlin and Charles E. Baker, *Supreme Court of Judicature of the Province of New York, 1691-1704* (New York, 1959) 3: 130-142.

Anglicans in the Puritan Domain: Clergy and Laity in Eastern Long Island, 1693-1776

By Robert E. Cray, Jr.

Few would deny that the Anglican Church occupied a prominent position in colonial New York. With its establishment in 1693 in the counties of New York, Queens, Richmond, and Westchester, the Church of England attempted to become the dominant religion in these localities, aided by clerical missionaries from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. These men served in the field, attempting to convince their sometimes reluctant parishioners to embrace the Anglican faith. Royal governors, too, might champion the church. Lord Cornbury, the notorious and corrupt transvestite governor, was nonetheless an energetic supporter of the Anglican establishment, who brooked little opposition when it came to placing Anglican rectors in the four counties; later governors adopted a less zealous policy but still generally upheld the legal rights of the church. By the 1760s the Church of England was a visible entity, with a number of clerics serving flocks of varying sizes. Efforts to spread the faith continued; new missions appeared. By the eve of the Revolution the Anglicans numbered among the more noticeable sects in a religiously diverse colony of Presbyterians, Quakers, Dutch Calvinists, and Lutherans.[1]

These aspects have been well documented by such historians as Carl T. Bridenbaugh, Jean Paul Jordan, and others. Substantial information now exists regarding the church's legal establishment in the four counties previously cited, as well as on the Anglican missionary effort among Indians and blacks. Moreover, legislative battles and pamphlet wars between Anglicans and Presbyterians have been ably detailed by several scholars.[2] Yet this body of scholarship, while both substantial and valuable for depicting the development of the church, sometimes overlooks the impact of the Anglican Church upon individual communities; it was in the parishes, rather than in the chambers of the legislature, where efforts to court the populace by the clergy succeeded or failed. Similarly, we need to know more about the role of the laity in shaping the Anglican Church in early New York. Although the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel supplied stipends for clerical missionaries, the parishioners had the task of attending the minister's more immediate needs; they were responsible for building and maintaining the church and parsonage house, setting aside land for the glebe, and supplying the minister with firewood. How well they performed these tasks depended not only upon their numerical size and economic status, but upon their relationship with the resident minister. Competent clerics could expect at least some material support along with

good attendance at divine services; incompetent clerics might receive neither. The laity, in effect, exerted substantial influence upon the Anglican Church, shaping and molding the character of an individual parish, much as the clerics did themselves. Together, minister and layfolk determined if a parish would prosper or fail.[3]

Suffolk County, Long Island, furnishes an appropriate environment for examining the interaction of the laity and the clergy in the formation and maturation of Anglican parishes. Uncovered by the Ministry Act of 1693, Suffolk could not be won to the church by administrative edicts and statutes; rather, the Anglican religion required a degree of support from among the laity. The laity would take the lead in creating parishes.[5] The role of such folk becomes even more important when we consider the historic character of early Suffolk: located on the eastern two-thirds of Long Island, the county resembled New England with its corporate towns and Puritan meetinghouses. The original settlers, who had arrived from Connecticut and Massachusetts in the mid-seventeenth century, adhered to the faith of the fathers—a faith that a steady supply of Puritan clerics from Harvard and Yale reinforced. Suffolk appeared a barren prospect for the church. Nevertheless, this seemingly hostile environment became home to two Anglican parishes in the Towns of Brookhaven and Huntington during the colonial period. This development illustrates how even in a potentially hostile religious setting layfolk and clerics together could sustain an Anglican presence in an environment dominated by Congregationalists and Presbyterians. What remains to be done is to detail and comprehend the reasons behind this event.[4]

Discontent with Puritanism first manifested itself in the Town of Brookhaven. In 1719 two residents of the town, Colonel Richard Floyd and Colonel Henry Smith, penned a protest to the governor and the council about the minister's rate being levied from the public tax. This, they argued, went against the provisions of the Ministry Act of 1693, which prohibited publicly supported churches outside of the counties where the Anglicans had been established. Provincial officials led by Governor Robert Hunter refused to take action against the town, in part, because a majority of the inhabitants favored supporting the Presbyterian Church, in part, because no discernable threat to the public order appeared. Yet the Presbyterians had won a Pyrrhic victory, for the opening attack by Floyd and Smith against the town was soon followed by a movement to recruit an Anglican minister for Brookhaven.[5]

What compelled this challenge to the prevailing religious order remains uncertain. In 1714 Floyd and Smith had both signed a covenant with the other villagers to ensure that the town church would "promote and propagate the honor of Almighty God in the Purity of Holy Religion and in quality of a Presbyterian meetinghouse." Yet five years later these two men sought to distance themselves from the local meetinghouse. Why? Quite possibly, their backgrounds proved a deciding factor: Floyd ranked among the largest landowners in the community; in addition he led the county militia and served as a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for

Suffolk. Henry and his brother, Major William Smith, who joined the church, were the sons of a former chief justice of the colony and one time royal governor of Tangiers, Colonel William Smith, who also possessed a manor grant in the county. The sons inherited the estate and served as county officials. In essence, these men represented the nearest equivalent to an English gentry class in the County, distinguished by their holdings, offices, and pedigrees. And they may have wished to emphasize further their more cosmopolitan status by embracing the Church of England.[6] Internal developments within the Presbyterian meetinghouse may have prompted their actions, too. Dissension arose in the meetinghouse over the issue of seating. In an effort to resolve the dispute, a detailed seating plan emerged in 1703, which reserved the front of the church for the Floyds, Smiths, and other prominent folks. Further trouble occurred over the site for a new meetinghouse in 1714. That year Richard Floyd and Henry Smith arranged a settlement of the issue, resolving it by lot. Even so, tensions still existed and finally resurfaced in 1719, when the congregation abandoned the seating plan. Whether these various disputes alienated Floyd and Smith from the Presbyterian fold cannot be determined, but the timing and the nature of the events would appear to indicate as much.[7]

The movement to invite an Anglican minister began soon after. In 1723 Colonel Richard Floyd, his son, and ten other men signed a petition, requesting an Anglican minister from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The Reverend Thomas Wetmore, who arrived in Brookhaven by the winter of 1723/24, reported favorably to his superiors in England about the prospects of the church. Not only had "men of the best character" joined the church, but overall membership rose "beyond expectation." Confirmation of Wetmore's statement appeared in a 1724 petition from the townsfolk. This time thirty-three persons, several of whom previously supported the Presbyterian Church, asked for an Anglican minister from the Society. Wetmore's preaching as well as the Anglican service must have made an impact, since the number of Anglican sympathizers had almost tripled in one year, making them perhaps half as large as the Presbyterians in the town.[8]

The Society responded by sending the Reverend Thomas Standard in 1725. During his time in Brookhaven, Standard conducted services, baptized children, and administered communion—all of this without an actual church building. The newly formed congregation used either the town house or the Presbyterian meetinghouse for services. The fact that the Anglicans could employ such structures for divine services, especially the town church, indicates a measure of popular support. Standard also provided his flock with their first library, receiving books from the Society. Nevertheless, he was not totally successful in his ministerial duties, for efforts to catechize black slaves met with resistance. The townsfolk remembered all too well the 1712 slave insurrection in Manhattan, which had been blamed, unjustly, on Anglican efforts to instruct the slaves. As Standard reported in 1726:

> The proprietors of these poor slaves are averse to anything of this kind and the grounds of this aversion I find to be an unhappy incident in the City about a dozen years ago there was an insurrection...where several of the chief inhabitants were barbarously murdered....The inhabitants of this county have taken up the opinion that they [slaves] are the worse for being instructed and the more capable of doing mischief.[9]

This statement only highlights further the role of the laity in charting the course of the parish. Eager for a minister, they maintained strong reservations about certain ministerial duties, such as teaching slaves. And they made clear their discontent to the minister. Standard might baptize and serve communion to the faithful, yet limits existed in regard to his role as a cleric.

Standard's departure in 1727 left the parishioners without a resident missionary. During the next two years the Reverend Samuel Johnson, later President of King's College, came across the Sound from Connecticut to hold services. His visits to the parish became unnecessary in 1729 with the arrival of the Reverend Alexander Campbell.[10]

The Scottish-born Campbell managed to build upon the work of his predecessors. Relations between the new parson and his parishioners appeared cordial, and by 1730 the churchwardens and vestrymen wrote highly of Campbell to the Society, describing him as a "gentleman of learning and parts sufficient to promote the good work he is engaged in."[11] Under Campbell, the Anglican party in the town achieved a more secure identity with the construction of a church. Campbell's preaching proved effective, too. Despite just thirteen communicants in 1730, he reported to his superiors that "the numbers of my hearers considerably increased in absence of the dissenting teacher, his hearers do not scruple to give attendance at the public prayers of the church and at sermon." This fortunate development Campbell ascribed to his style of preaching. Instead of relying upon a "furious, extravagant zeal" in his discourse, the Brookhaven parson claimed to resort to "steady, moderate principles" to impress his listeners.[12]

A respected minister with an effective preaching style that attracted dissenters inside a new Anglican church should have bode well for the Anglicans of Brookhaven. Circumstances soon dictated otherwise. Upon returning from a visit to England in 1731, Campbell stayed in New York City for much of the time, servicing the parish infrequently. The Anglican laity cooled toward their once esteemed and now often absent minister. Accusations of immoral behavior levied against Campbell in New York City by William Vesey, his religious superior, further undermined the parishioners' faith in him. By March 12, 1733 Colonel Richard Floyd, his son, Richard, Jr., Major William Smith, and nine other church members petitioned the Society to replace Campbell with Isaac Browne—the man bearing their appeal to England. The Society granted their petition.[13]

The Reverend Isaac Browne proved a fitting choice for the young parish. As the Anglican rector of the Brookhaven mission, Browne ushered in a new period of growth between 1733 and 1747. In fact, the Caroline Church, named in honor of Queen Caroline, wife of George II, became home to a substantial number of worshippers, many of them former dissenters. Inadequate financial support—the parishioners were land rich but cash poor—seldom deterred Browne.[14] His letters to the Society reveal a steady increase in numbers: by 1741, at the height of the Great Awakening, his flock possessed twenty-five communicants. The religious revival worked to the advantage of the church as some dissenters, displeased by the excesses of the Awakening, attended the Caroline Church and sometimes converted. In 1741 Browne wrote that the church "had never been in so flourishing a state as at this time." He listed 125 adherents to the church that year.[15] Events over the next several years confirmed Browne's statement—the laity constructed a church gallery in 1744 capable of holding sixty or seventy persons, revealing the added number of worshippers. That same year Browne reported the existence of thirty-five communicants to the Society. Part of Browne's success can be attributed to the death of the Reverend George Phillips, the Puritan parson, in 1739, which left the dissenters without a shepherd until 1745. This allowed Browne an unusual opportunity to further the fortunes of the church. And he made the most of it.[16]

Browne's accomplishments also extended beyond the township. His duties as rector to the Caroline Church did not preclude missionary work beyond the parish, most notably the eastern townships of the Island. Here the Puritans had long stood unopposed. A previous effort by the Society to catechize the children of Southampton accomplished little, forcing the departure of a lay teacher. Quite possibly, the majority of inhabitants in eastern Suffolk had never seen an Anglican cleric. Browne remained undaunted. In 1735 he traveled to Southold and drew "upwards of one hundred hearers, who behaved decently and seemed well-disposed to the service." Heartened by the reception, Browne urged the Society to "send a competent minister to officiate among them." This was never done. In 1741 Browne journeyed in a southeasterly direction, "passing through several towns and villages." In eight days he preached six or seven times to large gatherings, and in East Hampton, in the large two-gallery Calvinist meetinghouse, he spoke before a huge audience that filled the building "from the bottom to the top." Nor did Browne neglect the western end of the County: his arrival in Crab Meadow, a tiny village in the Town of Huntington, drew over one hundred people in 1744, "who conceived a good opinion of the Church." The Puritan establishment appeared to be weakening, unable to prevent individuals from attending Anglican services.[17]

Such accounts testify in part to the appeal of Anglicanism. Yet they also tell us something about the fluidity of religious loyalties in Suffolk, loyalties that appeared to be quite flexible under certain circumstances. Brookhaven Presbyterians saw nothing wrong in hearing Anglican prayers

and sermons, especially when they lacked a minister of their own faith. Some might even convert. Nor was this phenomenon unique to Brookhaven—Presbyterians and Congregationalists in Southold and East Hampton might also attend Anglican services. This suggests that actual religious allegiance—whether one was Anglican or Presbyterian—proved less important to some of the laity than being able to hear the Word of the Lord. Religiosity could overcome denominational labels.[18]

The fact that some Presbyterians might go to the Caroline Church did not mean they would remain there. Much depended on the conditions in their own meetinghouse as well as in the Anglican Church. This becomes evident with the departure of the Reverend Browne in 1747. Under his successor, the Reverend James Lyons, attendance at the Caroline Church fell tremendously.[19]

The Irish-born Lyons proved a far different person than his predecessor, characterized by a "sharp Hibernian tongue irascible to his own hurt."This rather cumbersome description, if anything, treats Lyons too uncritically, for under his stewardship the congregation dwindled. Yet Lyons was not entirely to blame; trouble had arisen even before he arrived. As the leading parishioners confided to the Society in 1747:

> We seem to be under a cloud, the removal of the Reverend Mr. Browne who was greatly esteemed in our parish, having occasioned many people of circumstances, who were not firmly attached to the Church to grow cool and negligent about the interest of it, and others to forsake her worship.[20]

Here again, we note a degree of fluidity in church membership, with some unwilling to remain in the church. Lyons, himself, did little to improve the situation. His prickly temper won him few friends; nor did he exhibit any kind of religious zeal. The Reverend Samuel Johnson, now President of King's College, blamed him for undermining the church and "making a trade of the Gospel" in 1759. Johnson also noted that Lyons dressed "so scandalously ragged that it could not fail of bringing both that and himself into contempt." The Society admonished Lyons for his behavior in 1761.[21] Not surprisingly, the laity began to distance themselves from the rector, leaving few attenders at services. By 1768 the Society removed Lyons from the post. Except for the occasional visiting cleric, the church went unserviced until after the Revolution.[22]

As the Anglican faith declined in Brookhaven, its fortunes steadily rose, almost concurrently, in the nearby town of Huntington to the west. Here a number of Anglican sympathizers assembled, raised a subscription, erected a chapel, and acquired the services of a minister by 1767. By the early 1770s Huntington possessed a flourishing Anglican congregation. This sequence of events is all the more remarkable considering the character of the community. Like Brookhaven, it was a one-church community inhabited by Puritans shepherded by diligent Puritan divines. What can explain this turn of events?

The first signs of division appeared when the Lloyd family severed their

connection with the town meetinghouse. This manor-lord clan, owners of a three-thousand-acre estate on a neck to the north of the village, resided in adjacent Queens County. Nevertheless, Huntington possessed the nearest church, and the Lloyds, although Anglican, sometimes went there to worship. How often they frequented the meetinghouse is uncertain. The formal withdrawal of the family from the meeting occurred in 1731, when the Reverend Ebenezer Prime delivered what the Lloyds took to be a critical sermon against them. Prime denied any such intention, but the Lloyds remained unconvinced and thereafter shunned the meeting in favor of Anglican services across the Sound in Connecticut.[23]

The immediate damage to the Calvinist cause, although limited, was to set a prominent family against the minister and his church. If the Lloyds lacked many allies within the village, they could still direct appeals to the Society for assistance, and employ their formidable economic power to help build a chapel. Huntington's location offered other advantages: Anglican missionaries from neighboring Queens ventured into western Suffolk periodically to marry and baptize individuals. This helped to provide a core of converts. These converts, together with the Lloyds, pledged funds for a church building in 1747. Over thirty people agreed to contribute money. By 1750 the almost completed chapel held between fifty and sixty persons, who "behaved quite decently," according to a visiting missionary.[24] The laity, led by the Lloyds, also tried to procure a resident minister. In 1761 Henry Lloyd wrote to Samuel Johnson at King's College, requesting his assistance with the Society in order to acquire a minister. In the letter Lloyd noted:

> You doubtless have been informed of a decent house built some years since and lately a house for a minister purchased in doing which I am fully of the mind considering the number and ability of the people scarce any place has exerted themselves with more alacrity on the continent.[25]

Hyperbole aside, Lloyd was not far from the truth in detailing the energy of the church party; it was an impressive achievement for a band of Anglicans in a Puritan county to accomplish what they did. Johnson, clearly, was impressed, and he agreed to use his influence with the Society.[26]

Help came with the arrival of Ebenezer Kneeland in 1763. The young Yale graduate acted as a catechist to the church members and quickly won their respect. In a 1764 petition to the Society the Anglicans of the community expressed their satisfaction with him, remarking upon the increased size of the congregation; his efforts also won over a "considerable number of Negroes," presumably slaves, who faithfully attended services and permitted visiting clerics to baptize their children. The Anglicans of Huntington expected that Kneeland would go to England, receive holy orders, and return to the town as the resident minister. Unfortunately, events turned out differently than planned: Kneeland did become an ordained minister by 1765, but he went to Fort Louisbourg off Newfoundland instead of returning to Huntington.

Financial necessity prompted Kneeland's decision. What the Reverend Johnson described as a "desperate blow" left Huntington once more dependent upon visiting clerics.[27]

This setback proved short-lived. New hope was evidenced in 1767 with the arrival of the Reverend James Greaton. Under his leadership the Anglicans assumed a position of importance in the community, receiving a sizable number of people into the church including dissenters.[28]

Who, then, was the Reverend Greaton? A New England native, he had graduated from Yale and went on to serve the Parish of Westchester, north of Manhattan, in 1759. He then went to England to receive holy orders. Upon returning, Greaton went to Boston's Christ Church, where he assisted the Reverend Cutler. Here his steadfast devotion to the Church of England stood out more clearly than his intellectual powers. The Reverend Cutler described him to the Society as a "gentleman of unexceptional character in point of morals and if his abilities are not of the first rate, yet his principles, his diligence, and exemplary conduct would doubtless render him a blessing to any of the New England missions." Greaton performed ably while in Boston. Yet upon the death of Cutler in 1765 a vocal minority of the congregation compelled Greaton to leave. At this juncture the Lloyds enter the picture. The precise process is unknown, but Henry Lloyd, who ran the family shipping business in Boston, may have approached Greaton about filling the Huntington post. We know that Lloyd wrote to his Long Island kin about Greaton's arrival, informing them to make ready his personal cottage on the estate for the new rector.[29]

Once settled, the new minister went about his duties diligently, caring for and tending his flock. He also traveled extensively. Because he first resided at Queens Village, the Lloyd family's manor on the neck directly north of the settlement, Greaton had to trek a short distance to Huntington. In addition, he took trips outside of the parish, calling on a tiny community of Anglicans in the town of Islip, ten miles or so the south. He even visited Brookhaven and found a shattered congregation.[30] Most of his ministry, however, required him to remain in Huntington, and his efforts there achieved notable results. By 1769 Greaton reported to his superiors in London:

> At Huntington I have a very decent congregation who almost constantly attend. Frequently a number of dissenters come to hear me, who behave with the utmost decency and seem much pleased. Several times I have had the church so full that it could not conveniently hold more, and many were obliged to go away for want of room.[31]

Greaton had struck a responsive chord among the settlers. Indeed, his success among the "dissenters" bears out earlier statements about religious loyalties in Brookhaven—many people remained flexible on matters of religious identity, willing to attend the services of an Anglican church.

The black population also responded warmly. Like Kneeland, Greaton

managed to attract black bondsmen to Anglican services, even those with Presbyterian masters. Slaves had little choice over church attendance, compelled to go where their masters worshipped, but this may not have been the case in Huntington. Greaton's description of black worshippers indicates at least some level of interest among the slave population. Indeed, in 1771 Greaton informed the Society that:

> My hearers behave with the greatest decency at public worship among whom are a number of Negroes (between thirty and forty) the masters of which come to church; the rest belonging to dissenters who are actuated with so much charity as by no means to forbid their attendance, the Negroes' behavior is highly meritorious and many of them are really pillars of goodness—some of them read well and accurately perform the responses of the church, and one is a member in full communion.[32]

Thus, Greaton attracted whites and blacks, Anglicans and Presbyterians, to the church.

Greaton's pluralistic congregation was a tribute to his ministerial talents. As we have observed, the laity of Suffolk had a mind of its own when it came to attending divine services; they could worship in both Presbyterian and Anglican churches, depending upon a particular minister or a particular set of circumstances. Divisions within the Presbyterian meetinghouse in this instance also aided Greaton—divisions that led the town to appoint a committee to police the church in 1771 in order to prevent disturbances. Even so, despite the disagreements among the Presbyterians, the fact that some of them preferred an Anglican service to their own admittedly divided meeting is revealing. Religious loyalties were perhaps less steadfast than has been commonly believed. And Greaton in his role as an Anglican minister was able to take advantage of this.[33]

Greaton's death in 1773 deprived the church party of its foremost champion. Under his leadership the Anglicans had achieved a solid position within the community, serving notice to the Presbyterians that they were not alone. Now the church floundered. Although a perspective candidate appeared, Benjamin Moore, and although a subscription was begun, no Anglican minister came to reside in Huntington. The Presbyterians resisted such a move. Apparently, they had set aside their differences. More importantly, political tensions between England and the colonies made recruitment of a resident minister difficult, since the villagers associated the Church of England with the loyalist faction to the King. Huntington's Anglicans now relied upon visits by itinerant ministers. Not until long after the Revolution would an Anglican rector be stationed in the town.[34]

What, then, can we make of the Anglican experience in early Suffolk? At first glance the Church of England seems to have failed in its efforts since initial success usually eroded and disappeared, often due to the loss of popular ministers. Yet from another perspective the Anglicans did demonstrate a potential for growth: clerics such as Browne and Greaton attracted many worshippers, some of whom converted. Even dissenters

flocked to Anglican services. This is an important discovery. The willingness of Presbyterians to hear Anglican prayers, sermons, and services stands in bold contrast to Suffolk's identity as a cultural province of Puritan New England.

Feelings of religiosity could transcend denominational lines, even among dissenters. When a Puritan minister was unavailable, many of the settlers easily contented themselves with an Anglican minister. Similarly, such people might leave the Anglican fold and return once more to the Puritan meeting. The laity chose for themselves what church to attend, and their choice proved crucial in determining the success or failure of Anglican parishes in Suffolk. The Anglican experience in Suffolk failed to blossom and take root not because of the animosity of the laity, but because of too few effective Anglican ministers. This prevented the Church of England from becoming a more serious rival to the Puritans during the colonial period.

NOTES

1. An excellent treatment of the Anglican Church in colonial New York is Jean Paul Jordan, "The Anglican Establishment in Colonial New York, 1693-1775," (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1971).

2. Ibid.; Carl T. Bridenbaugh, *Mitre and Sceptre: Trans-Atlantic Faiths, Ideas, Personalities, and Politics, 1689-1775* (New York, 1962); Frank J. Klingberger, *Anglican Humanitarianism in New York* (Philadelphia, 1940); John W. Pratt, *Religion, Politics and Diversity: The Church-State Theme in New York History* (Ithaca, 1967); Milton M. Klein, ed., *The Independent Reflector, Weekly Essays on Sundry Important Subjects More Particularly adapted to the Province of New York*, by William Livingston and others (Cambridge, MA, 1963); Donald F. Gerardi, "The King's College Controversy, 1753-1756, and the Ideological Roots of Toryism in New York," *Perspectives in American History*, 11 (1977-1978), 148-196. For a more comprehensive treatment, see John Frederick Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism in North America* (Detroit, 1984).

3. Borden W. Painter, "The Vestry in the Middle Colonies," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 47 (1978), 5-36; Gerald E. Hartdagen, "Vestry and Clergy in the Anglican Church of Maryland," Ibid. 37 (1968), 371-396. An old but still useful work that focuses upon one lay patron of the Anglican Church in New York is Dixon Ryan Fox, *Caleb Heathcote, Gentleman Colonist: The Story of a Career in the Province of New York* (New York, 1926). For a broader view concerning the clergy and the laity throughout the colonies see Patricia U. Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America* (New York, 1986).

4. For a description of early Suffolk consult the following: Timothy Dwight, *Travels; In New-England and New-York*, 4 vols. (New Haven, 1822 ; reprint ed., Barbara M. Solomon, ed., Cambridge, MA, 1969), III: 198-224, passim; Horatio G. Spafford, *A Gazetteer of the State of New York* (Albany, 1824), 507-509; and Nathaniel S. Prime, *A History of Long Island, from Its First Settlement by Europeans, to the Year 1845, with Special Reference to Its Ecclesiastical Concerns*, Part I (New York, 1845), especially, for the two Anglican parishes, 225 and 259-260.

5. E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1849-1851), III: 233-235; Pratt, *Religion, Politics, and Diversity*, 60-61; Benjamin F. Thompson, *History of Long Island from Its Discovery and Settlement to the Present Time*,

3rd. ed., revised and greatly enlarged with additions and a biography of the author by Charles Werner (New York, 1918; reprint ed., Port Washington, 1962), II: 319-320; Edward T. Buffet, *A History of the Caroline Church* (Setauket, NY., 1923),7.

6. Buffet, ibid., 7; *Records of the Town of Brookhaven, Book C, 1687-1789* (New York, 1931), 41-42; Thompson, ibid.: 307-310; Peter Ross, *A History of Long Island*, 3 vols. (New York, 1901), I: 85-87. For Anglicanization, see John M. Murrin, "Anglicizing an American Colony: The Transformation of Provincial Massachusetts," (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1966).

7. Buffet, *Caroline Church*, 7; Richard M. Bayles, "Brookhaven," in W. W. Munsell, ed., *History of Suffolk County* (New York, 1882), 22-23.

8. Petition of the Inhabitants of Suffolk, 1723, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, *Letter Books*, Series A., vol. 17., Microfilm Collection, USB, 217-219 (unless otherwise noted, subsequent SPG *Letter Books* citations are from the USB collection); Mr. Wetmore to the Secretary, Brookhaven, 11 May 1724, ibid., vol. 18., 173; Petition of Divers of the Inhabitants of the County of Suffolk, Brookhaven, 8 May 1724, ibid., vol. 18., 171-172; Jordan, "Anglican Establishment," 236. The number of Puritans is deduced from the signers of a 1719 petition in O'Callaghan, *Documentary History*, III: 234-235.

9. Thomas Standard to the Secretary, Brookhaven, October, 1726, SPG *Letter Books*, ibid., vol. 19., 404; Buffet, *Caroline Church*, 9-10. For the 1712 slave rebellion, see Kenneth Scott, "The Slave Insurrection in New York in 1712," *New York Historical Society Quarterly*, 65 (1961), 43-74.

10. Buffet, ibid, 10; Robert Bolton, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Westchester* (New York, 1855), 55-57.

11. Buffet, ibid., 10; Petitioners to the Secretary, Brookhaven, 25 June 1730, SPG, Series B, vol. I., Part II., Library of Congress Transcripts, 271-272.

12. Alexander Campbell to the Secretary, Brookhaven, 1 May 1730, SPG., Series A, vol. 23., Library of Congress, 55-56; Thompson, *Long Island*, II: 320-321.

13. Petition of the Inhabitants of Brookhaven to the Honorable Society, 12 March 1733, SPG., Series A, vol. 24., 262; Buffet, *Caroline Church*, 10-11, 15.

14. Buffet, ibid., 9.

15. Browne to the Secretary, Brookhaven, 14 October 1741, SPG., Series B, vol. 9., no. 72. For a glimpse of the church's progress, see Browne to the Secretary, Brookhaven, 31 May 1736, SPG., Series A, vol 26., 268-269, and 20 December 1736, ibid., 316. For the impact of the Great Awakening upon the Anglican Church consult Jordan, "Anglican Establishment," 258.

16. Browne to the Secretary, Brookhaven, 26 March 1744, SPG, Series B, vol 13., no. 279, and 25 September 1744., ibid., no. 274; Prime, *Long Island*, 224; Belle Barshaw, *Setauket's Religious Beginnings* (Smithtown, NY., 1984), 21-22.

17. Jordan, "Anglican Establishment," 167, 241; Browne to the Secretary, Brookhaven, 29 May 1735, SPG., Series A, vol. 26, 39; 14 October 1741, SPG., Series B., vol. 9., no. 79, and 26 March 1744, ibid., vol. 13., no. 279.

18. The religious climate of Suffolk was more tolerant and volatile than New England's. Although in many ways a cultural extension of New England, eastern Long Island developed its own identity and contributed to shaping the attitude of the middle colonies, where religious

loyalties were more changeable. See Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven*, 80-81.

19. Thompson, *Long Island*, II: 321.

20. Buffet, *Caroline Church*, 18; Thompson, ibid., 321-322; To the Honorable Society... Churchwardens and Vestry of Brookhaven, n.d., SPG., Series B, vol. 15., no. 118.

21. Herbert Schneider and Carol Schneider, eds., *Samuel Johnson, President of King's College, His Career and Writings* (New York, 1929), I: 290; Lyons to the Secretary, Brookhaven, 26 October 1761, SPG., ibid., vol. 3., no. 196.

22. Schneider, eds., *Samuel Johnson*, I: 351-352; Prime, *Long Island*, 225.

23. Dorothy C. Barck, ed., *Papers of the Lloyd Family of the Manor of Queens Village, Lloyd's Neck, Long Island, New York 1654-1826, 2 vols., Collections of the New-York Historical Society, 1926* (New York, 1927), I: 317-323, 326-327.

24. Reverend Charles W. Turner, *Annals of St. John's Church, Huntington* (Huntington, 1895), 8; Bruce E. Steiner, *Samuel Seabury, 1729-1796: A Study in the High Church Tradition* (Athens, Ohio, 1971), 40-46; Barck, ibid., I: 395-397.

25. Barck, ibid., II:618-619.

26. Ibid., 619-620; Schneider, ed., *Samuel Johnson*, I: 326.

27. Street, "Huntington," 54; Schneider, ed., ibid., I: 339-341, 352; Barck, ed., *Lloyd Family*, II: 668-669, 694-695; Petition of the Sundry Inhabitants of Suffolk County, Huntington, 12 November 1764, SPG., Series B, vol. 3., no. 128; Churchwardens and Vestrymen to the Society, Huntington, 30 November 1768, SPG., ibid., no., 142.

28. Turner, *St. John's Church*, passim, for a general background to the Anglican church in Huntington.

29. Schneider, ed., *Samuel Johnson*, III: 290, IV: 49, 52; William Stevens Perry, ed., *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, reprint ed., (New York, 1969), III: 520, 522-523, 527-529, 534; Barck, ed., *Lloyd Family*, II: 713-714; Churchwardens and Vestry to the Society, Huntington, 30 November 1768, SPG., Series B, vol. 3., no. 142.

30. Ibid., no. 142 (Lloyd Neck was part of the Queens County town of Oyster Bay until ceded to Huntington in 1889); Greaton to the Secretary, Huntington, 8 August 1769, SPG., ibid., no. 144.

31. Quoted in Turner, *St. John's Church*, 19.

32. Greaton to the Secretary, Huntington, 23 January 1771, SPG., Series B, vol. 3., no. 147.

33. For divisions in the Presbyterian meeting consult Robert McDermott, "The Gall and the Wormwood: The Story of Ebenezer Prime," Seminar paper, Queens College, 1968, 19-38, 41-49, available in the special collections of the Huntington Public Library, Huntington; Street ed., *Huntington Town Records*, 2:512.

34. Barck, ed., *Lloyd Family*, II: 736-742, passim, 745, 747-748; Turner, *St. John's Church*, 23.

"The Inglorious First of June": Commodore Stephen Decatur on Long Island Sound, 1813

By W.M.P. Dunne

Editor's Note: The LIHJ *is privileged to present to its readers this article adapted from a chapter from the author's forthcoming biography of Commodore Stephen Decatur, U.S.N. The author extends thanks to Henry P. Silka, naval historian and editor, for his knowledgeable contributions to this article. All quotations preserve the original spelling and punctuation.*

The first of June is a signal day in the history of Great Britain. A battle fought on June 1, 1794, between an English fleet of twenty-five line-of-battle ships and a French force of twenty-six battleships, culminated in a resounding British victory and earned the encomium "The Glorious First of June." On the same day nineteen years later, the United States Navy, during a pair of skirmishes with the Royal Navy in Long Island Sound and Massachusetts Bay, suffered such humiliating defeats that for Americans June 1, 1813, can be called "The Inglorious First of June."

The meeting that took place off Boston that day, in which the American commander, James Lawrence, surrendered the *Chesapeake* to a British frigate of equal force was the first loss of a United States frigate in the War of 1812. This engagement has been exhaustively analyzed on both sides of the Atlantic ever since. But six hours earlier on the same day, a less-remarked but greater American loss occurred when Stephen Decatur, confronted by two British blockaders of lesser total force at the eastern entrance to Long Island Sound, reversed his course and took his ships into the Thames River and out of the War of 1812. At dawn on The Inglorious First of June, the Americans possessed six operational frigates rated thirty-six guns or more, but by sunset that number had been halved. Such battle-proven commanders as Lawrence and Decatur, paradoxically, would have done well had they reversed their tactics. The former, who should have remained in port, sailed out to defeat, while the latter, who should have sailed on to victory, turned back in retreat.

Decatur's decision has received less historical appraisal than Lawrence's. Traditionally, it has been held that he withdrew in the face of four to seven British warships, a conviction derived from his own action report. My research shows, however, that any enemy vessels other than a 74-gun ship and a frigate were non-existent, except in the mind of Decatur, very likely put there through several weeks of misleading reports about the strength of his enemies and a last minute exchange of stations by the British blockaders at either end of Long Island. Given Decatur's unwitting cooperation, the British commander, with an outnumbered force,

successfully blocked three powerful American warships from breaking out into the Atlantic.[1]

A further historical inaccuracy concerns the identity of Decatur's opponent. Most historians, including Decatur's six previous biographers, credit Captain Thomas Masterman Hardy with masterminding the Royal Navy's triumph at New London; in fact, Hardy was a hundred miles away at Sandy Hook, New Jersey. The man who did cut off Decatur was Robert Dudley Oliver, whose command responsibility within the blockade strategy spanned from Cape May to Portsmouth. His victory has been largely overlooked, except by Theodore Roosevelt, whose research recognized Oliver's role. Roosevelt, however, diminished Oliver's accomplishment by adding a third ship, a razee (a cut-down line-of-battle ship), to his command. The three extant American eyewitness accounts mistakenly identify Oliver's consort as a razee. Roosevelt, evidently knowing that the British frigate was not a cut-down seventy-four, added an unnamed razee to Oliver's command as a third enemy warship.[2]

The United States had declared war on Great Britain on June 18, 1812, after more than a decade of harassment and seizures of American merchant vessels and seamen by the Royal Navy at sea and Indian depredations incited by British agents against American settlers on the frontier. The first military confrontation had ended ignominiously when Fort Detroit was surrendered by American soldiers without a shot having been fired. American bellicosity, however, had again been sparked by the dramatic victory of the U.S. frigate *Constitution* over the British *Guerierre*, seriously puncturing England's reputation for invincibility on the seas. This had been followed by a series of American victories in ship-to-ship actions, including the defeat of the *Macedonian* by Decatur's own frigate, the *United States*. The U.S. Navy had salvaged American honor and through repeated victories at sea sustained the rekindled war spirit.[3]

The start of 1813 found the 44-gun *United States* at New York getting ready to undergo repair of the damage she had sustained in her battle with the frigate *Macedonian*. Also in the harbor for repair of her battle damage was the *Macedonian* itself, now a prize and soon to be commissioned as an American warship. Her captors had been awarded $200,000 in prize money and Decatur's personal share came to over $30,000, a small fortune at that time. Despite this new found wealth, and the presence of his wife in New York City, Decatur's main concern was to expedite the repair and refitting of his own frigate. But as the senior naval officer on the New York Station, he was also concerned with the refurbishing of the *Macedonian*. Help came in February when Jacob Jones took command of the prize, with orders from the Secretary of the Navy to expedite her refitting.[4]

The main problem facing both skippers was the poor quality of spars available in the New York area. The completion of the *United States* was substantially delayed for want of a new mainmast. This immense spar was the linchpin of the frigate's rig. After one mast was found to be rotten, a second was obtained and stepped into position. Decatur, however, was

uneasy about the durability of this new one and continued feeling so during the succeeding weeks. On March 10, he wrote to Secretary of the Navy William Jones, submitting a cruising plan in which he proposed to sail in company with the gun-brig *Argus*. The *Argus* had been refitting since her arrival in port on January 2 and would have sailed already had not the Navy Department transferred fifty of her crew to Lake Ontario in February.[5]

While the Americans worked at refitting their pitifully small number of war vessels, the British Admiralty put into effect England's response to her defeats at the guns of the upstart U.S. Navy. On December 26, 1812, Britain formally declared the ports and harbors of the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays under blockade and later extended the blockade to include New York and the ports of New England. To enforce this interdiction, additional ships were sent to the North American Station. The main body of the blockading fleet, under the overall command of Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren, commander-in-chief of the North American Station, arrived off the Virginia Capes on March 22, 1813. The 74-gun *Ramilles*, the frigate *Orpheus*, and the sloop-of-war *Atalante* were detached and sent to Block Island to execute Admiral Warren's orders to "cut off trade in and out of Long Island Sound." In addition, two British 74-gun line-of-battle ships and three frigates were approaching Block Island from Halifax, Nova Scotia, the British North American headquarters.[6]

Long Island Sound's commerce and its shoreline's shipyards were essential to the American war effort. Until the arrival of Oliver's forces, the vital ports that dotted its coasts felt little pressure from British naval activities. The produce of western and southern New England traveled down the Connecticut River valley to market centers such as New London, New Haven, Bridgeport, Stamford, New Rochelle, and New York City, and across the Sound to Greenport, Sag Harbor, Port Jefferson, Huntington, Oyster Bay, Glen Cove, and Port Washington.

In the first week of April, with repairs to the *United States* completed, Decatur "dropt down below the fly market," to join the U.S. Brig *Argus*, which was at anchor there readying for sea. Ten days earlier, on March 25, the sloop-of-war *Hornet* had entered New York harbor through Hell Gate, having come down the Sound without encountering any enemy ships. Royal Navy units, however, were not far behind the *Hornet* and on April 3 several British warships rendezvoused at Block Island to close off the eastern entrance to the Sound. These were the *Ramilles, Orpheus*, and *Atalante* from the south and the 74-gun battleships *Valiant*, commanded by Captain Robert Dudley Oliver, the senior British officer, and *La Hogue*, in company with the frigates *Nymphe, Shannon*, and *Tenedos* coming down from the northeast. At the same time, the large frigate *Acasta*, rated at forty guns, was enroute from the Virginia Capes to take station off Sandy Hook. The British were moving into position around Long Island while the Americans continued repairing and provisioning their vessels in New York harbor.[7]

With the arrival of the *Acasta* at Sandy Hook on April 7, followed two days later by that of the 74-gun *Dragon*, New York Harbor's main door was essentially closed. On April 9 the ships blockading Long Island were on their stations: two off Sandy Hook; the *Valiant* offshore of Montauk; *Ramilles, Orpheus*, and *Nymphe* between Block Island and Montauk Point; and *La Hogue* patrolling further out to sea with the *Shannon* and *Tenedos* in company. But that very day British strength was reduced by a third when *La Hogue* and her attendant frigates were detached to blockade north of Cape Cod.[8]

Decatur was fully aware of the British presence in their waters; however, because the Americans lacked an established intelligence network to keep the enemy under observation, he had no precise knowledge of the strength of the blockading force. Frequently exaggerated reports, brought in by merchantmen and fishermen who were not knowledgeable about the differing characteristics distinguishing the various rates of warships, were the basis of American intelligence about the movement and rates of the enemy's vessels. As the senior naval officer on the station, Decatur received these reports and they no doubt gave him cause for apprehension. Between mid-March and mid-April at least thirteen warships of the Royal Navy and three British privateers cruised intermittently in the vicinity of Long Island. In addition to raiding American merchantmen and blockade duty, they came to replenish their water supplies at Block Island, the best source of water between Cape Cod and the Virginia Capes described by Oliver as "the only [water] resource within my reach." All this activity was deceiving in that it created the appearance of a larger blockading force than there actually was.[9]

Acting on a reported British intrusion into Long Island Sound, Decatur ordered the *Argus* to its east end to find out what the British were up to. The *Argus* got under way and cleared Hell Gate on April 9. Later, Decatur wrote to Secretary Jones explaining that because "several small privateers & a Brig of 18 Guns have for a few days back been infesting the sound... I had drafted the crew of the *Hornet* on board the *Argus*, & had dispatched her in quest of them." He added that although the *United States* was ready for sea, the port of New York had come under blockade. The problem did not appear to concern him greatly as, "it will not be in their power to keep us in for any length of time, the first blow from the Southward, & shift to the Northward, will afford us the opportunity to pass out."[10]

After a quick passage down Long Island Sound, the *Argus* anchored near the mouth of the Thames River at New London just before midnight. After sunrise on the 10th, her commander, Master Commandant William H. Allen, began to receive reports of a veritable beehive of British battleships and *Argus*'s crew had several first-hand looks at the British. Allen learned from a packet that she had been chased the previous night, then while scouting "off Watch Hill Light [Rhode Island] Discovered a large sail to leaward, made sail and stood by the wind, took her to be a large Man of War." Next, Allen's men boarded a smack, "who gave us the information of her having seen two seventy fours and a Frigate

off Block Island and a Brig and Schooner below it."[11]

In spite of these reports, the enemy's force, out of sight of and unknown to the Americans, continued to diminish at the east end of the Sound. Three blockaders had already left the Block Island area for Massachusetts Bay and that day the *Valiant* sailed west along the south shore of Long Island to Sandy Hook. Arriving on the 10th, Oliver met with Admiral Warren the next day on board the *Dragon*. The station commander-in-chief had come up from the south in his flagship to personally confer with his local commander and formalize the blockade of New York Harbor and Long Island Sound. When the *Dragon* departed, the *Valiant* remained on Sandy Hook station.[12]

The blockade quickly settled into a routine. The *Valiant* stood off and on between Sandy Hook and Coney Island while the *Acasta* made frequent patrols southward along the coast of New Jersey. In Oliver the British had a battle-tested commander. Posted captain sixteen years earlier, he had led a small flotilla consisting of his own frigate and some sloops, bomb ketches, and small craft in an attack on the French port of Le Havre in 1804, the same year Decatur had been promoted to captain for his own daring raid into Tripoli Harbor. Whereas Decatur had seen no further combat from the cessation of the Tripolitan War in 1805 until this present war, Oliver had victoriously engaged in a number of subsequent battles. In 1806, in the seventy-four *Mars*, he had single-handedly attacked four French frigates, capturing one when the others fled. In 1810, in the *Valiant*, his boats had participated in the celebrated attack on Basque Roads. If Oliver now felt that he was past due for promotion to rear admiral, it would be understandable. And if he were fortunate enough to meet and vanquish the illustrious American hero Decatur, it would certainly help him to achieve that promotion, and possibly a knighthood as well. That he knew Decatur was in the harbor and almost ready to sail, there can be no doubt, given the effectiveness of the British intelligence network in New York.[13]

The British commander at the other end of Long Island also had formidable battle experience: Sir Thomas Masterman Hardy, forever famous as Nelson's flag-captain at Trafalgar (that immortal hero had died in Hardy's arms while pleading for a kiss) and respected by friend and foe alike for his forthrightness and integrity. Hardy was off Montauk Point in command of the *Ramilles* but, his considerably greater renown notwithstanding, he came under Oliver's orders as his junior in rank.[14]

The *Argus* returned to the upper East River on April 13, but did not finally clear through Hell Gate's wickedly swirling pools until the 17th. She came to anchor off the navy yard where Allen reported his potpourri of news to Decatur, doubtlessly indicating a formidable British presence off eastern Long Island. Allen's intelligence was one of the factors that misled Decatur about the Royal Navy's strength there. Another was his unfamiliarity with Block Island's role as the enemy's local watering hole. Although many ships gathered there, few stayed longer than needed to fill their water casks; but to an outside observer, their frequent appearances

painted a picture of disproportionate strength.[15]

Decatur advised Secretary Jones on April 24 that the *United States* was "now in all respects ready for sea the first favorable moment." He began his escape gambit on May 9 by passing down through the Narrows to Sandy Hook Bay in company with the *Argus*. The next morning Decatur had a first-hand view of the enemy when his lookouts "discover'd a line of Battle Ship and Frigate in the offing." The sight was daunting. Decatur knew the *Valiant*'s strength. Together with the Acasta, the enemy's broadside exceeded 1,400 pounds, against which the *United States* could fire only 680. The *Argus*'s short-range carronades offered no help; either enemy ship could smash her to smithereens with long guns well before she could venture near enough to fire her own cannons. In addition to the enemy ships directly confronting him, he worried about what the horizon was hiding. Reports from arriving neutrals that had been boarded by British men-of-war with names unfamiliar to him lead Decatur to believe that the ships he could see were merely the vanguard of a larger force. Decatur had to pin his hopes of escape on the wind, conscious that in heavy sea conditions, when the *Valiant*'s lower deck gunports would have to be closed, rendering her 32-pounder main battery useless and cutting her 1,000 pound broadside in half, the *United States* would enjoy the advantage. Then, to Decatur's delight, he was joined by the *Macedonian* on the 13th. The repairs to the prize frigate had progressed with greater dispatch than anyone hoped. Jacob Jones brought her down to join the *United States* and the *Argus*, and swung the balance of arms in Decatur's favor—if only the weather would cooperate by providing the sea conditions he needed.[16]

Offshore, Oliver suffered his own dilemmas with water topping the list, but he shared at least one fear with Decatur—the unknown beyond the horizon. With only the *Acasta* for immediate support, he worried that the American frigate squadron that recently escaped from Boston intended to attack the New York blockade. If so, Oliver would be further outnumbered and, worse, his ships would be pincered between the incoming American ships and those of Decatur. Oliver's situation was insufferable. If the Americans outmaneuvered his small force, four of their frigates would be free to wreak havoc on Great Britain's commerce during the forthcoming summer season. There would be no promotion for the British commander who allowed this to take place.[17]

From the 11th to the 14th, Decatur eagerly waited for an opening to escape, but suffered light, fluky winds that backed unfavorably around the compass. The 15th found the *Acasta* about forty miles southeast of Sandy Hook lighthouse; though late in the afternoon she worked her way back to the *Valiant* and "obsd. the Enemys Ships as before." The next morning the *Acasta* came up with the battleship again, but by noon both ships were still twenty miles out to sea in an electrical storm, struggling to get back to Sandy Hook. Toward evening the weather changed and, when the last of the haze cleared, to their dismay, the British "saw nothing of the Enemys Vessels."[18]

Earlier that morning, influenced by a long series of contradictory intelligence reports, bafflingly light winds, intermittent sightings of the *Valiant* and the *Acasta*, plus the threat of the invisible enemy that he believed lay over the horizon, Decatur decided against passing out between Coney Island and Sandy Hook. Instead, he chose to return up the bay and, signalling the *Argus* and *Macedonian* to accompany him, stood for the Narrows. Decatur described his disappointment to the Secretary: "The last gale which promised the fairest opportunity for us to get out terminated in light southerly winds which continued until the blockading ships off the Hook had resumed their station." Oliver's battleship, with only the *Acasta* in remote support, had won the first round against Decatur without firing a shot.[19]

The senior American naval officer had resolved to try escaping through Hell Gate and Long Island Sound. "On consultation with the Pilots I am Satisfied that there is abundant water through Hell-Gate for my ship," he wrote to Secretary Jones, pointing out that the *United States* could outsail the twenty-eight-year-old *Ramilles* more easily than the much newer *Valiant*: "from a belief that the *Ramilles* at the entrance of the Sound is a much duller ship than the *Valiant* which is off the Hook I have been induced to prefer the former to latter passage." An even stronger magnet pulling him toward the Hell Gate passage was his belief that "the *Orpheus* has of late ventured considerably in the Sound, and it is not altogether improbable that I may fall in with her, out of the protection of the *Ramilles*." To Decatur the prospect of meeting with the *Orpheus* and defeating her in a glorious frigate-to-frigate action was more alluring than a continued standoff with Oliver's seventy-four at Sandy Hook. Decatur apparently failed to take into account that no single enemy ship, not even a modern seventy-four like the *Valiant*, could defend against three scattering blockade-runners. At best, the liner might have forced one ship to return to port. The *Acasta*, many miles to the southeast, would have been of little assistance. But the squally westerlies Decatur sought for the *United States* to challenge the *Valiant* did not occur during the three short days that he remained at Sandy Hook after the *Macedonian* joined him. It appears that he lacked the patience to await the right conditions. A pair of seductive Sirens lured Decatur: the opportunity to capture the smaller *Orpheus*, and the possibility of outsailing, or outshooting, the older *Ramilles*. These ships were undoubtedly lesser foes than the heavier-armed and swifter-sailing *Valiant* and *Acasta*.[20]

Upon returning up the bay, Decatur received a directive from Secretary Jones placing the *Argus* on standby for other service. Dutifully, Decatur detached the gun-brig from his command. The frigates, after spending the night of May 16 in the Narrows and the next night anchored off the Battery, continued up the East River for Hell Gate. Carrying six months' stores and drawing twenty-three-and-a half-feet astern, the *United States* had a dangerously deep draft for negotiating the East River and Hell Gate and later navigating the Sound. For her sailors, however, the frustration of riding at anchor in the lower bay and watching the enemy sail wherever

they pleased in American waters was over. But their relief was shortlived. While passing up the East River the *United States* ran aground and, by the time she was refloated, the frigates missed the Hell Gate tide and anchored in Kip's Bay, only four miles up from the Battery.[21]

This delayed their progress for six days because of an adverse wind shift. But the Americans benefitted from the holdup when the *Hornet*, newly refitted and provisioned for a long cruise, joined them on May 22, the same day that "the *Martin* called off the Hook on her way to Block Island," to obtain water. A British version of the *Hornet*, the *Martin*'s unexpected appearance was a godsend to Oliver. He immediately dispatched her to Montauk with orders for Hardy to relieve him at Sandy Hook. Such an exchange of stations would give him a second opportunity to fight Decatur and win glory for himself. Conversely, it would deny that opportunity to Hardy: but then, that was the privilege of rank, and Oliver exercised it. Additionally, Oliver's gambit accrued a side benefit, the exchange totally confounded Decatur.[22]

Decatur again had a force of three ships—his own *United States*, rated at 44 guns; the *Macedonian*, rated at 38 guns; and the *Hornet*, carrying 20 guns. The *Hornet* was under the command of James Biddle, recently appointed to replace James Lawrence, who had been promoted to captain and given command of the *Chesapeake* at Boston. It should be noted here that, contrary to all previous accounts of this period, the *United States*, *Macedonian*, and *Hornet* were not sailing together as an officially constituted squadron. They were sailing in company for the advantage their combined strength would give them against the blockading British warships. Once at sea, each commander would carry out his own independent sailing orders. Because Decatur was the senior captain, he commanded this *ad hoc* flotilla.[23]

On Sunday Decatur's force was increased when the large privateer *Scourge* joined to break through the blockade. The four vessels entered Hell Gate at mid-afternoon on Monday, May 24. The wind had freshened and swung southwest, enabling them to steer through this danger-strewn channel, which lies in the East River between Mill Rocks, Astoria, and Ward's Island. Despite the favorable wind, the weather remained squally and unsettled with occasional electrical storms. The *Hornet*'s windward performance suffered from her deeply-laden condition. In the cramped confines of the channel she made excessive leeway, but finally succeeded in inching her way through. On the eastern side, with the precarious passage behind him, darkness approaching, and the wind fading, Decatur signalled the fleet to anchor off Riker's Island for the night.[24]

Suddenly, in what should have been six-and-half fathoms water off Hunt's Point, the *United States* struck bottom. At the very moment she grounded, she was struck by a bolt of lightning. The charge shattered her main royal mast, causing his broad pendant to fall, traveled down the ship's lightning conductor, jumped from the mast to one of the main deck cannon, miraculously missed the copper-lined powder magazine, wandered into the ward room, surged through the surgeon's stateroom, dousing his

candle and tearing up his bunk (he was not in it), and quit the ship at the waterline, blasting away some of her copper sheathing in passing. The *Macedonian* was following in close order when the blinding flash hit. In its ozone-scented aftermath the dim sight of Decatur's flag fluttering to the deck must have caused Jacob Jones to assume that the lightning's powerful electrical charge would ignite *United States*'s gunpowder and blow up everything within miles, but, to his astonishment, Decatur's ship escaped and floated off to anchor without further incident.[25]

Back at Sandy Hook, when Oliver received confirmation that the Americans had slipped through Hell Gate, he decided not to wait for Hardy. While Oliver thought he would be engaging Decatur, he deferred the replenishment of the *Valiant*'s and the *Acasta*'s water supplies, thereby causing a critical shortage. The *Acasta* was so parched that she had been commandeering water from the neutral vessels she boarded regularly. The *Valiant* helped by furnishing some from her own rapidly diminishing stores, but now the *Acasta* was dry and the *Valiant* had but ten tons on board, insufficient to meet even the short-term needs of the eight hundred thirsty seamen on both ships. And Decatur's nemesis himself was thirsty, but it was the American ships he craved, not water. In his eagerness to encounter them, Oliver, relying upon Hardy's immediate compliance to his orders to fill the void he was leaving, left Sandy Hook on Tuesday afternoon, an act that later brought veiled charges of deserting his post. For the next twenty hours, until Hardy's noon sight on Wednesday placed the *Ramilles* within eight miles of and closing on, Sandy Hook lighthouse, the New York harbor exit was left unguarded.[26]

The perfect opportunity to break the blockade was presented to Decatur by the British absence on Tuesday night, when the fresh breezes from the northwest would have handsomely propelled an American escape. If his move toward the Sound had been a feint, it would have proven successful; but instead, Decatur led his ships past King's Point in a fresh south wind and pressed on to the east, entering the Sound late Tuesday afternoon. Unfortunately, when the *United States* first set her sails, her main royal yardarm carried away, but it was soon replaced. Once into the Sound, the *Hornet*, their vanguard, averaged twelve knots per hour over the first thirty-five-mile stretch from Throg's Neck to Stratford Shoals offshore of Port Jefferson, an amazing speed in her heavily-laden state. The frigates charged along about ten miles behind the sloop, passing the lighthouse astride those dangerous rocks at dusk.[27]

Although Oliver had yielded the lead in the race, his track in the ocean was the easier one, with no restricted passages or rocky shoals like those that peppered the Sound. He also possessed the advantage of its geography. The Sound has only three exits, Hell Gate in the west, and two others at its opposite end: "The Race," so called because of the treacherous tidal currents caused by the constricted flow of water between Little Gull and Fisher's Island, and "Plum Gut," the tumultuously narrow channel between Plum Island and Orient Point. Through the early part of Tuesday night, Decatur drove his ships down the Sound, while Oliver tore along

in the ocean to cut off him off at the east end. By midnight a fresh southwest wind had boosted Decatur's lead and, at three o'clock Wednesday morning, under a panoply of stars, the *Hornet*, his scout, gained sight of both Saybrook and Little Gull Island lighthouses, as she neared the narrow east end of the Sound. Then, an hour later, with the British ships still five hours west of Montauk Point, for no reason that is apparent in either correspondence or logs, Decatur brought the *United States* and *Macedonian* to anchor off Stony Creek, Connecticut. Almost simultaneously, the *Hornet*, sixty miles farther along, anchored off East Marion on Long Island's north fork.[28]

Oliver continued to drive his ships under a press of sail throughout the night. His relief, the *Ramilles*, traveling in the opposite direction, passed her compatriots in the dark, as she sailed toward Sandy Hook. Hardy had sighted Southampton just before nightfall, pinpointing his position at that time as about halfway to plugging the gap left by Oliver's departure. On the morning of the 26th the *Valiant* exchanged signals with the *Orpheus* off Montauk Point. Oliver ordered her to follow the *Ramilles*, and he proceeded with the *Acasta* in company to the watering place on Block Island. By early afternoon they had lost sight of the *Orpheus*, and at three o'clock, after the *Valiant* safely anchored, the *Acasta* set off to patrol in the ocean off Montauk. Later the weather turned against the British when a thick fog billowed in. After gaining only twenty tons of water, Oliver noted, "the weather then became so bad I was obliged to desist Watering"; no doubt he also stopped from fear that his shore party would desert under cover of the mist. The fog soon became so thick that the *Acasta*, too, had to anchor near Montauk Point.[29]

Earlier on Wednesday Decatur had confirmed his intention of escaping to the eastward by discharging the New York harbor and Hell Gate pilots. Off East Marion, the *Hornet* got under way in clear weather, seeking news of the British ships, boarded an inbound fishing boat. After interrogating its crew, Biddle sent it up the Sound to Decatur. Unluckily for the American commander, the fishermen would have seen the *Valiant*, the *Acasta*, and the *Orpheus* off Montauk, instead of the single frigate still remaining there. Decatur had no means of knowing that the only prowling blockader, once the *Orpheus* left for Sandy Hook, and the *Valiant* anchored at Block Island to water, was the *Acasta*. After dismissing the fishing boat, the *Hornet* crossed the Sound to Saybrook on a fair wind but had to beat along the Connecticut coast to close with the frigates, confirmation that the wind direction still favored an escape attempt to the eastward.[30]

The American flotilla set sail again later that afternoon, but ran into the thick fog blanketing Block Island Sound and its environs. After struggling on for two hours, with both Six-Mile Reef and Long Sand Shoal directly athwart his track, Decatur judiciously halted near Falkner's Island. On the 27th, they "made Sail on a Wind to the Northward," but while getting under way, the *United States* suffered her third damaged spar when the fore topgallant yardarm carried away. As she worked farther down

the Sound, another weakness appeared when her huge cotton-duck jibsail blew out. For Decatur, already concerned about his untried lower main and fore masts, as well as the replacements for his three smaller spars, this new worry must have raised concerns about his frigate's ability to perform under battle conditions.[31]

That evening, after a wearisome nine-hour struggle with the weather, the ships prepared to anchor off Niantic. When Captain Samuel Nicoll of the *Scourge* realized Decatur's intention, he displayed his disdain for the Navy's dilatory proceedings by divorcing himself from them. As they came to anchor, he laid his course directly to the east. Hours later, the *Scourge* cleared through The Race and escaped in the mist without meeting a single British ship. Master's Mate William Priddy, on the *Hornet*, complained, "we duly dallied for several days, in Long Island Sound instead of going immediately to sea, as did the privateer."[32]

Meanwhile, at Niantic, a *Hornet* crewman, John Robertson, died while they swung at anchor, an evil omen for her superstitious sailors. Their discomfort magnified when, just before midnight, a sudden squall whistled eerily out of the dark and struck the anchored fleet. In its fierce gales of wind, the *United States* began to drag her anchor toward the rocky Long Island shore. Immediately aware of the impending danger, Decatur ordered the crew from their hammocks. In the ensuing pitch-black hours a vicious struggle between man and nature took place until, after the seamen had pulled more of the giant-diameter anchor cable from the ship's hold and payed nearly half of it overboard, the fluke of the anchor recovered its grip on the bottom and bedraggled sailors were able to snub their wildly drifting frigate up short.[33]

The men's spirits did not improve on Friday when the ships failed to get under way and continued to bob at anchor, pinned there by thick rainy weather and fresh gales from the northeast, a forbidding combination for clearing through The Race. More concerned than ever with his rigging, Decatur set the crew to staying the fore and main topmasts, as well as adjusting the backstays for all three masts. Later he again exercised them at the great guns. In the evening hopes were raised when the wind shifted south-southeast and the weather turned clear and pleasant—only to be obliterated at four o'clock Saturday morning by another thick fog.[34]

Oliver kept close to Block Island where "it was so foggy that I could not reconnoitre the entrance of the Sound till the 30th." He weighed anchor for a few hours on Friday the 27th and boarded the square-rigged American ship *Kingston* inbound under protection of a British license; however, the continuing fog induced him to return to the Block Island anchorage. The *Acasta* cruised offshore of Montauk Point from Thursday until Sunday, where the *Valiant* joined her briefly on Saturday, but returned to anchor toward evening. Incredibly, for three days, neither enemy ship patrolled The Race, Decatur's obvious breakout point. Instead, they either lay at anchor or sailed in the thick fog and heaving swells offshore.[35]

The *Ramilles* and the *Orpheus* continued to patrol off Sandy Hook

where, on Saturday, Hardy boarded the cartel *Perseverance*, outbound from New York City, and learned for the first time that the Americans had escaped from the East River into the Sound. The news infuriated him, for he now fully grasped Oliver's motives. Frustrated at being deprived of doing battle with Decatur, Hardy fired off a report to Admiral Warren concerning his senior officer's doings. It is noteworthy that in his ire he avoids the courtesy title "commodore" when referring to Oliver, "You will see by my official reports that Capt. Oliver has changed Stations with me.... It gives me a great deal of uneasiness to have quitted my Station just at this moment but I still hope that Commodore Decatur will change his mind and come out my way."[36]

During Saturday afternoon the fog cleared. At two o'clock, Decatur signalled the American ships to weigh anchor in a light southeasterly wind. The *United States* led the others into Fisher's Island Sound and re-anchored two miles north of the island's west end, placing them in better position to follow the moves of the enemy. It is conceivable that there were several square-rigged vessels in sight, including the *Valiant* and the *Acasta*, and, possibly, the American merchantman *Kingston*. With his lookouts unable to discern them clearly in the misty distance, Decatur had to assume that any vessels seen were enemy warships. In the evening, the fog rolled in again and intensified throughout the night. Early on Sunday the 30th, the *Valiant* was in thick weather off Southwest Ledge, a shoal between Montauk Point and Block Island. Oliver, in possession of a suspicious report from a coaster, altered course toward Watch Hill with the *Acasta* in company. At 9:10 a.m., he hoisted the electrifying signal, "Enemy's ships west northwest, Frigates I believe," followed at once by, "Two sail at anchor in the northwest." The English warships hoisted their staysails and flying jibs, and within an hour the *Valiant* reached a point six miles south of Watch Hill and twelve miles east of The Race. Twenty minutes later, Oliver, satisfied the Americans had no intention of getting under way, signalled for *Acasta*, "to reconnoitre in the north northwest."[37]

Lying on the opposite side of Fisher's Island, Decatur's alert lookouts spotted the British in the mist, before they themselves were seen. Sailing Master Thomas W. Story logged "a British frigate in sight from the deck and a line of battle ship from the Masthead," but the winds stayed light and variable, too weak to allow Decatur to consider mounting a challenge. As the haze faded, he "loosed the sails to dry" and "hove in twenty fathoms of cable" to expedite getting under sail if the wind should increase. Yet again, he evidenced his most serious concern by turning his men to resetting the standing rigging. In the afternoon they "saw several sail outside Fishers Island, which found to be 2 British Frigates 1 74 Gun Ship." Unless the square-rigged American merchant ship *Kingston* was still in the area, it is impossible from extant records to identify the vessel taken as the third British ship. The only certainty is she was not another enemy.[38]

At 4 p.m. the *United States* had "two of the Enemies Frigates in sight from the masthead." This time the vast distance involved could explain

mistaking the *Valiant* for a frigate. The only other vessel of any size reported in the area was the Portuguese brig *Feydo*, sailing from Bermuda to New York in ballast. At seven o'clock that evening, despite an unfavorable westerly wind, Decatur ordered the ships to get under way. After three grueling hours of beating into it, the *United States* and *Macedonian* succeeded in getting out from behind Fisher's Island and came to anchor two miles south of New London lighthouse, the standby position Decatur sought to facilitate a break for The Race on short notice. But the *Hornet*, sagging off to leeward, was unable to keep up with the larger ships and anchored southeast of them. The next morning, on a more favorable wind, she "got under way and beat up to the Frigates."[39]

The last day in May dawned with steady rain, but it cleared away and remained fair with westerly winds. On board the *United States* Decatur continued to drive his men at strengthening her rigging and drilling them at the cannon. From noon onward the *United States* had "two of the Enemies ships in sight." The British cruised in Block Island Sound, boarding a Swedish schooner, a licensed American brig, and conspicuously, the Portuguese square-rigger *Amelia*. Meanwhile, at Sandy Hook, the boredom of the blockade was broken when Hardy's consort ventured too close to shore, and he "observed the Forts on the Shore fire two Shot at the *Orpheus*."[40]

That evening Decatur hoisted the signal for the other captains to repair on board the *United States* for a council of war. Although the report from the *Argus*'s April reconnaissance mission and the local scuttlebutt contributed to the his uncertainty about the enemy strength, it was Oliver's switch of stations with Hardy that befuddled Decatur. He was certain he had firm intelligence that the *Ramilles* and the *Orpheus* were stationed off Block Island, and must have assumed, as his June 3 report suggests, that they were either out of sight behind it, or farther at sea—poised to come to the aid of the two strangers confronting him. He never suspected that Oliver would have deserted his post to bring his ships to the east end. After several hours of discussion, the American captains reached the decision to make the attempt in the morning, if the winds remained favorable. The course was to be directly east, straight through The Race and, according to Biddle, "it was our intention to go out North of Block Island."[41]

On May 31, the *Valiant* and *Acasta* continued in Block Island Sound with the larger ship keeping station toward Watch Hill and the frigate guarding the passage between Montauk Point and Block Island. That afternoon the British "obsd. the American Squadn. laying at Anchor the same as Yesterday." Oliver later dropped down to the *Acasta* and then, in clear sight of Decatur, the *Valiant* proceeded out to sea with the *Acasta* trailing behind her. Here was the opportunity to escape, and this time Decatur needed no intelligence other than what his own eyes beheld.[42]

The glorious sunrise on the first of June illuminated a sea free of enemies. "We stood through the Race," wrote Decatur, "there being no vessel of war in sight beside the Seventy-four & frigate & they a long

distance to the Southward & Westward of Montaug." When Decatur's flotilla passed through The Race, Oliver's ships were approximately twenty miles downwind and offshore, a position completely out of reach in the era of sailing ships. The location of the British ships also placed Long Island's south fork between them and the Americans. By taking a northerly route, Decatur could use Hither Hills, between Amagansett and Montauk, and the cliffs of Block Island to mask his movements.[43]

The American lookouts spotted the enemy first, but the British did not see the American ships until the *Valiant* rounded Montauk Point. Oliver's report describes the situation, "on the morning of the first of June at 9 o'clock as we were rounding Montuk Point with the *Acasta* the [*United States, Macedonian*, and *Hornet*] were seen directly to Windward at about 7 or 8 Miles distance coming down with studding sails set Steering SE the wind at the N.N.W."[44]

The Americans were out of the Sound with the wind on their quarter, the wide expanse of the ocean ahead of them. They were on the verge of breaking the blockade, with the prospect of cruising the seas to prey on the British merchant fleet, the strategic objective of their hard work. Could Decatur at that moment have been imagining the victories that would be his just beyond the horizon? Was he already counting the additional prize money they would contribute to his growing fortune, hearing toasts extravagantly praising him at dinners given in his honor by a grateful citizenry, basking in the glory that his victories would bring him? There was nothing to prevent it now.

The British commander's situation report confirms that at his first sighting of Decatur's ships, they were already clear of The Race and under a press of sail to the eastward on a favorable breeze. There is no doubt that Decatur possessed most of the advantages that morning. His ships were freshly overhauled, had a fair breeze, and were to windward of the blockaders. And Decatur held another advantage, though it was unknown to him. The acute water shortage that Oliver had allowed to develop precluded a long chase by the British. On the other hand, Oliver's one distinct edge was the lightly laden state of the *Valiant* and the *Acasta*, a result of their water shortage and several months' consumption of stores.[45]

Yet with all the advantages on the Americans' side, the unthinkable happened. Decatur, for reasons that may never be known, *turned his ships around and headed back for the safety of Long Island Sound.* According to his later report:

> As we approached Block Island we discovered two men of war under it finding the ships which were in chase of us to Leeward hauling their wind to cut us off from New London and three in Block Island channel... we hauled our wind and beat back through the Race.

Decatur saw a total of seven British ships that day. Admiralty archives, however, record the presence of only four British men of war between Cape Cod and Sandy Hook—*Valiant, Acasta, Ramilles*, and *Orpheus*,

the latter two being in the area of Sandy Hook. Of the major British warships on the northeastern coast, the *Dragon* was at the Virginia Capes; the *Nymphe* was in the Gulf of St. Lawrence; *La Hogue* arrived at Halifax on June 1; and *Tenedos* was enroute from Boston to Halifax, while the *Shannon* waited off Cape Ann for the *Chesapeake* to come out of Boston Harbor to engage her in a fatal duel.[46]

So what could have caused Decatur to reverse his course at almost the precise moment of achieving his objective? Had he been, to use the modern vernacular, "psyched out"? Did the earlier reports that erroneously inflated British strength and the pressure of his responsibilities as the senior naval officer present weigh heavily upon him—so much that the bold Decatur was, on this occasion, not bold enough?

Oliver's report gives no clue. In fact, the report implies that the mere presence of his two ships frightened the Americans back into the Sound, totally ignoring the tactical disadvantage into which he had placed himself by his junket out on the ocean. After confirming the Americans' possession of the weather gauge, he describes Decatur's surprising retreat:

> As soon as [the Americans] made us out they hauled close upon a wind with every sail they could carry, and altho, we were flying light, there not being 40 Tons of Water in both Ships we neared them considerably by the time they entered the Race which they effected by 12 O'clock.[47]

Fortune again favored the Americans in the beat up to The Race and offered Decatur, Jones, and Biddle a final opportunity for escape. During her pursuit the *Acasta* forereached on the *United States*, which was lagging behind her companions, and brought the American under fire from her bow chasers with a ranging shot. But she paid a dear price for her temerity. Having worked so far to windward, she was now effectively cut off from the *Valiant*'s support and on her own against the three American warships. But Decatur failed to capitalize on the *Acasta*'s rash move. Instead of turning on her, he kept pushing for New London, apparently satisfied to fire a single shot from his stern chasers, after which, according to Oliver, "the [*United States*] had then her studding sails set on both sides steering for New London which she entered soon after two O'clock." But what about *Macedonian* and *Hornet*? According to Oliver they "kept ahead and appeared to sail much better." Unfortunately, they were out of position to aid the *United States* against the *Acasta*. In their haste to escape, both Jones and Biddle had run their ships aground in the mouth of the Thames River. Oliver observed that "the *Macedonian* grounded the first day going in and the *Hornet* was obliged to lighten before she could get off where she touched."[48]

In his summary report Decatur is ambiguous as to whether Oliver had five or seven ships, rather than two:

> As we approached Block Island we discovered two men of war under it finding the ships which were in chase of us to Leeward hauling

> their wind to cut us off from New London and three in Block Island channel manoeuvering to prevent our making Newport we hauled our wind and beat back through the Race up to this harbour—Two of the Enemys ships, the names of which I have not been able to ascertain, a line of battle ship and a frigate are now off here and it is said three of his men of war one or two of them of the line are off Block Island.

Jacob Jones's report does not agree with Decatur's on the enemy's strength:

> Soon after clearing the sound we saw a seventy four & frigate stand round Montauge Point but having New Port under our lee we continued on our course intending to put in there if we could not outsail them—about a half an hour after this, we discovered a man of war under [Block Island], about two points upon our bow standing in to intercept us from that passage & having the appearance of a ship of the line, we put back to this place, pursued by the seventy four & Frigate which came round Montauge.

James Biddle's report is at variance with both Decatur's and Jones's:

> Yesterday morning... A Ship of the line and a frigate were in Sight off Point Montauge; but it was our intention to go out North of Block Island. On approaching which We perceived a large Sail to the Northward apparently a Ship of the Line. This induced us to haul our Wind to return to our former anchorage but we were chased into this harbour by the 74 and the frigate.[49]

According to the Admiralty's archives, on 1 June 1813, the only British warships on patrol between Cape Cod and Block Island were the *Valiant* and the *Acasta*. What ships Decatur saw and identified as "the two men of war under [Block Island]" and "three in Block Island channel," or Jacob Jones saw as, "a man of war... standing in to intercept us... & having the appearance of a ship of the line," or James Biddle viewed as, "a large Sail to the Northward apparently a Ship of the Line," is impossible to say except, unequivocally, they were not British! It is critical to note that the large ship in Jacob Jones's report lay east southeast, or to the ocean side of the Americans, while Biddle's large ship lay to the northward, or their landward side. The Americans' understandably firm conviction that the *Ramilles* and the *Orpheus* were in position to support the strange ships immediately confronting them, and that even more enemy warships were in the offing, doubtlessly influenced their reading of the traffic in the surrounding seas.

Later that day in Massachusetts Bay, the United States frigate *Chesapeake* sailed out of Boston Harbor with a largely untrained crew to meet the *Shannon*. When the cannons fell silent less than fifteen minutes after the first shot had been fired, the *Chesapeake* was a British prize and James Lawrence, the American commander, mortally wounded. Certainly,

unlike Decatur, he had been bold enough—undoubtedly more bold than he should have been.[50]

Thus ended The Inglorious First of June on Long Island Sound.

With considerably more luck than competence, Oliver managed to trap his prey. Had the American ships successfully eluded him, Robert Dudley Oliver probably would have been subjected to an acrimonious court-martial. No contemporary court contemplated the actions of Stephen Decatur, Jacob Jones, and James Biddle.

As for Decatur—languishing in the Thames River—the worst was yet to come. His trials and tribulations with the good citizens of New London over the next year were such as to make his battles with the British pale in comparison. But even in retreat the Americans achieved a measure of success. By 19 June 1813, there were seven major Royal Navy units present in the east end of Long Island Sound. For the remaining year and a half of the war, to keep the *United States*, the *Macedonian*, and the *Hornet* trapped, the British kept their largest single blockading force of the war off New London, thereby depriving their active use to the Royal Navy. Even with this overwhelming force, however, they were unable to contain James Biddle's *Hornet*, which escaped to sea and captured a British warship in early 1815.

For the British the most significant accomplishment on 1 June 1813 was not the entrapment of Decatur, but their investment of Long Island and entry into the Sound. Throughout the remainder of the War of 1812, they controlled this commercially vital American maritime highway.

NOTES

1. Decatur to William Jones, 3 June 1813, Letters Received by the Secretary of the Navy from Captain's 1805-61 (U.S. National Archives Microfilm Publication M125, roll 29), Naval Records Collection, *Records Group 45*, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

2. Decatur's previous biographers include: Irvin Anthony (1931), Cyrus Townsend Brady (1900), Charles Lee Lewis (1924), Alexander Slidell Mackenzie (1846), Helen Nicolay (1942), and Samuel Putnam Waldo (1821); Admiralty Collection, Public Records Office, Kew, London, England (ADM), ADM1/503, Journal of the North American Station 1812-1813, Hardy to Warren, page 295; ADM8/100, Vessels Assigned to the North American Station—1813, 103-7; ADM51/2027, log of *Ramilles*, June 1; Theodore Roosevelt, *The Naval War of 1812* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1882), 177. During the first half of 1813 the Royal Navy had no razees in service but was in the process of converting three aging liners, *Majestic, Saturn*, and *Goliath*. The first to be completed, *Majestic*, sailed from England for the North American Station on June 2, a day later than, and an ocean apart from, Decatur's retreat.

3. Roosevelt, *Naval War of 1812*, 442-454.

4. Decatur to Secretary of the Navy William Jones, January 29; Ashbury Dickens and John W. Forney, eds., *American State Papers, Class VI, Naval Affairs, Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States*, 4 vols. (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1861, 1:425-426. Judge William P. Van Ness found in favor of *Macedonian*'s captors on March 1st, but the proceedings were not finalized by the Clerk of the Court, Theron Rudd,

until April 1st; William Jones to Jacob Jones, February 2. William Jones assumed the post of Secretary of the Navy on January 18.

5. Records Group 24, *United States* log, March 15; Decatur to William Jones, March 10; Jones to Decatur, March 18.

6. John Wilson Croker, First Secretary to the Admiralty, to Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren, November 27, and December 26, 1812. For Warren's publication of these orders, see ADM1/503, 9, "Proclamation of Blockade," February 6; orders to interdict Long Island Sound in Warren to Cockburn, February 15, and Cockburn to Warren, March 23, enclosed in ADM1/4359, Warren to Croker, March 28.

7. *United States* log, April 3; *Hornet* log, March 25; ADM51/2941, *Valiant*, /2527, *La Hogue*, /2027, *Ramilles*, /2102, *Acasta*, /2615, *Orpheus*, and /2950, *Nymphe*, logs, April 3. The log of the sloop *Atalante* was lost with her in November 1813.

8. *Acasta* log, April 4-12; ADM51/2288, *Dragon* log, April 1-12; Warren to Croker, September 4; *La Hogue* log, April 8.

9. The British ships included the 74s *Dragon, La Hogue, Ramilles* and *Valiant*; the frigates *Acasta, Nymphe, Orpheus, Shannon* and *Tenedos*; the sloops *Atalante, Curlew, Emulous,* and *Martin*; and the privateers *Liverpool Packet, Retaliation,* and *Sir John Sherbrooke*; Oliver to Warren, June 13, *Secret Department Files*, ADM1/504, 113-114. The complete text describing occurrences from May 16th through June 12th, as reported by Oliver to Warren, is hereafter referred to as "Oliver's report."

10. Journal kept on board the U.S. Brig *Argus* by an unknown officer, New York Public Library, April 9; Decatur to William Jones, April 12.

11. Unknown officer's journal, April 12-17.

12. *Dragon* log, April 9-12; *La Hogue* log, April 8.

13. For details of Oliver's career, see William L. Clowes, *The Royal Navy, A History From the Earliest Times to the Present*, 7 vols. (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Company, Ltd., 1896), 5:67, 387, and 471.

14. For details of Hardy's career, see Showell Styles, *A Kiss for Captain Hardy* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1979)

15. Unknown officer's journal, April 13-17.

16. Decatur to William Jones, April 24; *United States* log, May 9-13; Unknown officer's journal, May 9-13.

17. Warren to Croker, September 4, concerning the escape of the *President* and the *Congress* from Boston on May 1.

18. *United States* log, May 11-14; *Acasta* log, May 13-16; *Valiant* log, May 16.

19. *United States* log, May 16; Unknown officer's journal, May 16; *Valiant* log, May 16; Decatur to William Jones, May 22; Oliver's report.

20. Decatur to William Jones, May 22.

21. William Jones to Decatur, May 10; *United States* log, May 16-18; Unknown officer's journal, May 16-17.

22. Decatur to William Jones, June 3, in this report he errs in stating that the *Hornet* joined the frigates on the 18th. See *Hornet* log, May 17-22, wherein it is clear that she did not leave the navy yard until the 22nd; Oliver's report; ADM51/2559, *Martin* log, May 22-23, this ship was assigned to the Delaware Bay squadron and her arrival evidences the fact that the British blockaders there travelled to Block Island for water.

23. In all secondary accounts of this period, the *United States, Macedonian, Hornet,* and *Argus* are referred to as "Commodore Decatur's Squadron." Navy Department records show that no such squadron ever existed. For the independent operating orders see William Jones to Decatur (*United States*), May 3 (also pairs the *Argus* with Decatur), to Jacob Jones (*Macedonian*), March, to James Biddle (*Hornet*), April 25, and, finally, to William H. Allen (*Argus*), May 28; William Jones to Decatur, May 10 (removing the *Argus*). For Decatur's position as "Commanding Naval Officer at New York," see William Jones to Decatur May 3, 10, 21, *et.al.*

24. *Argus, Hornet,* and *United States* logs, May 24. Two thousand ships were lost in Hell Gate before the last of its rocks were demolished in 1866. For a contemporary description of this navigator's nightmare, see Rufus Rockwell Wilson, *New York: Old & New, Its Story, Streets, and Landmarks* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1902), 354.

25. For mention the lightning incident, see the *Journal of William Priddy*, Misc. Vol. 157, G.W. Blunt-White Library, Mystic Seaport Museum; and Alexander S. MacKenzie, *Life of Stephen Decatur, A Commodore in the Navy of the United States* (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1846), 193-194.

26. Oliver's report. As early as April 30 the *Valiant* sent 20 butts of water on board the *Acasta*, and 8 tons more on May 20. The *Acasta* last commandeered a butt of water from a neutral on May 17; *Ramilles* and *Valiant* logs, May 25-26.

27. *United States* and *Hornet* logs, May 25.

28. *Hornet* and *United States* logs, May 26.

29. Oliver's report; *Ramilles, Valiant,* and *Acasta* logs, May 25-26; *Orpheus* log, May 25.

30. *United States* and *Hornet* logs, May 26.

31. *United States* and *Hornet* logs, May 26-27.

32. Priddy's journal. The *Scourge* lived up to her name. She went on to capture 27 British merchantmen and take 420 prisoners before returning to the United States twelve months later.

33. *Hornet* and *United States* logs, May 27.

34. *United States* and *Hornet* logs, May 28.

35. Oliver's report; *Acasta* and *Valiant* logs, May 27.

36. *Ramilles* log, May 29; Hardy to Warren, May 29, ADM1/503, *Journal of the North American Station 1812-1813*, 295.

37. *United States* and *Hornet* logs, May 29; Oliver's report; *Acasta* and *Valiant* logs, May 30.

38. *United States* log, May 30.

39. *United States* log, May, 31; *Hornet* log, May 30-31.

40. *United States, Acasta, Valiant*, and *Ramilles* logs, May 31.

41. *United States* and *Hornet* logs, May 31; Biddle to William Jones, June 2.

42. *Valiant* and *Acasta* logs, May 31.

43. Decatur to William Jones, June 3; *United States, Hornet, Valiant*, and *Acasta* logs, June 1.

44. Oliver's report.

45. Oliver's report.

46. Decatur to William Jones, June 3; Oliver's report; *Valiant, Acasta, Ramilles*, and *Orpheus* logs, June 1; ADM1/503, Journal of the North American Station 1812-1813, Hardy to Warren, page 295; ADM8/100, Vessels Assigned to the North American Station—1813, 103-7; Rear Admiral H.F. Pullen, R.C.N., *The SHANNON and the CHESAPEAKE* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1970). The logs of the 108 British warships that might have been deployed to the western side of the Atlantic on June 1, 1813, were reviewed to confirm their position on that date.

47. Oliver's report.

48. *United States, Hornet, Acasta*, and *Valiant* logs, June 1; Oliver's report.

49. Decatur to William Jones, June 3; Jacob Jones to William Jones, June 2; James Biddle to William Jones, June 3; Jacob Jones to William Jones, June 2; James Biddle to William Jones, June 2.

50. Pullen, *The SHANNON and the CHESAPEAKE*; Peter Padfield, "The Great Sea Battle," *American Heritage* XX (December, 1968), 1:29-65.

Long Island Sound: The Great Unifier

By Marilyn E. Weigold

Long Islanders and mainlanders alike are inclined to take for granted the magnificent body of water separating the Island's North Shore from New England and Westchester County. Most of us know less of the Sound's significant history than did past generations nourished on the waterway's edible delicacies as well as on tales of colonial settlement, daring exploits during the Revolution, the colorful nineteenth-century era of whaling, steamboats, and shipwrecks, and the more modern romance of yachting.

Just how long human beings have headed down to the water's edge and out into the Sound itself is unknown. The advance and retreat of the Wisconsin glaciers and the subsequent warming trend which caused the sea level to rise and the Sound to emerge may have been ancient history, albeit unrecorded, by the time the first Native Americans settled in the Sound-shore area. Throughout the four centuries of its recorded history, Long Island Sound has been a magnet attracting fishermen, settlers, sailors, and suburbanites. The waterway has been a unifying force linking people on opposite shores with one another and with the commercial metropolises of New York and Boston.

In the early 1600s, when the first Europeans arrived, the Native American people were making good use of the Sound. Venturing into its more protected coves and harbors, the Indians helped themselves to the bountiful stock of finfish and shellfish, using what they did not consume to fertilize their fields. By this time they were no longer completely nomadic but partially sedentary, settling down for awhile to permit the women to raise crops while the men hunted and fished. Shells from Long Island beaches became a form of currency known as wampum, used by Europeans and Native Americans alike; one of the Indian names for the Island was Seawanhacky (or Sewanhaka), meaning isle of shells.[1]

Sometimes the Indians of the Sound-shore area boarded their sturdy canoes to cross the waterway. Conversely, such mainland groups as the Pequot and Narragansett indulged in this practice frequently enough to subdue the Montauk of eastern Long Island, making the latter more inclined to view the English newcomers as protectors.[2]

Tension between European newcomers and Native Americans who had first claim to the Sound-shore region remained a fact of life on both sides of the waterway in the seventeenth century, but did not deter settlement. Most of the settlers were English who came to Long Island by way of New

England. The first English inhabitants of Long Island's northern fork were thirteen families originally from Southwold, in Suffolk County, England. Led by their minister, the Reverend John Youngs, they founded Southold in 1640, only two years after coming ashore at New Haven on the opposite side of the Sound.[3]

John Youngs's son and namesake, the captain of a ship which helped safeguard the waters of Long Island Sound from the Dutch, became an important figure in the new settlement. His contributions were political as well as military. He served as Southold's member in the New Haven General Court, and after New Haven became part of the Connecticut Colony, he was Southold's representative in the Connecticut legislature at Hartford. After the English ousted the Dutch from New York—an operation in which Colonel Youngs took part—Long Island was placed within the borders of New York Colony. Youngs represented Southold in the convention held at Hempstead, in 1665, to settle boundaries and promulgate a code of laws dictated by Governor Richard Nicolls for the Duke of York's new province. Just as he had traveled across the Sound when Southold was part of Connecticut Colony, Youngs assumed responsibilities on both sides of the waterway beginning in 1680 when he became Sheriff of Yorkshire, an area organized under the "duke's laws" encompassing Long Island, Staten Island, and Westchester. That Youngs was able to accomplish as much as he did was attributable not only to his considerable ability but also to his longevity, In an age when the average life expectancy was thirty-five years, he lived until the ripe age of seventy-five.[4]

Another early resident of Southold whose life was both long and remarkable was Captain John Underhill. Charged with adultery four times, Underhill was compelled to leave the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Following a brief period in Connecticut, he was employed by the Dutch in their struggle with the Indians but a subsequent falling out with the government at New Amsterdam caused him to relocate to Newport, Rhode Island. Thereafter he ventured across the sea to Long Island where he dwelled first in Southold, then in Setauket, and finally in Oyster Bay. Ironically, the man who gained fame in his youth as a fierce opponent of the Indians served as a negotiator for the Matinecock against the town of Hempstead. The grateful Indians gave Underhill some prime Oyster Bay real estate which he developed as an estate called Killingworth, named for his family's ancestral home in England. Until his death at age 74, Underhill lived happily near the Sound in Oyster Bay with his second wife, who gave birth to a child in the same year that her husband passed away.[5]

Not many miles from the Southold Free Library, which was the site of Underhill's east-end home in earlier years, stands one of the oldest, if not the most ancient house in the state of New York—the Old House. Erected in 1649 elsewhere in Southold town, this venerable building now stands on the village green in Cutchogue. Its builder, John Budd, an original settler of Southold, subsequently left Long Island to live in Rye, in Westchester County.

Indicative of the cross-Sound contacts between the island and the mainland was the establishment, in 1739, of a regularly scheduled ferry between Budd's new hometown and Oyster Bay. The ferry's original price list, preserved in the New York State Archives, reveals that all manner of goods, including horses and cattle, tables, chairs, and other household possessions were transported between Long Island and the mainland and vice versa. It would seem that long before urban flight and corporate relocation changed the face of Sound-shore communities, people were on the move. Among them were Quakers who journeyed between meetings in Westchester County and Glen Cove and Jericho on Long Island.[6] For these people the waterway was hardly an obstacle. The same observation applies to the Lloyd family of Lloyd Harbor, whose beautiful manor house was erected by craftsmen brought over from Connecticut. For a time, religious differences with fellow Huntingtonians caused the Lloyds to journey across the Sound to Stamford to attend church services.[7]

More common was the reverse flight of mainlanders to the Island for religious reasons. Even in mainland communities where there were no profound religious differences, people opted to cross to the Island's North Shore where both land availability and milder climate were powerful lures. Governor Theophilus Eaton of New Haven, for example, bought Eaton's Neck in 1646.[8] Within a decade other parts of the town of Huntington were settled.[9]

Simultaneously, Bostonians were putting down new roots in Setauket, founded in 1655.[10] It was there that Richard Smythe found asylum after his banishment from Southampton, possibly because of a religious dispute. Smythe eventually settled in Smithtown, where he began acquiring property in 1663.[11] A decade earlier, pioneers from Hempstead and from Sandwich, Massachusetts, settled Oyster Bay.[12]

One of the most revealing accounts of Sound-shore life in colonial times was written by Mary Cooper, an Oyster Bay farm housewife. Despite her trials and tribulations, which included out living all six of her children, the frequently exhausted Mrs. Cooper found strength in her Calvinist religion. The thought of salvation in the next world was indeed comforting to a woman burdened with the responsibilities of family, home, and what appeared to be an inordinate number of visitors.

Some visitors to the Cooper home overlooking the entrance to Oyster Bay harbor presumably came by boat. During the period covered in Mary's diary, 1768-1773, vessels from New London, New Haven, Nantucket, and Sag Harbor landed at Oyster Bay. At that time Long Island Sound was a nautical L.I.E., linking North Shore communities with one another and with places off-Island. As did other Long Islanders, the Coopers sometimes ventured across the Sound. They appear to have taken some sort of vacation in the vicinity of Greenwich and Rye on the mainland, but Mary does not seem to have been a particularly good sailor. Describing one crossing of the Sound, she noted: "We are hurried to set sail for New England....The tumulting waves look frightful. But through infinited mercy we came safe..."[13] In the aftermath of a powerful storm, Mary

confided to her diary that she and her family were terrified. She had great respect for the Sound's changing personality, finding it difficult to understand why anyone would set sail for the opposite shore in bad weather. "I am much distressed fearing they did not get safe over," she said of some people who weighed anchor despite unfavorable winds.[14]

Neither high winds nor heavy seas discouraged those determined Long Islanders who made up their minds to flee across the Sound during the Revolutionary War. Only an amphibious evacuation of the Island after a hypothetical meltdown at Shoreham (had LILCO's atomic plant gone on line) could equal what occurred in the period between 1776, when the British occupied Long Island following their defeat of the Continental Army at Brooklyn Heights, and 1783, when enemy troops at last were evacuated from New York. Long Islanders were on the move, and those who went anywhere invariably headed for the Patriot stronghold of Connecticut.[15]

Not everyone left, however, and some who stayed cooperated with the American Continental Army. The Townsend family of Oyster Bay, for example, provided valuable military information to General George Washington. Their home was commandeered by the British and used as a headquarters, but Sally Townsend nonetheless was able to transmit secret data to her brother, Robert, a member of Washington's intelligence service.[16] Sally's activities went undetected, but Nathan Hale was not so lucky. This young American intelligence officer was captured by the British, not long after he crossed the Sound from Norwalk to Huntington to gather data on the enemy in the occupied territory. Taken to Manhattan, he was executed by the British.[17]

The exposure to risk of Americans who participated in wartime raids on British-held Long Island was identical to that of Nathan Hale. Throughout the conflict, Patriots, some of them refugees from Long Island, crisscrossed the Sound to strike the enemy in the occupied zone. Utilizing highly maneuverable whaleboats for these expeditions, the invaders scored some noteworthy victories. In May 1777, a party commanded by Colonel Return Jonathan Meigs crossed from Guilford, Connecticut, to Southold, portaged from Sound to bay, and reached their target, Sag Harbor, where their objective was to destroy British supplies. Although they had to dodge enemy bullets for nearly an hour, the Americans accomplished what they set out to do with not one Patriot killed or captured.[18]

Less successful was the August 1777 foray to Setauket. Although the Americans made their way across the Sound without difficulty, they were compelled to abort their attack on the Caroline Church, a Loyalist stronghold. The appearance of a British fleet on the Sound convinced them that no matter how successful they might be on land, they probably would be captured because their nautical escape route would soon be blocked. The raiders wisely cut short the attack and retreated across the Sound.

General Samuel Holden Parsons, who had been in charge of the Setauket expedition, hoped for better luck later that year when he orchestrated a

daring triple raid. On 9 December 1777 three groups of whaleboatmen were to set out for Long Island, but, at the last minute, high seas prevented a crossing from Port Chester in Westchester County. The other two groups set out from Norwalk, but one was captured en route to Huntington. The third group succeeded in reaching the East End and capturing supplies.

More dramatic was the 1778 attack on Fort Franklin, erected by the British on Lloyd's Neck. Launched from Stamford, directly across the Sound, the expedition led by Major Benjamin Tallmadge ended with the taking of enemy prisoners but not the capture of the fort. A second attempt to take Fort Franklin, this one involving America's ally, the French, failed in July 1781, but a cross-Sound expedition in October resulted in a successful attack on Fort Salonga in Huntington.[19]

Patriots who stayed on Long Island rather than flee must have been gladdened by the American raids launched from the mainland. For these Islanders, forced to maintain a low profile if they wished to survive, the Sound was a wide blue avenue which, at any moment, might be traversed by liberators from the mainland. In a sense, the waterway was the connecting link between Patriots on the Island and on the mainland.

Most Patriot military traffic during the war went in one direction—south towards the Island—but occasionally Long Island Loyalists ventured across the Sound to wreak havoc on coastal farms and take prisoners. In the spring of 1779, Loyalist whaleboatmen set out from Lloyd Harbor for Fairfield, Connecticut, where they invaded the home of an American general, Gold Selleck Silliman, in the middle of the night. The general was captured, ferried across the Sound, and imprisoned. The Americans returned the favor by capturing a prominent North Shore Loyalist, Judge Thomas Jones, in November 1779. In November 1780 a prisoner exchange was worked out and Jones and Silliman were again transported across the Sound, this time to their respective homes.[20]

In view of the unsettling effect the Revolutionary War had on Sound-shore life, it is no wonder that inhabitants of the region were apprehensive when hostilities between the former colonies and their mother country were renewed in 1812. Aside from a British naval presence on the Sound and the bombardment of Stonington, Connecticut, which, while serious, was in no way comparable to the burning of coastal Connecticut towns during the Revolution, the enemy posed far less of a threat than in the previous war. Nonetheless, Long Islanders were exceedingly fearful. Reports of British vessels in the Sound off Riverhead in June 1814 brought the militia, under Captain Terry Reeve, to the beach. Reeve's men fired as the British tried to land and the enemy beat a hasty retreat.[21]

In the aftermath of the War of 1812, Congress appropriated money for the construction of two forts at the western entrance to the Sound. Fort Schuyler, at Throggs Neck in the Bronx, and Fort Totten, in Queens, were erected to guard the narrow passageway between Long Island Sound and the East River, protecting New York City from enemy vessels sailing westward on the Sound. During their first century, the forts witnessed a steady parade of steamboats but few naval vessels.[22]

The immediate aftermath of the War of 1812 brought dramatic changes to the Sound and to Long Island. Farming and fishing remained dominant, but the advent of the steamboat was the prerequisite for tourism, a new economic activity. Not surprisingly, vacationers were attracted by the Island's agrarian and nautical charm. Few characterized the place as negatively as Timothy Dwight, the dour ex-president of Yale College, who visited Long Island during the century's second decade and found "nothing bold and masculine" about the Sound shore. "Long Island from Huntington to Southold and probably for a considerable distance further westward," he declared, "is a vast body of yellow sand."[23] What Dwight may have failed to realize was that the Island's sandy soil was extraordinarily productive. The application of menhaden fertilizer to agricultural lands in the early nineteenth century greatly increased yields.[24] There was, however, one problem with menhaden (also known as bunkers or mossbunkers)—its fragrance. Aside from the odor in the vicinity of farms where each acre was strewn with thousands of the smelly little bony-fish, the stench emanating from factories transforming the fish into commercial fertilizer discouraged visitors from spending time in towns, however picturesque, where processing plants were located. Tourism and menhaden simply could not coexist. Thus, the menhaden works were banished from Shelter Island, Greenport, Riverhead, and other settled communities to locations that were more remote.

In contrast with the malodorous bunkers, whaling proved quite compatible with tourism. To this day, well over a century after the last whaling vessel, the *Orian*, sailed from Greenport in 1866, the heritage of whaling attracts tourists to Greenport, Sag Harbor, and Cold Spring Harbor. Although Sag Harbor was Long Island's premier whaling port, Greenport and Cold Spring Harbor dispatched a goodly number of vessels to the distant Pacific. Outfitting whaling vessels required the services of sailmakers, ships chandlers, coopers, and carpenters. In Cold Spring Harbor, for example, it was the vehicle by which the Jones family perpetuated their controlling influence over the local economy.[25]

As one era ended, another began. Whaling vessels were clearing port, never to return, but steamboats were arriving with ever greater frequency. The gleaming side-wheelers tied Long Island to the great metropolis to the west, forging a link which thereafter would remain unbroken. As the century advanced, steamboats calling at Long Island ports generally originated in New York, with some that served North Shore communities also making stops on the mainland side of the Sound. The *Linnaeus*, for example, ran from South Street, Manhattan, to New Rochelle, across to Musqueto Cove (Glen Cove), and back to the city.[26]

Glen Cove and nearby Sea Cliff were popular nineteenth-century tourist destinations. In the second half of the century, Sea Cliff, which had been the site of Methodist camp meetings, was particularly alluring because of its situation high on a bluff overlooking the Sound. There, declared a tourism booklet,

> the ground shelves down abruptly from the plateau to the waters of the Sound and the houses and streets rise, terrace on terrace, until they reach and crown the top of the bluff. Around this ridge the fresh breeze of the Sound is in constant play.

A local newspaper observed that "the attractions of bathing, sailing and fishing are of the sort to draw...people from brick and mortardom."[27]

For visitors who could not afford an overnight stay at a hotel, a day trip on a steamboat was an alternative. Day resorts such as Columbia Grove, on Lloyd's Neck, offered picnic facilities and other attractions in the 1880s and '90s. During this period Long Island's day resorts had powerful competition from John Henry Starin, whose Glen Island resort in the Sound off New Rochelle attracted visitors coming by steamboat from Manhattan, Brooklyn, and Connecticut. Starin incurred the wrath of a Long Island Soundshore community in 1898, when he purchased and hauled away an historic windmill which had graced Orient as long as anyone there could remember. Starin, whose New Haven Line steamboats linked Connecticut with Sag Harbor for a time, had the windmill barged down the Sound at the height of the Spanish-American War. Thinking this strange looking object was a Spanish naval vessel of some new design, onlookers became frightened. The windmill made it safely from Orient to Westchester, but within a year was destroyed by fire. A similar fate befell one of John Starin's most celebrated steamboats, the Glen Island, which burned and sank off Matinecock Point, Glen Cove, in December 1904. During the winter the vessel plied the waters of the Sound between New York and New Haven, carrying passengers and freight. Since only a handful of people was on board at the time of the accident, the number of casualties was small. However, the number lost as a percentage of those on board was even higher than in the General Slocum disaster, which claimed more than a thousand lives when that excursion boat sank in the East River, as it headed for the Sound, in June 1904. Occurring within six months of each other, the Glen Island and Slocum disasters discouraged travel on Sound steamers for several years.[28] Earlier accidents, including the burning and sinking of the Lexington in January 1840, off Eaton's Neck, with the loss of over one hundred lives, had a similar effect. Forty years later, passengers on board the *Seawanhaka*, which made daily trips between New York and Glen Cove, were more fortunate. When the vessel caught fire, its captain beached the boat on an East River shoal, enabling most of the people on board to evacuate safely. Within a year, the selfless captain died of burns suffered in the accident.[29]

By the time the *Seawanhaka* burned, there was an alternative to steamboat travel, the Long Island Railroad (now the Long Island Rail Road). In the 1880s and '90s branch lines extending to the North Shore from the main line in the center of the Island afforded Sound-area residents another choice. If not totally reliable, rail travel at least was more comfortable than a trip by steamboat in winter. In fact, it was that realization on the part of the public that doomed the Long Island

Railroad's first transportation experiment. Conceived in 1834 as the rail link between New York City and Boston, the line ran from Brooklyn to Greenport, where passengers and freight were ferried on palatial steamers across the Sound to Stonington, Connecticut, to board a New York, Providence, and Boston Railroad train for the final leg of their journey. The trip that took sixteen hours by water was reduced to eleven and one-half, or less. Business was brisk for a few short years after service began in 1844. Then, late in 1848, the New York and New Haven Railroad completed an all-rail mainland route between New York City and New Haven, a feat that the Long Island Railroad's promoters had thought to be impossible. The new line did not reduce running time, but was so much more convenient that the tide of traffic turned at once. Whether this unforeseen competition, or problems with Commodore Vanderbilt's steamboats, or general financial mismanagement caused its collapse, the Long Island Railroad was forced into receivership in 1850.[30]

Some forty years later the company tried again to compete with the New Haven line. In 1891, it started a new service between Oyster Bay and New England, placing fully loaded railroad cars on a specially-built steel steamboat for the journey across the Sound to Wilson's Cove in Norwalk. There, the Long Island's cars were hooked up to the locomotive of one of the New Haven line's competitors for the remainder of the trip to Boston. The service lasted exactly ten months, and for part of that time dummy boards, representing non-existent passengers, seem to have been placed in the windows of the railroad cars to fool the competition.[31]

The Long Island Rail Road never succeeded with its cross-Sound service, but the various ferry operators running boats between the Island and the mainland fared rather well. From the colonial period to the present, ferries have linked the North Shore with the mainland. Earlier in this century, Long Islanders could board ferries running as far west as the Bronx and as far east as New London. Between those crossings were ferries from Sands Point to New Rochelle, Sea Cliff to Rye, Oyster Bay to Rye and Greenwich, and Huntington to Stamford. Although the Orient Point-New London and Port Jefferson-Bridgeport ferries survive, the other lines ceased operations by 1938. While they lasted, though, these ferries made numerous crossings, sometimes hourly, in season.

Motorists stuck in interminable traffic jams on the Long Island Expressway would doubtless welcome a transportation link between Nassau County and the opposite shore. At least that is what master builder Robert Moses thought in the 1960s, when he proposed the first major link between Long Island and the mainland since colonial times, the Rye-Oyster Bay Bridge.[32] Decades before Moses started battling for the new crossing, parkways were built on both sides of the Sound and, following World War II, six-lane expressways were constructed. Traffic jams aside, contact between Sound-shore communities on the same side of the waterway was facilitated. Just as in the colonial period, inhabitants of one coastal town could easily get from their area to other Sound-shore locations.

There was, however, one significant difference between travel in the

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and in the late-twentieth century. Two hundred and more years ago, the mode of transportation enabled not only lateral transit but travel from one side of the waterway to the other. Indeed, it would seem that the latter figured much more prominently in the economy of the Sound area centuries ago than it does today. Although huge, eighteen-wheel tractor-trailers are seen daily on the Orient Point-New London ferry, even in winter, the kind of small business and people-to-people contact which used to exist across the Sound, long after eastern Long Island ceased its affiliation with Connecticut Colony, has largely vanished. Environmental and other objections precluded it, but, had a bridge been built, Long Islanders would have been reconnected with their colonial roots and, in the opinion of bridge proponents, the economy of the Long Island Sound region would have been stimulated.

The initial proposal for a cross-Sound span was made at a time when the economy of the Island and, for that matter, the entire nation required stimulation. In 1938, during the most severe depression in our country's history, the Commerce Committee of the United States Senate debated the feasibility of a bridge stretching eighteen miles between Orient Point and either Groton Long Point, Connecticut, or Watch Hill, Rhode Island. The span would have had several landfalls between Long Island and the mainland: Plum, Gull, and Fishers Islands. Revived in 1963 by the Tristate Bridge Committee, the idea was shelved once again, this time in favor of the bridge that Moses proposed between Nassau and Westchester counties.[33]

Prominent among the many opponents of this Rye-Oyster Bay bridge were estate owners on Long Island's "Gold Coast," basically the North and South Shores of Nassau County but spilling over into western Suffolk, where such nineteenth-century multimillionaires as Louis Comfort Tiffany erected spectacular homes. Between Cold Spring Harbor, where Tiffany dwelled, and western Nassau County approximately six hundred estates were developed in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Many of them, including Harry Guggenheim's Falaise in Sands Point, had breathtaking views of the Sound.[34] The waterway afforded opportunities for recreation; it was aesthetically appealing, and in summer it was an ideal highway for estate-owners' yachts to make commuter runs between the North Shore and Wall Street. By the time Robert Moses was attempting to ramrod his Rye-Oyster Bay bridge proposal through, yachts had given way to small aircraft for the trip to the city, but other aspects of estate living remained pretty much the same. The North Shore aristocracy, both old and new, liked it that way and consequently took part in the widespread opposition to the seemingly invincible Moses.[35] In 1973 the bridge effectively was killed when Governor Nelson Rockefeller withdrew his support.

In the intervening years, increased traffic on both sides of the Sound has overburdened highways and the two East River bridges linking the mainland of the United States of America with Long Island: the Bronx-Whitestone, completed in 1939, just in time for the New York World's

Fair, and the Throgs Neck, finished in 1961.[36] The mere specter of interminable bottlenecks has been enough, in the past two decades, to dissuade many people from venturing to the opposite side of the Sound, whether for business or pleasure. Admittedly, there is perhaps less reason to do so than there was three hundred years ago. Court trials and legislative sessions involving eastern Long Islanders no longer require a trip to Connecticut. From a purely economic standpoint, there is also less incentive for crossing the Sound. Flourishing local economies have developed, quite independently, on opposite shores thanks to the interstate highway program commenced in the 1950's, corporate relocation, and non-stop suburbanization which, by the 1970's, had stretched well beyond locales within commuting distance to New York City.

As the Long Island Sound region approaches the twenty-first century, the metropolis at its western end assumes less importance. Gaining in prominence are what, until recently, were vast exurban areas stretching from New Haven to the Rhode Island border, and from Route 110 in Huntington to the eastern end of the Long Island Expressway. Horace Greeley said: "Go west, young man, and grow up with the country." Today's prevailing wisdom urges just the opposite, with the result that at some point in the twenty-first century, the eastward orientation of the Sound region might lead to a resumption of the economic ties which existed in the colonial period, not only between communities on opposite sides of the waterway, but between coastal towns and Boston as well. Three hundred years ago, Long Islanders gazed Soundward and, in so doing, maintained ties with the mainland which have largely been severed. In the twenty-first century, one or more bridges or multiple high-speed ferries linking different parts of the North Shore with the mainland might reestablish those ties, and at the same time create the kind of prosperity and harmony sought by the early settlers. The East End, with its thriving farms and vineyards, then will resume its place as an integral part of a regional economy.

NOTES

Editor's note: to readers interested in the history of Long Island Sound, we recommend Professor Marilyn E. Weigold's book, The American Mediterranian: An Environmental, Economic, and Social History of Long Island Sound *(New York: Coward, 1955).*

1. See William W. Tooker, *The Indian Place-Names on Long Island and Islands Adjacent, with their Probable Significations*, published for the John Jermain Memorial Library, Sag Harbor, N.Y. (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1911), 232-33. For background on Native Americans, see *Language and Lore of the Long Island Indians*, Gaynell Stone Levine, ed., *Readings in Long Island Archaeology and Ethnohistory* 4, (Stony Brook: Suffolk County Archaeological Society, 1980); Gaynell Stone, "Long Island As America: A New Look at the First Inhabitants," *LIHJ* 1 (Spring 1989): 159-169; *The Second Coastal Archaeology Reader, from 1900 to the Present*, James E. Truex, ed., *Readings in Long Island Archaeology and Ethnohistory* 5 (Stony Brook: Suffolk County Archaeological Society, 1982), 120-201; John Strong, "The Evolution of Shinnecock Culture,"in *The Shinnecock Indians: A Culture History*, Gaynell Stone, ed., *Readings in Long Island Archaeology and Ethnohistory* 6 (Stony Brook: Suffolk County Archaeological Society, 1983): 7-52; William A. Ritchie, *The*

Archaeology of New York State (Garden City: Natural History Press for the American Museum of Natural History, 1965), 163-244; and Carlyle S. Smith, *The Archaeology of Coastal New York* (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1950), 105, 110-11;

2. For the hostility between the mainland Pequot and Narragansett and the Montauk and English settlers on eastern Long Island, and the friendly relationship between the Montauk sachem, Wyandanch, and the English settler, Lion Gardiner, see Roger Wunderlich, "'An Island of Mine Owne': The Life and Times of Lion Gardiner, 1599-1663," *LIHJ* 2 (Fall 1989):5-7; also see John Strong, "Shinnecock and Montauk Whalemen," *LIHJ* 2 (Fall 1989):33. Because of Gardiner's diplomacy, the interracial warfare that plagued the mainland did not occur on eastern Long Island.

3. For the early history of Southold see Warren Hall, *Pagans, Puritans, Patriots* (Cutchogue: Cutchogue-New Suffolk Historical Council, 1975), 1-56, and *Southold Town Records*, 2 vols. (Southold, 1882-1884).

4. For the eastern towns' reluctant severing of their connection with Connecticut and becoming subjects of the Duke of York, the future James II, see William W. Munsell, "Discovery and Settlement of Long Island—History of Colonial Times," chapter III, *History of Suffolk County* (New York: W.W. Munsell & Co., 1882), 25; for Youngs, see Hall, *Pagans, Puritans, Patriots*, 26-27; and William S. Pelletreau, "Southold," in *History of Suffolk County* (New York: W.W. Munsell & Co., 1882), 3-5.

5. See Henry C. Shelley, *John Underhill: Captain of New England and New Netherland* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1932); J. H. Morrison, *The Underhills of Warwickshire* (Cambridge: privately printed, 1932), 31-78; and Captain John Underhill, *Nevves from America...* (London, 1638 [facsimile reprint ed. New York: Da Capo Press, 1971]), Underhill's account of the Pequot War (1637) in which he and Captain John Mason commanded the attack on the Pequot fort at Mystic in which hundreds of Indian men, women, and children were killed.

6. Prior to the establishment of the Rye-Oyster Bay ferry, Quakers journeyed across the Sound. George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, told of a large Quaker meeting at Oyster Bay, in 1672, after which some of the participants went over to Rye "on the continent" (George Fox, *George Fox: An Autobiography*, Rufus M. Jones, ed. (Philadelphia: Ferris & Leach, 1919), 511.

7. For the Lloyds, see Dorothy C. Barck, ed., *Papers of the Lloyd Family of the Manor of Queens Village, Lloyd's Neck, Long Island, New York, 1654-1826*, 2 vols. (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1927), vol. 1 of which, covering the years 1654-1752, is especially helpful, and Melancthon Lloyd Woolsey, *The Lloyd Manor of Queens Village* (Setauket: Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities, 1951).

8. Mary Voyse, *History of Eaton's Neck, Long Island* (Eaton's Neck: privately printed, 1955), 6.

9. See Zell Morris Gould and Henrietta W. Klaber, *Colonial Huntington, 1653-1800* (Huntington: Huntington Press, 1953), 1-9; Guy E. Johnston, *A Detailed History of the Origin of the Township of Huntington* (Northport: *Northport Observer*, 1926), 7-83; Ramonah Sammis, *Huntington-Babylon Town History* (Huntington: Huntington Historical Society, 1937), 5-10.

10. Edwin Adkins, *Setauket: The First Three Hundred Years, 1655-1955* (Setauket: Three Village Historical Society, 1955), 2.

11. Charlotte A. Ganz, *A Chronicle of the Head of the River: Smithtown: 1700-1900* (Smithtown, 1966); William S. Pelletreau, *Records of the Town of Smithtown, Long Island,*

New York (Smithtown, 1898), 19-20.

12. Frances Irvin, *Historic Oyster Bay* (Oyster Bay, 1953), 7-13, and *Oyster Bay in History* (Oyster Bay: Oyster Bay Historical Society, 1946), 1-21; Morton Pennypacker, *Historic Oyster Bay* (Oyster Bay: North Shore Bank, 1919); Van Santvoord Merle-Smith, *The Village of Oyster Bay, Its Founding and Growth from 1653 to 1700* (Oyster Bay, 1953).

13. Field Horne, ed., *The Diary of Mary Cooper: Life on a Long Island Farm 1768-1773* (Oyster Bay: Oyster Bay Historical Society, 1981), 18.

14. Ibid., 19.

15. See Frederic G. Mather, *The Refugees of 1776 from Long Island to Connecticut* (Albany: J.F. Lyon Co., 1913), 166-80, 187-94.

16. For America's first CIA, see Morton Pennypacker, *General Washington's Spies on Long Island and in New York* (Brooklyn: Long Island Historical Society, 1939).

17. George Dudley Seymour, *Documentary Life of Nathan Hale* (New Haven: privately printed, 1941), xxv-xxxiii; Henry P. Johnston, Nathan Hale (New Haven, 1914), 2-34; Benson J. Lossing, *The Two Spies: Nathan Hale and John Andre* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1910), 98-99.

18. For cross-Sound raids, see Myron Luke, "The American Revolution on Long Island," *Nassau County Historical Society Journal* 32 (1972): 12, and Myron Luke and Robert W. Venables, *Long Island in the American Revolution* (Albany, 1976), 41-50; Adkins, Setauket, 40-43, 46-47; Howard Klein, *Three Village Guidebook* (Setauket: Three Village Bicentennial Committee, 1976), 98-99; Henry Onderdonk, Jr., *Revolutionary Incidents of Suffolk and Kings Counties* (New York, 1849).

19. Benjamin Tallmadge, *Memoir of Benjamin Tallmadge* (New York, 1858), 46.

20. See John Henry Jones, *The Jones Family of Long Island* (New York: Tobias A. Wright, 1907), 91.

21. See Evelyn R. Meier, *The Riverhead Story*, 1792-1967 (Riverhead: Riverhead Town 175th Anniversary Committee, 1967), 38; for an account of the American and British navies in Long Island Sound in the War of 1812, see W.M.P. Dunne, "'The Inglorious First of June': Commodore Stephen Decatur on Long Island Sound, 1813," in this issue of *LIHJ*.

22. Fessenden S. Blanchard, *Long Island Sound* (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand, 1958), 115-16; this book is a good source of information about the Sound.

23. Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New-England and New-York*, 4 vols. (London: W. Baynes & Son, 1823) 3: 285, 278.

24. Nathaniel S. Prime, *A History of Long Island from Its First Settlement by Europeans to the Year 1845, with Special Reference to Its Ecclesiastical Concerns*, 2 Parts (New York: Robert Carter, 1845)1: 75.

25. For Long Island whaling, see Frederick P. Schmitt, *Mark Well the Whale! Long Island Ships to Distant Seas* (Port Washington, 1971); for a detailed survey of Sag Harbor, Cold Spring Harbor, and Greenport whaling, see Floris B. Cash, "African American Whalers: Images and Reality," *LIHJ* 2 (Fall 1989):52-63; for the Jones family's whaling and other enterprises, see Elizabeth L. Watson, "Long Island Born and Bred: The origin and Growth of the Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory," in this issue of *LIHJ*.

26. For steamboating in the Sound, see Edwin L. Dunbaugh, *Nightboat to New England* (forthcoming), and "The Montauk Steamboat Company," *LIHJ* 2 (Fall 1989): 52-63; Andrew German, "Connecticut's Changing Relationship with Long Island Sound," *LIHJ* 2 (Fall 1989): 76-89; and Roger W. McAdam, *Salts of the Sound, An Informal History of Steamboat Days and the Famous Skippers who Sailed the Long Island Sound* (New York: Stephen Daye Press, 1957).

27. Long Island Railroad Company, *Long Island* (New York, 1882), 40; *Glen Cove Gazette*, 9 August 1873, 3.

28. Dumas Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 9 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1963), 529-30; Starin's obituary, *New York Times*, 23 March 1909.

29. For shipwrecks, see Jeannette Edwards Rattray, *Ship Ashore! A Record of Maritime Disasters off Montauk and Eastern Long Island, 1640-1955* (New York: Coward, 1955).

30. The definitive account of the Long Island Railroad's early problems is Edwin L. Dunbaugh, "New York to Boston Via the Long Island Railway," in *Evoking a Sense of Place* Joann P. Krieg, ed. (Interlaken, NY: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1988), 75-84; also see Mildred H. Smith, *Early History of the Long Island Rail Road 1834-1900* (Uniondale: Salisbury Printers, 1958); and David Robinson George, "A Brief History of the Long Island Rail Road," in Paul Bailey, ed., *Long Island—A History of Two Great Counties, Nassau and Suffolk*, 3 vols. (New York: Lewis Historical Pub. Co., 1949) 2:397-401.

31. Marilyn E. Weigold, *The American Mediterranian: An Environmental, Economic, and Social History of Long Island Sound* (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1974), 58.

32. See *Traffic, Earnings and Feasibility of the Long Island Sound Crossing* (New York, 1965).

33. New York State explored other options including a railroad link between Long Island and the mainland. A state-financed study, Bertram D. Tallamy Associates. *Feasibility Report, Highway-Railroad Crossings Suffolk County, New York, to Connecticut* (February 1968) concluded that a rail link was not feasible.

34. See Monica Randall, *The Mansions of Long Island's Gold Coast* (New York, 1979); Lisa Sclare and Donald Sclare, *Beaux-Artes Estates—A Guide to the Architecture of Long Island's Gold Coast* (New York, 1975); and Robert B. MacKay, *Long Island Country Houses and Their Architects 1860-1940* (New York: W.W. Norton, forthcoming).

35. Yachtsmen also vehemently opposed the span, suggesting a tunnel instead (*New York Times*, 11 February 1968, 13:2).

36. For Long Island bridges, see Jeffrey A. Kroessler, "Bridges and the Urban Landscape," *LIHJ* 2 (Fall 1989): 104-117, and Beatrice Braid, "The Brooklyn Bridge in Literary and Popular Imagination," *LIHJ* 2 (Fall 1989): 90-103.

Moonshiners in Brooklyn: Federal Authority Confronts Urban Culture, 1869-1880

By Wilbur R. Miller

Liquor was the source of many conflicts in post-Civil War America. We usually think of these as political and cultural battles between evangelical Protestants—often representing rural state legislatures—and the immigrant Catholic urban working classes on the issue of liquor consumption. However, during the Reconstruction era of the 1870s, officials of the federal government clashed with certain citizens of Brooklyn over illegal production of liquor. In this decade the arm of the law extended from Washington to places it had not reached before. For a while it protected black citizens in the South, but it also sought to uphold federal authority in Northern cities. This article examines an urban conflict in which United States troops joined civilian officials to stamp out evasion of liquor taxes.

During the Civil War, the Republican-controlled Congress imposed taxes on whiskey and other spirits. The liquor excise of 1862 was part of the Republican effort to increase the revenue of the federal government. Many of the enforcement measures were temporary, but the whiskey tax became permanent after the war, providing a leading source of domestic revenue. The excise was collected by a new body of federal officials, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue and his local subordinates, the collectors and their deputies. These officials monitored the output and content of distilled liquor to make certain that every gallon was taxed. Consumers as well as producers were affected, for the tax increased the price of one of the staples of American life.[1]

Excise taxes were always resented, starting with the first one, in 1791, which led to the famous Whiskey Rebellion three years later. The liquor excise of 1862 was also resisted. Large distilleries, such as those involved in the notorious Whiskey Ring scandal of the Grant Administration, shared the profits of illicit production of untaxed liquor with federal officials. In the mountain South, moonshiners operating small illegal stills defended themselves against disruption of a local economy which depended on the conversion of surplus crops into corn whiskey, a marketable commodity. The mountain people resisted fiercely, and casualty rates on both sides were high. The federal effort in the South, which began as Reconstruction was ending, extended over many years. By the early 1880s, moonshining had been restricted, but not eliminated. Violent resistance decreased, whiskey tax revenue rose, and many mountain people lost sympathy with the moonshiners.[2]

However, the battle by no means was over. In the early '90s, the effects of a national depression (1893-1896), a steep increase in the excise, and

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spreading local prohibition led to an upsurge in moonshining. Federal officials mobilized to cope with the new resistance, but faced a continuing battle into the early twentieth century. The moonshiners did not disappear, but the revenuers became fixtures in the mountains—resisted, but never dislodged. In contrast to Reconstruction, which the government abandoned during the 1870s, the liquor tax won acceptance from Democratic as well as Republican office-holders because the government needed the money and the revenue service provided hundreds of patronage appointments.

Historians tend to perceive the demise of the government's efforts to protect the civil rights of blacks by means of the Reconstruction laws as heralding a period of federal weakness or inactivity. This viewpoint overlooks the revenue bureau, which asserted its authority to collect unpopular taxes against violent resistance and held its ground throughout the late nineteenth century. The bureau was a pioneer in the expansion of federal authority, a trend which would be apparent by the turn of the century.

Most of these federal efforts were devoted to suppressing rural moonshiners in the 1870s, '80s, and '90s. We rarely think of urban moonshiners until the era of Prohibition. However, the revenue bureau's records reveal scattered raids on illegal distilleries in cities and towns, including Chicago, New Orleans, San Francisco, and Poughkeepsie and Troy, New York. One of the most notorious and recalcitrant enclaves of moonshiners during the 1870s was "Irish Town" in Brooklyn, the Fifth Ward waterfront district of small factories and tenements adjacent to the Navy Yard. A series of raids on this neighborhood was part of the larger process of asserting federal authority to levy and collect the excise tax on liquor.

In 1880, Irish Town was Irish indeed, the majority of its older residents having been born on the "ould sod." Their younger sons and daughters were the up-and-coming, American-born generation. The men living on Little Street—typical of the area—were laborers (several of whom had been out of work for up to eight months when the federal census taker made his rounds). Other occupations ranged from cooper, ship sawyer, and other artisanal trades associated with the waterfront, to such manual trades as machinist, stonecutter, and plasterer, to shopkeeper and peddler. Most of the wives were housekeepers, although frequently their work included providing for boarders. Many of the daughters worked in nearby button, card box, and paint factories. White-collar occupations were scarce. One young man living with his parents clerked in a lawyer's office, but no professionals lived on Little Street. The census enumerator, of course, did not record who distilled untaxed liquor in the back yard.[3]

Illegal distilling became established in many urban areas during the Civil War, when extremely high taxes, reaching $2.00 a gallon in 1865, encouraged widespread evasion. The Irish distillers of Brooklyn carried on a tradition of the old country, where resisting the excise man had been a time-honored practice for over a hundred years. They did not usually make "poteen," the Irish mountain dew. Though producing some whiskey, Brooklyn moonshiners usually distilled "a very inferior grade of rum"

from blackstrap molasses, obtained from the sugar refineries which were a Brooklyn waterfront industry. Many moonshiners operated small stills in old or abandoned backyard sheds or stables. Larger operators worked behind the front of a legitimate business. Soap factories, where heaps of old bones were boiled down to make cheap soap, were popular because outsiders had no interest in poking around their stinking and filthy quarters. Another front was the establishments of rectifiers, who produced blended spirits. They received untaxed liquor from distillers, and could sell the unblended product illicitly by manipulation of their books and the tax stamps attached to the barrels.

The illegal stills were set up in cellars, with pipes connected to chimneys to carry off the odors. The refuse left over after distillation was piped directly into the sewers. Most of the illegal liquor probably went to the "low dive" or "corner groggery" saloons that were common in urban working-class neighborhoods. A revenue man reported that "the illicit whiskey business is carried on so extensively and so boldly [in Irish Town] that men, women and children are ready at a moment's notice to oppose anyone who offers to interfere with the stills." He discovered that a policeman had a part interest in a still, and an Alderman was rumored to own one of the largest. Horace Greeley commented in the *Tribune* that "The Brooklyn illegal distillers have gained a reputation for ferocity and daring which quite ranks them with the desperate men who baffle the excisemen of Ireland."[4]

The Administration of President Andrew Johnson, never enthusiastic about Republican legislation, did not give high priority to collecting the whiskey tax. Johnson seems to have been obsessively concerned with building a patronage machine, protecting his friends and seeking to discredit his enemies in the revenue service. An 1866-67 Congressional investigation of illegal distilling in New York City, Brooklyn, and Philadelphia uncovered evidence of collusion between revenuers and distillers, asserting that "the chances are nine out of ten, perhaps nineteen out of twenty" that illicit distillers would not be detected. If they were, they did not face imprisonment or serious financial loss, easily absorbing the small penalty and cost of seized liquor from profits accumulated during years of undisturbed production. The committee, no friend of the Johnson Administration, concluded that "it is manifest that frauds cannot be practiced so generally and so openly without either connivance or gross inefficiency on the part of a large number of revenue officers." The Republican *New York Times* reported "wholesale and shameless evasion of the law" in districts "controlled by officers in league with knaves," while its equally Republican counterpart, the *Brooklyn Daily Times*, charged that "raids upon illicit distilleries were mere blinds" because revenue men were bribed to warn distillers in time to remove their valuable stills and avoid arrest. One official supposedly won a seat in Congress with the support of Brooklyn moonshiners.[5]

According to the *New York Times*, the early years of the Grant administration witnessed "greatly increased energy and fidelity" in

collecting the whiskey tax, although it was still "no infrequent thing" to see wagonloads of unstamped whiskey moving through the streets. Some was seized, but most escaped. The Republicans, of course, were soon to be embarrassed by exposure of the notorious Midwestern "Whiskey Ring," which outdid anything the Democrats had attempted, but in New York and Brooklyn they embarked on a crack-down which eventually proved successful.[6]

Hoping to uncover illegal stills, revenue officials paid $50 rewards to informers but few were willing to violate community solidarity. The officers usually had to do their own detective work. They kept sugar and molasses factories under surveillance, watching and following "suspicious looking draymen" to see where they unloaded their molasses. They prowled the streets at night, listening for sounds such as driving of bungs into barrels. Sometimes they climbed to rooftops to sniff for telltale odors in chimneys. Deputy Collector P.B. Hawley

> had been in the business so long, and had so thoroughly cultivated his sense of smell, that he could scent up a rum distillery almost as surely and successfully as a blood hound could follow a warm trail through a swamp.

However sensitive their noses, revenuers realized by the fall of 1869 that more drastic action was necessary.[7]

Commissioner of Internal Revenue Columbus Delano ordered the first raid or sweep through Irish Town in October. At 8:00 a.m. on October 26, a force of from eighty to ninety revenue deputies assembled in Brooklyn's City Hall park and marched to the waterfront. When the force arrived it was obvious that somebody had tipped off the distillers, for they were "notifying each other by scouts and runners of the contemplated attack on their property." The deputies occupied Dickson's Alley and tore down fences on both sides to discover nine stills hidden in sheds or stables. While they were at work a large crowd gathered, threatening and obstructing them, sometimes hurling brickbats or stones but never launching a concerted attack.

The revenue law authorized seizure and sale of stills and other valuable property; after five hours' work, the officers carted five stills and twelve barrels of rum to the Navy Yard. During this time the Brooklyn police had arrived on the scene, and the revenuers believed that, "The moral effect of their presence in uniform was very great; and doubtless had great weight in preventing an organized attack on our men." One youth was arrested for throwing stones. Another member of the crowd assaulted Deputy Bullard without inflicting serious injury. The revenuers carried pistols but did not have to use them.

Collector Alfred Pleasonton, the Civil War general who later became the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, believed that the force in this raid was too small to cope with violent resistance, and that federal officials should not have to depend on state or local authority to uphold their jurisdiction. He recommended that future raids be carried out by a force

of fifty to one hundred revenuers, protected by three to four hundred soldiers to guard them without actively participating in the seizures.[8]

This first raid was not big news, confined by the *New York Times* to one short paragraph. The Democratic *Brooklyn Eagle* apparently was caught off guard with no reporter on the scene. Nevertheless, the story it copied from the *Times* led it mistakenly and prematurely to denounce "Government by the Bayonet...a slight taste of the sort of government they have in Texas, Virginia, and Mississippi" under the Reconstruction Acts. Perhaps because the Collector was a general and his deputies were colonels the *Eagle* thought that this was a military operation and charged the Republicans with trying to provoke a riot. Fortunately, the Fifth Ward Democrats wisely refrained from violence by their "patient endurance of gross outrage."[9] These denunciations of bayonet rule were premature; two months later troops marched into Irish Town, as Collector Pleasonton had recommended.

Marshals had the power to summon all citizens, including soldiers, as a posse to aid in making difficult arrests. The power was rarely invoked before the Civil War, although in New York and other Northern cities troops were summoned to assist the marshals to carry out fugitive slave laws. During Reconstruction, soldiers regularly served in marshals' posses to help arrest violent Klansmen and moonshiners. General Henry W. Halleck described aiding revenue officers and marshals as the "principal occupation" of troops stationed in local posts throughout the South. The Force Act of 1871, aimed at the Ku Klux Klan, clearly endorsed a power which earlier had been exercised only cautiously. Marshals and deputies, needing a force to help in serving warrants, quickly took advantage of this authorization. So did revenue collectors, who had the same authority to summon a posse. Troops lacked the power to make arrests or seize stills, but could be assigned to guard civil officials to discourage resistance, using force only when attacked. Military participation in revenue raids, usually by small detachments of no more than twenty men, became routine until it was outlawed by a Democratic Congress in 1878.[10]

Irish Town's moonshiners had only a brief respite after the October raid. At 5:00 a.m. on December 3, a force of sixty or seventy revenue deputies assembled at the revenue office in Manhattan. Wearing cloth badges printed with an eagle and "Internal Revenue," they marched to the foot of Chambers Street. The men, mostly German "old soldiers, members of the Grand Army of the Republic," were in high spirits, remembering their war campaigns. At the dock they boarded the tugboat U.S.S. *Catalpa*, and, during a heavy snow, made the short trip to Brooklyn Navy Yard. There they were joined by five to seven hundred soldiers from the fortresses in New York Harbor, who, the day before, received mysterious orders to proceed to the Navy Yard armed and with ten days' rations. While their commanders discussed appropriate tactics, the civilians received their weapons—axes and crowbars for smashing distilleries and pulling out stills. All was ready by seven o'clock, when the troops and revenuers marched out of the gates in three detachments to occupy the

streets of Irish Town:

> When the long-drawn out sound of "halt" was echoed, up went hundreds of windows and out went hundreds of heads to see what was the matter. What could it mean? was the question with many, while with the devoted whiskey distillers there was a suspicion that the extraordinary military display had something to do with them.[11]

They were thoroughly surprised; most stills the revenuers found were in operation. In the first alley invaded, they found two stills running. The men working them "scuttled off like rats from a granary, climbed fences and disappeared in the intricate windings of adjacent tenement houses." As these stills were behind a fire house, the deputy collector suspected that the firemen knew about them all along. The revenuers loaded the stills, apparatus, and six barrels of whiskey on a wagon and trundled them off to the Navy Yard. They opened the bottoms of several mash tubs, allowing the crude liquor to run off into the gutters. The first attacks confirmed the "whiskey men's" suspicions, and they began to pull out their stills in hopes of hiding them. Some were captured as they were being passed over back fences. As the raid progressed, local people began to crowd the streets, some demonstrating their sympathy for the moonshiners with a "practical shower of brickbats and stones, hurled at the troops and working gangs from housetops, windows and curbstones." Others tried to get the troops intoxicated, but the officers usually intervened. "It is much to the credit of the troops and also of the working party," reported a deputy collector, "that while rivers of rum ran through the gutters there was but one case of intoxication." When soldiers guarding a still on a cart were temporarily withdrawn, some youths jumped on and drove off "at a rattling pace." Younger Irish Town residents quietly strolling past soldiers guarding a worm (the spiral copper tube for evaporation) suddenly seized it from between the men's legs and ran into the crowd, where it was passed from hand to hand and disappeared. Verbal chaff was hurled at the invaders, with "no tongues were as loud as those of the women, and their sallies provoked frequent laughter." Though some soldiers and revenue men were struck by missiles, and some rioters "roughly handled" and "ejected at the point of the pistol" from amid the working parties, there were no serious injuries.[12]

The situation became uglier when the seizures were completed and it was time for the invading force to withdraw. The working party, with troops front and rear for protection, assembled in Little Street. The angry crowd, aiming for the revenuers, showered brickbats, stones, and "miscellaneous missiles, some of them more odorous than dangerous." Deputy Collector Thompson and two of his men were hit by bricks; they turned and pointed their pistols at the crowd, "determined not to be driven off any faster than they had concluded to go." At this dangerous moment, General Joseph B. Kiddoo ordered his troops to face about and advance on the crowd with fixed bayonets, "driving them like sheep before him." After this maneuver, the party safely reached the Navy Yard to count the

spoils: thirteen distilleries destroyed; four stills, assorted equipment, and thirty-five barrels of "bad rum" seized; and five to seven thousand gallons of mash poured down the gutter. As in the first raid, no arrests were made. Although "bayonet rule" had reached the streets of Brooklyn, the Democratic *Eagle* treated the "grand military movement" lightly, calling it a "still but spirited campaign" and a "wholesale worming out of illicit stills."[13]

Brooklyn moonshiners received a respite during most of 1870. Superintendent Silas B. Dutcher preferred not to use the military when he could avoid it, but when his men raided stills in small parties they encountered violence, and "in several instances" revenuers were seriously injured. Dutcher asked Brooklyn's police commissioners to provide protection, "believing it much easier to prevent a riot than to quell one..., and knowing the fear the disorderly elements have of the police." However, the city officials refused, contending that the police were entirely a local institution unauthorized to aid in revenue collection. "Our people are intuitively law-abiding," declared the president of the police board, implying that fears of a riot were exaggerated. If a riot broke out, the police would arrest both "those whom we find actually engaged in it" and "those who—if there be such, have needlessly incited it," a hint that the revenuers themselves might land in jail. The *Brooklyn Eagle* considered the rejection a mistake, as it gave Dutcher, "the Radical centralizer," a pretext to call out the troops again.

Dutcher tried going it alone, without policemen or soldiers. A squad of seventeen men smashed one of John Gorman's stills in Dickson's Alley, but was attacked by a crowd hurling the usual bricks and stones. When the revenuers fired, slightly wounding John Kane, the crowd chased them all the way to the Navy Yard.[14] After this, Dutcher called out the troops. On November 2, fifteen hundred soldiers cordoned off Irish Town. There were now more troops engaged in suppressing Brooklyn moonshiners than were stationed in any Southern state except Texas. The number of soldiers seems disproportionate to their assignment, especially since fire fights were common in the South but not in Brooklyn. The memory of the 1863 Draft Riots, in which most participants were Irish, may have influenced the decision to saturate Irish Town with soldiers. Both the troops and the revenue men could have been trapped in alleys and besieged from roofs and windows. Whether these fears were realistic, the riots were traumatic. Protected by troops, a force of one hundred deputies under Dutcher's command attacked the distilleries with picks and crowbars. When they struck a still owned by John Gorman in Dickson's Alley, they were pelted with bricks and stones. The crowd grew increasingly angry, but was intimidated by Dutcher's threat to fire if it interfered. At one point a man drove his wagon "at a furious pace" toward the soldiers. They tried to stop him with bayonets, but he "passed by triumphantly, threatening death and destruction to any who barred his passage." The troops did manage to wound one of his horses. After working all day at smashing distilleries, seizing stills, and pumping mash out of underground tubs with fire engines,

the soldiers and revenuers withdrew to the Navy Yard. However, they returned the next morning, netting over twenty stills and dumping thousands of gallons of mash. No moonshiners were arrested, although one youth was arrested for interfering with the revenue men.[15]

Democrats were outraged. The *Eagle* argued that under the Johnson Administration, Brooklyn's revenue collector, E.T. Wood, destroyed three hundred illicit stills without the use of troops. In fact, he once followed orders from Washington to use marines on a raid, but it proved "almost fruitless" and he refused to employ troops again. He relied on the skill of his deputy, Luke O'Reilly, who often received information about moonshiners from Democratic local residents. M.J. Heffernan, an old resident of Irish Town, claimed that the moonshiners and rioters "are not Irish, nor do they reside in this locality." In his unsubstantiated opinion, the culprits were "wealthy and smoothfaced knaves" who lived in fashionable neighborhoods and used the out-of-the-way corners of Irish Town to carry on large-scale, illegal distillation.[16]

The next year marked the height of the conflict, with three large-scale military operations. A new federal official, Assessor Samuel Jourdan, determined to stamp out the distilling which had quickly resumed after the 1870 raid. On 12 January 1871, a force of 1,400 revenue deputies and soldiers converged at the Navy Yard for the march on Irish Town. The raiders, despite fears of resistance and even of an attack on the Navy Yard itself, did not encounter the violence of the last raid. Parties of revenue deputies, now experienced and systematic, divided into fifteen groups to destroy as many distilleries. Again they used steam fire engines from the Navy Yard to pump the mash from tubs hidden under the floorboards of sheds or stables. The raw liquor flowed through the streets again and accidentally flooded the basement of Mrs. Shandley's house. This time the soldiers succumbed to temptation, an *Eagle* reporter noting that by noon "not less than a score" of troopers were in "stages of drunkenness varying in degree from hilarity to a state of being drunk clear through and as limpy as a rag." Because the distillers were warned of the raid it netted no arrests and only one still, but other apparatus was seized or destroyed and thousands of gallons of mash were pumped out.

When the raiders returned the next morning they met a hail of stones and bricks, and had to drive the rioters off. The Brooklyn police interfered, guarding the fire hydrants to prevent use of fire engines as pumps. Commenting on the Brooklyn Water Commissioners' refusal to give federal officials permission to connect the hoses, the *Tribune* editorialized that "every man of the mob doubtless construed this to mean that the Brooklyn officials sympathize with, and are disposed to aid, the riotous distillers as far as they dare."[17]

After several large-scale raids, some New Yorkers began to wonder why there were no arrests of moonshiners. Even the *Tribune*, the voice of Republican moderates, asked pointedly: "We cannot understand why this distinction in favor of this peculiar class of criminals is made. Will somebody explain and justify it, if it be possible?" The *Eagle* thought

the answer was corruption, the same type Republicans had earlier attributed to Democrats. There were plenty of revenue detectives on the lookout for illegal stills in the Fifth Ward, who should have enough information for the government to issue warrants for moonshiners' arrest.

> It is evident that the illicit whiskey men know all the government moves beforehand. It is equally certain, therefore, that the government is betrayed, and that the real service of some active officials is rendered to the illicit whiskey men. The sporadic raids are but a transparent cover of official complicity with the illicit whiskey trade.

Although the charges were partisan, these were the years in which revenue men connived with Midwestern licensed distillers to evade the tax on a massive scale; it *was* the period of the Grant Administration, pervaded with corruption.

A Brooklyn revenue official offered another explanation for failure to arrest the moonshiners: they were too well organized and powerful to be controlled by revenuers without the aid of soldiers. Writing to Alfred Pleasonton, now the Commissioner, Collector Freeland reminded him that "you are personally cognizant of the fact that it is impossible for me with the force at my disposal to even venture into that locality." One of his deputies and two keepers seized the premises of a rectifier who made moonshine whiskey on the side. When the deputy went off to the marshal for help in removing the still, the owner and his friends drove off the guards and carried off the still. At another rectifier's place, a gang of armed men took the firm's books from the revenue guards. Freeland hoped the President would act under the provisions of the new Ku Klux Act, declaring the civil officials powerless to enforce the law and providing troops subject to Freeland's "call at anytime it may be necessary."[18]

Freeland seems to have gotten the power he sought, for the next raid on the Fifth Ward employed a detachment of marines to aid in serving warrants against four notorious moonshiners. Some arrests were made in Manhattan before this raid, perhaps in response to criticism or by dint of lucky detective work. At the trial of six moonshiners in early July, Federal Judge Benedict announced a tough policy:

> Forfeitures of property and the imposing of fines upon the persons engaged in illicit distilling have proven ineffectual, and the government must now resort to the imprisonment of all persons that can be arrested and convicted of the crime.

The law, which provided imprisonment for up to two years, apparently had not been invoked to its full extent.[19]

In mid-July 1871, Assessor Samuel Jourdan determined to "put an end to the business altogether" by capturing the moonshiners as well as their stills. As a result of extensive detective work, he finally was able to target John Bridges, Michael Cassidy, James McMahon, and John Gorman, the man whose still had been destroyed in the 1870 raid. After postponing

their operation because of the Orange riots—a conflict in Manhattan between Irish Protestants and Catholics—all was ready at 2:00 a.m. on July 14. A force of thirty-two revenuers and eight deputy marshals, with marines from the Navy Yard posted to give aid in case of emergency, descended on Irish Town. One contingent headed for Gorman's distillery. They found no still, but the bricks on which it had rested were hot. They went to Gorman's home, but he had been warned in time to make his escape. Cassidy and McMahon were not so lucky, and were arrested at their houses. McMahon tried to escape by jumping from a second-story window, wearing only his undershirt, but surrendered when a deputy fired his pistol. Meanwhile, a group of officers standing near Dickson's Alley was ambushed, the volley of shots fatally wounding a revenuer named Clinton Gilbert. Another man was slightly injured, and Jourdan, standing under a lamppost at another corner, barely escaped being shot. Gilbert's was the first and only death on either side in the warfare over whiskey.[20]

Typically, the *Eagle* denounced what had become a routine use of the military in enforcing civil law:

> ...here in Brooklyn, where are [*sic*] no Ku Klux, and not the faintest revolt, dissatisfaction or disloyalty to the government, it has now become the constant practice for the minor local officials in the Federal employ to call out the ... forces from the navy yard....

Why? Simply because Brooklyn, the third largest city in the Union, was a Democratic stronghold which the "besotted partisans in power seek to cover...with the disgraceful stigma of rebellion and disloyalty." Despite such denunciations, the paper sympathized with Clinton Gilbert, a Brooklynite who served bravely in the Navy during the Civil War. "Widely known and respected..., no man was ever more completely absolved from even the suspicion of speculative humbuggery or partizan [*sic*] favoritism." While condemning the Irish Town raids, the *Eagle* declared that Gilbert "lost his life in the patriotic discharge of his duty, as much as if he had fallen" in the war for the Union.[21]

In spite of regrets over Gilbert's death, the moonshiners were even more determined to resist federal authority. According to Supervisor S.B. Dutcher, it became "even more dangerous than before for honest officers to visit that locality." By October, the revenuers were ready for their first sally into Irish Town since Gilbert's death. Deputies accompanied by 550 soldiers and 60 marines emerged from the Navy Yard early one morning and quickly sealed off the neighborhood. The distillers were taken by surprise; "not a single attempt at riot in any shape was made, which, considering the character of the locality, is something almost unprecedented." So effective was the military cordon that for most of the day no one outside of Irish Town knew what was happening. Going to work at once, the revenue men captured 12 stills, 203 barrels of rum, and 12 hogsheads of molasses. They poured out gallons of mash, but this time the Navy Yard commandant did not release his fire engines; the mash in the underground tubs escaped draining. Supervisor Dutcher reported

that although no distillers were arrested, "the result shows more for the government and a greater damage to those engaged in the illicit traffic than any previous movement of this kind."[22]

By now the pattern was clear: massive raids only temporarily disrupted illicit distilling. Within a week after the October raid, six moonshine stills were running in Irish Town. By mid-November, fourteen illegal distilleries were operating, with "molasses...carted into that ward in considerable quantities, every day." In December several more were active, prompting Dutcher to say, "This is certainly showing determination and pluck on their part, but should not perhaps cause surprise to those who know how plenty second-hand copper stills are in these two cities."

Revenue Commissioner Pleasonton, who had been the collector in New York, was out of office because of a quarrel with the secretary of the treasury. Dutcher hoped another raid would be organized as a swift follow-up to October's, but none was ordered by the new commissioner, J.W. Douglass. By this time, though, the illicit distillers were trying to bargain with the government to reduce the punishment of those arrested. By early 1872, Representative Thomas Kinsella, former Collector of Internal Revenue E.T. Wood, who now was the attorney for the indicted distillers, and Commissioner Douglass had worked out a compromise which included ending the role of troops in Irish Town raids. The Brooklyn police guaranteed protection to uniformed federal officials, who would work in tandem with city authorities. The arrangement implied that massive raids would be replaced by less provocative but more consistent enforcement. The *New York Times* expressed the hope that under the new plan, "the business of illegal distillation...in Brooklyn will be entirely done away with."[23]

This prediction was accurate for the next year and a half, but in mid-1873 illicit distilling revived, "after nearly two years of depression." This may have been in response to the 1872 increase of the whiskey tax from fifty to seventy cents a gallon; tax increases always led to more moonshining. Collector Freeland determined "to throttle it at once," and partly implemented the enforcement tactics developed in the 1872 compromise. Relying on their "ability... to capture anything not too heavy for a locomotive to carry" he sent a force of three deputies to seize a distillery in Little Street. The deputies informed no one of their plans, not even the police, an omission that got them in trouble when some "spirited inhabitants" mobbed them, tore out the still, and hauled it off in a cart. Without the marine guards of former years, the deputies had to "skedaddle empty handed." The next day, having learned their lesson, the revenuers enlisted the aid of the local precinct captain, a sergeant, and six patrolmen. They went to a stable in United States Street, threw open the doors, and discovered a distillery in full blast. The neighbors again rose to block the seizure, but held off when they saw the revolvers in the deputies' belts and the clubs in the policemen's hands. The revenuers did not know the owner of the distillery, but five furniture trucks carted off his apparatus, worth about $5,000, and his mash was poured into the street. This raid

was the largest seizure since 1871. Again, in 1876, revenuers seizing a still in Columbia Street were aided by policemen while "several hundred" men, women, and children pelted them with stones and clods. The old conflict with the police seems to have been settled.[24]

In the early 1870s there were many small operators, but by the middle of the decade the Brady Brothers—Edward, Hugh, John, Patrick, and Thomas—monopolized Brooklyn moonshining. This crew forced smaller distillers to sell exclusively to them, demanding protection money for not informing revenuers about their activities. After one Brady brother's distillery was seized in the October 1871 raid, the family opened a licensed rectifying plant on Gold Street which produced moonshine rum on the side. They also were involved with a soap factory on Barren Island, in lower New York Bay (now covered over by Floyd Bennett Field), which was the main source of illicit rum. The island, "not a place which is seductive to general humanity," was ideal for large-scale moonshining; a schooner carried molasses to the island and returned rum to the city. The factory concealed a still with a daily capacity of 1,000 gallons, which, with the tax at seventy cents, cost the government $700 a day in lost revenue.

Superintendent Hawley, with 100 soldiers from Fort Hamilton, raided the island in 1874. The soldiers were not told their destination until they were well out to sea, because the revenuers suspected that people in the fort had been offered bribes to warn the distillers. The distillers had received some warning, for no one was there when the expedition landed, but the still was in full blast and the schooner was moored at the wharf. Barrels of rum and molasses and 50,000 gallons of mash were dumped, but the valuable property was sold to pay the delinquent taxes.

A few months later the Brady's rectifying house in Brooklyn was seized when revenuers discovered pipes leading to a still that was hidden next door inside an abandoned sugar house. Edward Brady and Matthew Mullady were arrested and received thirteen months' imprisonment in the Kings County Penitentiary. In 1875 the brothers moved operations to Manhattan, opening a rectifying plant on West 45th street, near the waterfront. Perhaps they could not resist the profits of illegal rum after the tax was increased to ninety cents a gallon, for in October revenue men seized a thousand-gallon illicit distillery with pipes connected to the Brady's operation. Two workmen were arrested, one of whom proved to be a Brady.[25]

1876 marked a turning point in the government's effort to suppress moonshining. In August, Green B. Raum, a Civil War general, became the Commissioner of Internal Revenue. Raum, an unsung bureaucrat, took his job quite seriously. He organized a campaign against illicit distilling on all fronts. When he resigned in 1883, after serving longer than any predecessor, he legitimately took credit for breaking the back of organized moonshiner resistance in the South, while his subordinates in New York brought the Bradys to justice and put an end to moonshining in Irish Town.

One of Raum's early actions was to demand sterner action against illicit

distillers in Brooklyn, suggesting that collector Freeland should dismiss his deputies, who apparently were inefficient or corrupt. Freeland defended his men, claiming that when he took office "hundreds" of illegal stills were running but "now not...one can be found." During the past year his deputies detected and seized fifteen illicit distilleries, and broke up ten reported to them by others. Most of these were small, "the still being made of galvanized tin, molasses hogsheads used for fermenting, and the places bearing evidence of recent and hasty construction."[26]

However small and hasty were their Brooklyn operations, the Bradys still were busy in Manhattan. Edward Brady opened a rectifying house at the foot of Delancey Street, which was seized in July 1878 but soon resumed operations. In November, revenuers discovered an illicit distillery with an unconnected hose exactly long enough to reach Brady's place in front of it. Though the hose smelled of rum, there was no proof of the Bradys' direct involvement.

Finally, in December, Raum assigned Revenue Agent A.H. Brooks to work up a conclusive case against the brothers. The next spring he discovered that a Brady-owned sloop was carrying molasses to an illicit still hidden under the New Jersey Palisades. When it was seized, two arrested "workmen" turned out to be Hugh and Thomas Brady. They received only six months' sentences, as employees whose ownership could not be proven. When Raum ordered a sweeping investigation of illicit distilling in New York, his agents developed the evidence implicating all five Brady brothers in the Palisades operation. After several months of surveillance, all were arrested. Edward, John, and Patrick went to prison, but Judge Nixon suspended the sentences of Hugh and Thomas, who told Brooks, "You won't catch us in the business again." Thus apparently ended the power of the Bradys, who started out in Irish Town.[27]

The rest of the moonshiners of Irish Town also disappeared from history, though newspapers reported seizures in other parts of Brooklyn during the 1890s. Newcomers arrived on the scene, who instead of fighting stood by "moaning and wringing their hands" while revenuers smashed up their stills. In 1895, an illegal still seized near the federal building was operated by Abram Dorff, Max Goldstein, and Pincus Poloweizki.[28]

A nationwide depression, combined with an increase in the excise tax to $1.10 a gallon in 1894, encouraged moonshining throughout the country. At least one old hand, John Brady, unable to resist the opportunity, was arrested for operating an illegal still in Briggs Avenue, Brooklyn. While his wife tried to block the officers Brady jumped out the back window only to encounter a deputy marshal, who had to fire twice before the veteran moon- shiner surrendered. Despite his pleas of poverty and acting as merely an employee of the real distillery owners, the jury was out only seventeen minutes before it reached a verdict of guilty. John Brady was fined $1,000 and sentenced to eighteen months in the Kings County Penitentiary.[29]

The story of Brooklyn moonshiners and their struggle against federal authority is more than a colorful bit of local history. It is part of the tale

of Reconstruction in the North and the extension of the government into the lives of ordinary citizens. The Republican architects of Reconstruction favored an active government which subsidized business enterprise and protected the rights of black Americans newly endowed with citizenship. On the state level, they sought control of urban institutions, such as police and fire departments, in the name of improved efficiency and elimination of political corruption. Metropolitan commissions staffed by state appointees were typical Republican devices, pioneered in New York by the Police Commission of 1857. Republican legislatures in other states—including Tennessee and Louisiana under their Reconstruction governments—adopted this device for large cities.

The Civil War and Reconstruction gave the Republicans, who now dominated national political life, the opportunity to implement their attitudes through congressional legislation. Although their desire to wield centralized power proved to be limited and modest, Republican legislators espoused the supremacy of federal law, the dignity of government, and the need for strong national power with which to protect the freedom of citizens, particularly blacks, against encroachment by any state. Their rhetoric suggests that many of them sought a far greater degree of power focused in Washington than Americans were accustomed to, an administrative apparatus capable of penetrating all parts of the nation to maintain its authority.[30] Although they were part of this penetration, the civil rights and fair election laws of Reconstruction were not as enduring as the whiskey tax and bureaucracy to enforce it.

Reconstruction, which we tend to think of as an aspect of Southern history, affected the North as well. As part of its efforts to defend black suffrage and civil rights, Congress passed a series of enforcement acts in 1870-71. One of these, the Ku Klux Act, gave revenuers as well as marshals authority to muster troops as a posse to enforce federal law. Another, the fair election statutes of 1870 and 1871, set up a mechanism for preventing violence and corruption in congressional and presidential elections. The 1871 measure was limited to cities of 20,000 or more inhabitants, of which, of course, there were many more in the North than the South. This led an historian of the election laws to argue that they were intended more for the North than for the South. Most of the government's expense for their enforcement between 1871 and 1894 was for eight Northern cities. Half the amount was for New York State, and a quarter for New York City alone, to which President Ulysses S. Grant soon diverted Secret Service funds originally intended for investigating Ku Klux Klan activities in the South.[31]

Federal policing of elections challenged not only the determination of Southern white supremacists to exclude black voters, but also the power of Northern urban political bosses to manipulate elections. Democrats charged that the measures were partisan, aimed at weakening their power. They were probably right, but Reconstruction legislation in general had a unique quality of combining partisan expediency and high principles. New York Democrats were particularly irate. In the same years when

squads of soldiers invaded Irish Town, warships and troops were alerted to keep the peace during congressional elections. Supervisors probed ballot counts and charged Democratic officials with fraud, while special deputy marshals arrested Democrats accused of intimidating voters. "South Carolina—her wrongs are our wrongs," thundered the Democratic *Brooklyn Eagle* when the first election law went into effect in 1870.[32]

At election time, the hand of Washington seemed to reach into areas it never touched before, just as when troops marched into Irish Town and revenuers broke up illegal distilleries. Democrats denounced centralization and bayonet rule, but Republicans saw the triumph of law and order. The *Brooklyn Daily Times* called the 1870 raid on Irish Town a proof of "the determination of the government to uphold the majesty of the law..." and linked it directly with policing of elections:

> What with the destruction of the Brooklyn whisky distillers and the enforcement of the Congressional Election law in New York, the government is infusing fresh hope into the hearts of law-abiding citizens, that those evils which have long been threatening the very life of our republican institutions will be eventually torn up by the roots.[33]

Neither moonshining nor election fraud were eliminated, but federal power touched the lives of urban citizens in unprecedented ways. Although both the election laws and the liquor excise were praised or denounced according to political loyalties, the revenue system proved more lasting than federal efforts to police elections. The Democrats assailed the revenue bureau as an instrument of Republican centralization, but when their party controlled the executive branch under President Grover Cleveland in 1885, and again in 1893, they continued the battle against evasion of the liquor tax, the leading source of domestic revenue by the 1880s. The Democrats, who favored low tariffs, needed the money derived from the tax to finance governmental operations, even more than had the Republicans. Moreover, jobs in the revenue service were fit rewards for "deserving" Democrats long denied federal appointments.

The revenue system was here to stay. Whether in Brooklyn or the Southern highlands, it thrust its hand into the pockets of the producers and the consumers of liquor. In the extended battle between the government and the moonshiners, the Irish Town section of Brooklyn played a small but conspicuous part.[34]

NOTES

1. For a general administrative history of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, see Laurence F. Schmeckenbier and Francis X. Eble, *The Bureau of Internal Revenue: Its History, Activities and Organization* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1923), 7-27. The Bureau has not received much attention from historians of bureaucracy and the state in the late nineteenth century.

2. For the Whiskey Rebellion, see Thomas Slaughter, *The Whiskey Rebellion: Frontier*

Epilogue to the American Revolution (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). A summary of the Whiskey Ring and its destruction is in Ross A. Wood, *Benjamin Helm Bristow, Border State Politician* (Lexington, Kentucky, 1969), chapter 8; Bristow, as the Secretary of the Treasury "blew the whistle" on the ring and broke it up before losing his own job. Southern moonshiners' confrontation with revenuers is discussed in Wilbur R. Miller, "The Revenue-Federal Law Enforcement in the Mountain South, 1870-1900," *Journal of Southern History* LV (May 1989): 196-216.

3. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Manuscript Census Reports, 1880, Fifth Ward, Brooklyn.

4. George W. Atkinson, *After the Moonshiners* (Wheeling, West Va., 1881), 74-75; Report of Dep. Collector Clifford Thompson to Collector Alfred Pleasonton, 27 October 1869, in Letters Received from Collectors, RG 58, box 903, U.S. National Archives (hereafter cited as LR); *New York Tribune*, 15 July 1871. Brooklynites were not the only urban moonshiners. The Irish of Philadelphia's Richmond District drove off an inexperienced squad of revenuers and recovered not only their stills but the invaders' wagons (*New York Times*, 4 October 1867, quoting *Philadelphia Bulletin*, Octpber 4.

5. Amy H. Mittleman, "The Politics of Alcohol Production: the Liquor Industry and the Federal Government, 1862-1900" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1986), 66-71; "Report from the Select Committee on Internal Revenue Frauds," House Reports 24 (39th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1867), 3, 4, 6; *New York Times*, 6, 12 October 1869; *Brooklyn Daily Times*, 18 October 1871. For general problems of Johnson years, see David A. Wells, *The Theory and Practice of Taxation* (New York: D. Appleton, 1900), 45; Frederick C. Howe, *Taxation and Taxes in the United States Under the Internal Revenue System* (New York: T.Y. Crowell, 1896), 43.

6. *New York Times*, 6, 12 October 1869.

7. Atkinson, *After the Moonshiners*, 74; *Brooklyn Eagle*, 3 December 1869.

8. C. Thompson, Dep. Coll. Int. Rev. to A. Pleasonton, Coll. Int. Rev., 27 October 1869; Pleasonton to S.B. Dutcher, Superintendent of Int. Rev., 27 October 1869, LR box 903.

9. *Eagle*, 27 October 1869.

10. Report of Gen. Henry Halleck, Dept. of the South, to Secretary of War, *Ann. Report. Secy. of War* 1871, House Executive Documents, 41st Congress, 3rd Session (1870-71), 2: 38; Evarts to A. Magruder, U.S. Marshal, Fla., 20 August 1868, Dept. of Justice Instructions, Book A, pp. 95-96, RG 60 U.S. National Archives (caution during Johnson Administration).

11. Clifford Thompson, Dep. Coll. Int. Rev. to A. Pleasonton, Coll., 4 December 1869, LR box 903; *Eagle, New York Times*, 4 December 1869. This account is a composite from these sources, with "What could it mean?" quotation from *New York Times*. The accounts are nearly identical, suggesting that one paper copied from the other, but disagree on the number of troops, with the Brooklyn paper claiming the higher figure of 700. Even at the low figure of 500, the force is remarkably large. In the Reconstruction state of South Carolina there were only 417 soldiers; in Georgia 755. Louisiana and Mississippi approached 1,000, and Texas led with 4,600 (actively engaged in Indian warfare). See James Sefton, *The United States Army and Reconstruction, 1865-1877* (Baton Rouge, La., 1967), 262.

12. Same sources; description and quotations about chaff etc. from *New York Times*; other quotations from Thompson.

13. "odorous," "sheep," Thompson; "driven off," *New York Times*; "spirited," "worming," *Eagle*.

14. *Eagle*, 18 October 1870, with correspondence; 19 October 1870.

15. *Brooklyn Daily Times*, 2, 3 November 1870; *Eagle*, 4 November 1870.

16. *Eagle*, 4, 5 November 1870.

17. *Eagle*, 13 January 1871; *Brooklyn Daily Times*, 12 January 1871; Tribune 13 January (confirming drunkenness, coverage of second day only); Sefton, *The United States Army and Reconstruction*, 262.

18. *Eagle*, 13 January 1871; James Freeland to A. Pleasonton, 21 April 1871, LR Box 896.

19. *New York Times, New York Tribune*, 4 July 1871.

20. *Eagle*, 14, 15 July 1871; *New York Times*, 14 July 1871.

21. *Eagle*, 17, 18 July 1871.

22. *Eagle*, 18 October 1871 ("sensation"); *New York Times*, 18 October 1871 ("riot"); S.B. Dutcher to Pleasonton, 18 October 1871, Misc. Official Letters Received, RG 58, U.S. National Archives, Box 910 (hereafter MOLR).

23. Dutcher—Comm., 23 October, 15 November 1871, MOLR Box 910; J. Freeland—Comm., 19 December 1871, LR Box 893; *New York Times*, 27 January 1872.

24. *Eagle*, 16 June 1873 (quotations); *New York Times*, 15 June 1873.

25. Atkinson, *After the Moonshiners*, 74-77 (Bradys); *Eagle*, 12 February 1874 ("seductive"); *New York Times*, 12 February (secrecy, bribery).

26. Freeland to Raum, 16 January 1877, LR Box 1896

27. Atkinson, *After the Moonshiners*, 77-81; *New York Times*, 11 February 1880 (quotation).

28. *New York Times*, 1 July 1892; 12 August 1894; 28 December 1895.

29. *New York Tribune*, 28 February 1896.

30. See Stephen Skowronek, *Building a New American State: the Expansion of National Administrative Capacities 1877- 1920* (New York, 1982), 20.

31. Albie Burke, "Federal Regulation of Congressional Elections in Northern Cities" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1968).

32. *Eagle*, 3 November 1870.

33. *Brooklyn Daily Times*, 4 November 1870.

34. See Miller, "The Revenue," 214-15.

Rebirth, Struggle, and Revival: The Brooklyn Academy of Music, 1908—Present

By Geoffrey S. Cahn

The first Brooklyn Academy of Music was one of the nation's most innovative and ambitious theaters. For more than forty years after its opening, in 1861, this cultural center on Montague Street, in Brooklyn Heights, presented such leading artists as the opera singers Nellie Melba, Ernestine Schumann-Heink, and Lili Lehman; the conductors Theodore Thomas, Walter Damrosch, and Anton Seidl; the instrumental virtuosi Josef Hofmann, Ignace Jan Paderewski, and Fritz Kreisler; and the actors Edwin and John Wilkes Booth, Edwin Forrest, and Sarah Bernhardt. It became an outstanding educational institution, as well, after opening its doors to the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences when a fire destroyed the latter's building in 1890. The Academy's long list of notable speakers included Henry Ward Beecher, Edward Everett, Matthew Arnold, and A. Conan Doyle. Henry M. Stanley recounted his finding of Dr. Livingston; Mark Twain read selections from his works; Booker T. Washington pleaded his program for interracial harmony; and, beginning in 1864, the Academy was a forum for most of the major candidates for President of the United States.

The Academy's role as community center expanded with the growth of Brooklyn's civic and social life. Large crowds assembled to raise funds for various charities. The Long Island Historical Society, the Horticultural Society, the General Committee of the Brooklyn Fire Department, and other organizations found it a congenial meeting place, just as schools and colleges often chose its spacious auditorium as the scene of their graduation exercises.

The blaze that destroyed the Academy in 1903 was a blow to the cultural life of the nation, and especially to the community it had served for more than four decades.[1] No sooner were the flames extinguished then replacement plans commenced. Convinced that without an Academy Brooklyn would "die socially, educationally, musically and to some extent politically," the planners quickly moved to erect a new edifice.[2] On 14 March 1904, Borough President Martin W. Littleton invited delegates from the Brooklyn League, the Manufacturers Association, and the Brooklyn Institute to discuss the venture. Within ten days a Committee of One Hundred began the process of raising $1 million by popular subscription to non-assessable stock. Former Mayor Charles A. Schieren, selected chairman of the drive, aroused the pride of investors by referring to the Academy as a "rallying point" for Brooklyn's civic interest and autonomous cultural life.[3] (Six years earlier Brooklyn had become the most

populous borough of Greater New York.) By the time the new Academy opened, more than twelve hundred individuals had subscribed to a total of $1.3 million, the largest sum yet raised for a similar project by any American community.[4]

The site was the south side of Lafayette Avenue, between Ashland Place and St. Felix Street, in the newly fashionable Fort Greene section. Accessible to public transportation, the new complex was located centrally in what promised to be "a thriving section of town," according to forecasts of "the expansion of the downtown commercial area."[5] New shops and stores on nearby Fulton Street and Atlantic Avenue would be in the midst of the highest concentration of elevated and trolley lines in Brooklyn. Only one block away, the Long Island Railroad's Brooklyn Terminal would share a large underground system with the new subways to be in operation by 1920; the Academy was also in line with the Manhattan Bridge, completed in 1909.

Once the location was secured, a competition was held for the building's design. The unanimous winners were Henry B. Herts and Hugh Tallant, architects of such fine Broadway theaters as the New Amsterdam, the Liberty, the (recently-razed) Helen Hayes, and the Lyceum (the oldest legitimate theater still operating today in Manhattan); critics praised their attention to acoustics.[6]

The cornerstone was laid on 25 May 1907; one year later the new Academy was opened for inspection. Although twice the size of its predecessor, the imposing Neo-Italianate Renaissance building struck a more modest view. The facade, originally designed in marble, was simplified and redesigned in cream-colored brick and polychrome terracotta. Noted for its simplicity of line, proportion, and arrangement, the Academy's decorative scheme was advanced for its time. It was one of the first big American buildings to have color freely applied to its exterior.[7] A major achievement in public architecture, the Academy became the most important new building in Brooklyn.

The interior was designed to accommodate the educational, musical, dramatic, and social functions that audiences had come to expect. Of four principal halls, the Opera House was by far the largest, with 2,200 seats, all with unobstructed view of the stage. Brooklyn's new Opera House was "compact, homelike, beautiful, and acoustically brilliant,"[8] equally suited for theater, symphonic concerts, recitals, political rallies, educational activities, and, of course, opera.

A favorite part of the Academy was the more intimate Concert Hall. It, too, possessed excellent acoustics and its design was bathed in color. At the rear of the stage was the famous Frothingham pipe organ, one of the premiere instruments in the United States.

Providing access to both auditoriums and other parts of the building was the impressive foyer, extending along the entire front of the Academy, its 5,000 square feet making it the largest main lobby of any building of its type in the United States. The upstairs Ballroom also was easily approached from both auditoriums, connected by a grand main staircase.

The other sections of the Academy were the large Institute lecture hall (400 seats), four smaller lecture halls (100 seats each), the offices of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, and support facilities.

The stage was provided with the most up-to-date equipment. Special care was taken to insure the building's safety, to prevent repetition of the disaster that destroyed the first Academy; the stage portion was constructed entirely of steel, and the whole building was protected from fire by a sprinkler system.

Public spaces were lavishly endowed with fine woods, vivid mosaic tiles, plush carpets, gold leaf, and luxuriant marbles. The mural decoration was entrusted to William DeLeftwich Dodge, whose earlier accomplishments included the Library of Congress and the dome of the Chicago Administration Building. Clearly reminiscent of the exacting moral standards of late-Victorian America, some fastidious visitors, on an early inspection tour of the Ballroom, were outraged by naked cupids in the decor. Pressure was put on the trustees until the building committee caved in to this display of lingering prudery and agreed to paint ribbons and drapes over the offending parts, in advance of the public opening.[9]

The Academy opened officially on 16 September 1908, a day of celebration for Brooklyn since earlier that morning the first elevated train ran over the new Williamsburg Bridge. The Academy's inaugural was celebrated by an estimated ten thousand people, touring the building and attending performances. While the 23rd Regiment Band played in the Opera House, an organ recital filled the Concert Hall.

The opening events, stretched over more than a month and a half, included a recital by the opera star Ernestine Schumann-Heink, a concert by the Boston Symphony Orchestra, a week-long run of David Belasco's production of *The Warrens of Virginia*, starring Mary Pickford and Blanche Yurka, and a Grand Ball which featured three costume dances attended by Brooklyn's leading citizens. The climax was the opening of the opera season on 14 November, when Enrico Caruso made his Brooklyn debut, in *Faust*. Joined by Geraldine Farrar, a reigning diva, opening night was a glittering success.

THE GOLDEN AGE

The new Academy flourished as a center of the performing arts. Among visiting companies, the Metropolitan Opera dominated through the season of 1920-1921, and returned periodically until 1936. The residents of Brooklyn were able to hear the best opera singers, including Louise Homer, Emmy Destinn, Mary Garden, Antonio Scotti, Leo Slezack, and Beniamino Gigli, with Geraldine Farrar and Enrico Caruso the most popular, as might be expected. A tragic occurrence involved Caruso's next-to-last appearance on any stage, on 11 December 1920, when, during the first act of *L'Elisir d'Amore*, the great tenor began coughing up blood into his handkerchief and was forbidden by his doctors to continue with the second act.[10]

It was the age of adulation of conductors. This was apparent at the

Academy, which quickly sold out concerts given by Maestros Arturo Toscanini, Serge Koussevitzsky, Leopold Stokowski, Bruno Walter, and Pierre Montieux. Among the many community orchestras springing up across the nation, the Brooklyn Orchestral Society, with the talented American conductor-composer Philip James at its helm, was considered among the best. Innovative in its programming, it featured numerous contemporary and native compositions.[11]

The list of vocal and instrumental recitalists during the Academy's "Golden Age" reads like a musical *Who's Who*: Rosa Ponselle, Lilly Pons, Kirsten Flagstad, Lauritz Melchior, Jussi Bjoerling, Sergei Rachmaninoff, Artur Rubinstein, Jascha Heifetz, Pablo Casals, and Andres Segovia. Chamber concerts featured the world's leading ensembles, the Kneisel, Flonzaly, and Budapest String Quartets.

By the second decade of the twentieth century, dance began to attract larger audiences and found an enthusiastic reception at the Academy. The famous Imperial Russian Ballet, starring Anna Pavlova and Mikhail Mordkin, first performed there in 1910, and later, in 1924, Pavlova returned with the original Ballet Russe. Modern dance was championed on the Academy's stage by some of its earliest and creative proponents, including Isadora Duncan, Ruth St. Denis, and Ted Shawn.

Because of increased competition from Brooklyn's downtown playhouses, theater was less important in the second Academy's program during the first three decades of this century. There were many notable engagements, however, the most extraordinary of which took place during the 1916-1917 holiday week, when the seventy-three-year-old Sarah Bernhardt, soon after undergoing a leg amputation, played six different roles in three days.[12]

Often utilized for charitable events, social gatherings, and commemorative celebrations, the new Academy continued to serve as the locus of community life. It was also the scene of many political gatherings, the largest of which were Presidential election meetings beginning with Woodrow Wilson's windup of his 1912 campaign. The oratory of Alfred E. Smith drew crowds in 1928, but the 1940 throng that greeted Franklin D. Roosevelt (whose appearance filled the Academy in his two previous campaigns) was said to number nine thousand, the largest ever assembled inside and outside the building.[13]

Among the many who discussed their art and ideas were H.G. Wells, Sinclair Lewis, Carl Sandburg, Gertrude Stein, Eugene O'Neill, Thomas Mann, and Frank Lloyd Wright. Under the sponsorship of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences (the distinguished center for scientific and cultural enrichment which evolved into the Brooklyn Museum), inquisitive audiences packed the building to hear Admiral Robert E. Perry, Amelia Earhart, and Albert Einstein discuss their adventures, both physical and intellectual. Thousands attended demonstrations and analyses of technological breakthroughs, including a 1911 showing of the yet-imperfect process, "Kinemacolor," and, in 1928, a provocative lecture on "Television and the Electrical Transmission of Pictures."[14]

Decline and Struggle

The vibrant years fast drew to a close when, along with the rest of the nation, Brooklyn was gripped by the Great Depression. The Academy's annual deficit mounted; by 1935 it was $47,000, with an accumulated debt of $445,000.[15] At this point the more solvent Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, formerly the educational arm of the Academy, assumed greater financial control. With an endowment of nearly $4 million, it was able to take complete ownership by 1936, and under the able new directorship of Julius Bloom, the Academy managed to keep afloat.

Bloom, originally hired as an editorial and program consultant with minimal administrative experience, soon was chosen to replace Charles Atkins, who unexpectedly resigned as director.

The period following World War II was marked by change and uncertainty. For the first time since the eighteenth century, Brooklyn's population declined as large numbers of people moved to the newly accessible suburbs. Simultaneously, the *Brooklyn Eagle*, the voice of Brooklyn, ceased publication in 1955; the Navy Yard languished until, in 1966, it was closed by the federal government; and the Dodgers deserted Ebbets Field for Los Angeles at the end of the 1957 season, thus ending one hundred years of professional baseball in the borough. The people of Brooklyn had seen better days, and so had the Academy.

Deficits mounted, attendance fell. In 1951 the Institute, no longer willing to finance the debt, thought of selling the Academy to Long Island University, which offered $550,000 for the building, part of which it planned to convert into a gymnasium.[16] The deal was rejected by Robert C. Blum, president of the Institute, who endorsed Brooklyn Borough President John Cashmore's proposal for the City of New York to take title to the Academy and lease it to the Institute for a nominal fee of one dollar a year. The bailout, including an annual allocation of $77,000 by the city, was adopted by the New York State Legislature and signed into law by Governor Thomas E. Dewey in March 1952.[17] In addition, the sum of $250,000 was allotted for renovations which, according to Julius Bloom, "rejuvenated the plant."[18]

The city's take-over could not prevent the Academy's accumulated deficit from sky-rocketing. By 1956 it was $750,000 in the red. Though attendance was close to half a million in 1955, this figure did not come close to earlier annual draws of nearly three million.[19] The sad truth was that the Academy could not break even, though Julius Bloom's administration must be considered an artistic success.

Bloom was the first Director whose dynamic style of management changed the philosophy and future course of the Academy. His goal was to stimulate attendance through imaginative and exclusive programming.

While reaching out to the other boroughs, he focused on making the Academy of Music predominantly a "Brooklyn affair." "The Academy," declared Bloom, "was under no obligation to compete with Carnegie Hall—an exalted national institution." Rather, he wanted to "create for the community what Carnegie Hall could in no way do."[20]

In addition to those of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, the New York Philharmonic, and the Philadelphia Orchestra, new series were scheduled, including the Little Orchestra Society Concerts and the American Youth Orchestra Concerts. Brooklyn had been without its own professional orchestra since 1891, when the old Brooklyn Philharmonic Society stopped performing. In 1939 Bloom organized the Brooklyn Symphony Orchestra, under the direction of the Sir Thomas Beecham. However, unable to sustain itself once this renowned conductor left, it ceased to exist within a few years until a new orchestra—calling itself the Brooklyn Philharmonia—was formed in 1949. A critic of its first concert noted that "the balance of choirs was unusually good for a new ensemble, although occasionally the brass got out of hand."[21]

The Major Concert Series continued to feature leading musicians, including Vladimir Horowitz, Rudolf Serkin, Yehudi Menuhin, Nathan Milstein, and Isaac Stern. In addition, Bloom, always willing to explore new types of programs, began the American Artists Series. This was a bold move back in the 1940s, since most of the musicians were young and unknown.

Dance continued to captivate American audiences, and so, along with the established Martha Graham, Doris Humphrey, and Charles Weidman, Bloom promoted such innovators as Jose Limon, Hanya Holm, Anna Sokolow, Katherine Dunham, Merce Cunningham, and Erick Hawkins.

For those seeking a greater understanding of the arts, Bloom launched an entire "Appreciation Series," in which leading artists gave lectures and recitals. The Academy became a forerunner of today's adult education, offering the community a variety of courses and clubs including astronomy, natural history, photography, creative writing, foreign languages, and child care. Bloom was especially interested in reviving the dormant Chess Club. He recalled one day when an excited member of his staff rushed into his office announcing that a young boy downstairs in the Chess Club was "beating everybody's pants off." No more than twelve years old at the time, Bobby Fisher "cut his teeth at 'our' Chess Club," according to Bloom.[22]

To maintain so full a schedule of events, Bloom was forced to ignore the financial statements; between 1936 and 1957, the deficit rose above $800,000. With another financial crisis imminent, a campaign was mounted to save the cherished institution. Six thousand new subscribers insured that there would be a 1957-1958 season.[23]

Because Bloom took leave after the spring of 1957 (within a few years, he was appointed executive director of Carnegie Hall) the Academy had to confront its future problems without the benefits of the former leader's "creative management." The next ten years were the bleakest in its history, with facilities sometimes operating at less than 30 percent of capacity. Desperate to draw new subscribers, the Academy, adopting a policy long familiar to movie-house audiences, began to dispense "house gifts," including electric frying pans and hair dryers.[24]

Programming was limited by the harsh economic conditions confronting

the Academy and its neighborhood. Despite triumphant appearances, including Van Cliburn's only New York concert in 1963, the farewell appearance of Marian Anderson in 1965, and Rudolf Nureyev's American debut in 1962, deficits soared and attendance declined.[25]

By the early 1960s deteriorating inner-cities were one of the country's most serious problems. At the turn-of-the-century, the Fort Greene section of Brooklyn held much promise of growth, bustling with commercial and social activity. Now it was a forgotten "inner-city in ruins, its buildings abandoned, vandalized, torched, its people suffering from poverty, unemployment, discrimination." Patrons afraid of encountering muggers no longer risked an evening at the Academy. Drab by day and dark by night, the Academy stood "all but abandoned in a wasteland of urban blight."[26]

RENEWAL AND TRANSFORMATION

During the late 1960s a startling evolution began, under the direction of Harvey Lichtenstein, formerly a dancer and then a successful administrator at Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts. This remarkable renaissance was accomplished through innovative programming, vigorous funding, and creative marketing. The regentrification of the adjacent Park Slope and Cobble Hill neighborhoods, along with the more recent revitalization of Fort Greene and Clinton Hill, also contributed greatly to BAM's rebirth.

Without the necessary funds, the Brooklyn Academy of Music would not have been able to survive. By the mid-sixties, a great deal of money from government, business, and private foundations led to tremendous growth in the arts throughout the United States. The Academy and other "regionals," such as the new Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, would benefit from the "cultural explosion."

During 1968, their first full year, Lichtenstein and his talented staff received the funding so desperately needed to revitalize the Academy. From New York City, headed by Mayor John V. Lindsay, a strong supporter of the arts, they received $786,000. The Ford Foundation gave $100,000, which Lichtenstein planned to use to "give modern dance a home." A year later, the Rockefeller Foundation donated $350,000 for the activities of resident dance and theater companies. These grants, according to August Heckscher, New York City Parks Recreational and Cultural Affairs Administrator, were "a vote of confidence not only in the merits of the institution and artists involved, but in the rebirth of Brooklyn as a community."[27]

Lichtenstein, however, would be the first to admit that the Academy's financial status, by the early 1970s, remained critical. The costs of increased programming raised the accumulated deficit of "BAM" (the logo which became inexorably attached to it) to nearly $700,000. In 1974, it suffered one of its worst financial setbacks when it attempted but failed to establish its own classical repertory theater. This left it with a $2 million debt which had to be erased.[28]

With the inauguration of an innovative membership program, attendance increased dramatically. During the 1974-1975 season, subscription sales doubled and the Academy was able to cut its deficit by 25 percent. Contributions from public and private sources amounted to over $1.5 million, and in the following year another $1.75 million was added to help balance the budget. By the mid-seventies, the Academy "appeared to have achieved fiscal stability albeit in an arts-endowed era."[29]

By turning to new and aggressive marketing techniques (which did not rely on the "giveaways" of the previous administration), Lichtenstein and his associates increased attendance six fold in less than ten years. Lichtenstein said of this approach, which advertised unusually low prices for subscriptions to several events in a single package, that he was "not afraid to admit that we sell culture through the mail and newspapers."[30] The result was huge, pre-sold, subscription audiences.

Major renovations to the Academy's sixty-year old building not only improved its image and thus drew newer and larger audiences, but was an essential component of Lichtenstein's plans for new programming. Since theater was important to management's aspirations, new performing spaces were constructed, including the Third Theater—an excellent setting for intimate and experimental drama. The Ballroom, little used since World War II, was converted into an adaptable performing space for theater, dance, and, later on, chamber concerts; it was unveiled as the Lepercq Space in September 1973. By 1975, the Academy needed a medium-sized theater for its more ambitious theatrical engagements, so the old Concert Hall was transformed into a 1,075 seat theater, with a new thrust stage. The renovations, including the beautiful restoration of the wood paneling, once again made this hall the favorite of patrons when it opened in May 1976.[31]

A $4.8-million program for renovation and construction was set for the entire building, until the occurrence of the worst catastrophe since the fire that ruined the old Academy. On Labor Day morning of 1977, as the staff prepared for the new Fall season, a water main broke underneath the street adjacent to the Academy. Within minutes the building was flooded. Soon both the stages and half of the orchestra seats in the two main halls were submerged under twenty-four feet of water and mud. Almost $1 million in damages resulted, and it looked as if there would be no Fall 1977 season. Lichtenstein recalls that, "As grueling as the aftermath was, it was also extraordinarily reassuring to feel the wave of support that embraced us."[32]

While a task force of over seven hundred workers from eleven city agencies worked around the clock to restore the flood-damaged Academy, financial aid poured in from the city, state, federal government, foundations, corporations, and thousands of individuals all over the country.[33] The Academy was able to open on schedule, with a concert by the Brooklyn Philharmonia on 15 October. Having survived this crisis, the following year it resumed the renovation and construction of the entire facility.

The run-down and desolate area surrounding the Academy was also

given a facelift. By 1973 the St. Felix Street side of the building became safer and more attractive, now lined with renovated brownstones. The one-block walk from the subway was brilliantly lit with sodium lights, allaying patrons' previous fears. Beginning in 1981, through the efforts of its Local Development Corporation (BAM/LDC), the Academy has spearheaded the revitalization and redevelopment of the entire sixteen-block area.

The regentrification of the neighborhood surrounding BAM was one of many taking place in the City's older communities. "Brownstoning"—the purchasing and renovating of old brownstones mostly by young professional couples—began in Brooklyn Heights during the late sixties and spread to the nearby areas of Park Slope, Cobble Hill, Carroll Gardens, Boerum Hill, Fort Greene, and Clinton Hill, all comprising what now is known as "the brownstone belt."

A new audience for the performing arts was therefore emerging, and Lichtenstein was confident that, with the proper programming, it could be attracted to BAM. Though Julius Bloom earlier had anticipated which kinds of programs might elevate the Academy's artistic standing, Lichtenstein must be credited with bestowing the institution with a personality of its own. Shedding its nineteenth-century image with unaccustomed abandon, the Academy embraced the avant-garde. Lichtenstein's programs were not merely cutdown versions of Manhattan's cultural life, but often explored areas not otherwise available in the city.[34] Unlike Bloom, whose focus was on a more provincial level, Lichtenstein's vision encompassed a broader landscape.

Traditional concert-life took on a new dimension. The most noticeable change in the direction of symphonic music came when Lukas Foss took over as Music Director of the Brooklyn Philharmonia in 1971. Noted for his innovative "Marathon Concerts," featuring an evening's worth of music by a single composer or school, Foss also became an important force in championing contemporary music at his regular Philharmonic concerts, and especially in his unique "Meet the Moderns" series. The American premiere of Tabula Rasa, by the acclaimed contemporary composer Arvo Part, was given recently by the Philharmonic as part of its subscription series.[35]

New life also was given to staid chamber music concerts, when the violist, Scott Nickrenz, originated a comprehensive series in 1973. He not only offered world-famous ensembles at very low prices, but also created new groups at these concerts by pairing well-known musicians with promising young performers. Like Lukas Foss, he has made these programs attractive by offering rare and contemporary works along with the traditional repertoire.

Not since the days of the old Academy had audiences been given the opportunity to experience as much theater, ranging from classical repertory to experimental works. Controversy marked the opening of the 1968-1969 season when word got out that the avant-garde Living Theater, directed by Julian Beck and Judith Molina, would feature nudity inside *and* outside

of the Academy in their production of *Paradise Now*. As a compromise with the precinct captain, who threatened to dispatch patrolmen at performances, the management agreed to confine the nudity inside the building, while the police stationed themselves outside.[36]

Ethnic tastes also were reflected in the programming. In the early 1970s the Jewish State Theater of Bucharest presented *The Dybbuk* and *The Pearl Necklace*, in Yiddish, and Nuria Esperts' company offered *Yerma* in Spanish. A successful production by the Academy's Chelsea Theater Center was *Lady Day*, a musical play about Billie Holiday by the jazz artist, Archie Shepp.

The enthusiastic response to these and more traditional fare, featuring British and American theatrical offerings, was largely responsible for the Academy's rebirth. By the mid-seventies, it entered a period rivaling its earlier "golden age." People from outside the borough had good reason for coming to Brooklyn, and Brooklynites an even greater reason to patronize their Academy.[37]

During the late-seventies, BAM briefly ran its own repertory theater company. However, due to artistic and economic difficulties, this was one of the few projects encouraged by Lichtenstein that failed.[38] The Academy's latest and boldest experiment in theater is the $5-million restoration of the Majestic Theater, built in 1904. Once a lively showcase for vaudeville, movies, and drama, it lay abandoned, located only two blocks from the Academy on Fulton Street, near Flatbush Avenue. The rebuilt Majestic's first presentation was Peter Brook's nine-hour Indian Epic, *The Mahabharata*, which in 1987 attracted near-capacity audiences. Critics have questioned whether the theater's radical alteration, which some have described as a "Roman ruin," has made it practical for other productions. Nonetheless, the Majestic has housed Brook's production of *The Cherry Orchard*, as well as avant-garde and jazz concerts. With these and other programs, the Academy hopes to attract a wider cross-section of theater-goers, thus supplementing the productions held in the main building.[39]

Dance also played a stellar role in the Academy's rebirth. Lichtenstein, a former modern dancer, knew that few of the modern companies based in Manhattan had permanent spaces in which to perform; one of his priorities was to give modern dancers a home. Very quickly BAM became one of the nation's leading dance centers.[40] Audiences were treated to the premiere appearances of Third World dance companies, participating in BAM's "Afro-Asian Festivals" of 1971-1972 and 1972-1973 which included the Ritual Acrobats of Persia, the Whirling Dervishes of Turkey, the Classical Khmer Ballet of Cambodia, and the Jamaica National Dance Company. The "Dance Africa" festivals, the first and only African-American dance celebration held in the United States, and the "Festividad," a salute to Hispanic dance and music, were two of the new kinds of programs promoted by BAM in recent years.

Though modern dance dominated the program with the talents of Merce Cunningham, Paul Taylor, Eliot Feld, Laura Dean, Lucinda Childs, Trisha

Brown, Twyla Tharp, and more recently Pina Bausch and Nina Wiener, BAM also promoted other kinds of dance. Ballet was represented by visiting companies such as the Harkness Ballet, the Netherlands Dance Theater, the American Ballet Theater, the Pennsylvania Ballet, the San Francisco Ballet, and most recently the Sadler's Wells Royal Ballet and the Central Ballet of China. The latter's debut visit to the West represented BAM's latest effort to bring unique dance experiences to New York enthusiasts.[41]

BAM has advanced the works of new artists of the eighties. Helped by corporate sponsors, the annual NEXT WAVE Festival has become a leading forum for avant-garde performing arts. In this venture, the Academy has realized its commitment to contemporary art, while attracting public and media attention to itself. John Rockwell, music critic for the *New York Times*, has written that:

> Night after night, Mr. Lichtenstein has managed to fill his various theaters within the Academy complex, or come reasonbly close to it. And the audience he has lured to Brooklyn is about the flashiest, most fashionable in town.[42]

Since historically the avant-garde has been at least initially thwarted by the public, the popular acclaim for these new-wave artists is truly remarkable, and one factor which may make them suspect. Only time will tell whether these works are merely trendy or timely. For the present, their great appeal is unquestionable. When the NEXT WAVE swept in during February 1981 with the New York premiere of Philip Glass' minimalist opera, *Satyagraha*, ten thousand tickets for five performances were quickly sold out. Also generating attention were often controversial works by Steve Reich, Laurie Anderson, the Flying Karamazov Brothers, Glen Branca, Robert Wilson, Mark Morris, David Byrne, John Adams, and the Kronos Quartet. BAM has allocated over one-third of it annual operating budget, which has expanded from $1.8 million in 1971 to $14 million recently, to continue this successful and most prominent of its current series.[43]

Because of unique programming, balancing modern with traditional fare, the Academy continues to draw fresh and enthusiastic audiences. During the spring 1989 season, the Opera House offered such new productions as Verdi's *Falstaff* by the Welsh National Opera, and Lully's rarely performed *Atys* by the Theatre National de l'Opera de Paris. The Metropolitan Opera is planning several experimental seasons, beginning in 1991, in hopes of creating a "mini-Met" devoted to recent and smaller-scale operas not suitable for the large Met Opera House and its regular subscription season.[44] This will be the "Met's" first regularly-scheduled visit to Brooklyn in more than fifty years.

Though threatened in the past, the Academy's resiliency and survival is a testimony to the resourcefulness of its leaders and the community it has served. Without outside financial support—such as a recent $600,000 Challenge Grant from the National Endowment for the Arts—it could not have endured the many hardships confronting cultural institutions.

Many of its programs are different from those of its early years, reflecting both the prudence of its administrators and the growth of the cultural landscape. One can argue that the Brooklyn Academy of Music has become the progenitor of the modern American performing arts center. Though always aware of its rich and varied past, it manages to create a successful blend of the traditional and the avant-garde, of great appeal to its public. Since its rebirth, the Academy now can reclaim *Variety's* earlier accolade as one of "the greatest entertainment factories in the world."[45] For over eighty years, it has clearly emerged as a venerable and multifaceted institution. BAM has helped shape Brooklyn's identity and continues to play a prominent role in the nation's cultural development.

NOTES

1. For a history of the first building, see Geoffrey S. Cahn, "The Brooklyn Academy of Music: The First Building 1861-1903," *Journal of Kentucky Studies* 3 (1986): 90-106.

2. *Brooklyn Eagle*, 25 March 1904. Between the destruction of the old Academy and the opening of the new one, many cultural and educational activities were held at the Baptist Temple and Hall, as well as Association Hall. For a partial listing, see Bill Bradley,"A Chronological History of BAM Programming,"1966, Offices of the Brooklyn Academy of Music, Brooklyn, 35-37.

3. Brooklyn Academy of Music: A Brief Address and Ten Plates (printed for the Committee, dated 1 September 1904).

4. "The Brooklyn Academy of Music," *Bulletin of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences*, 3 January 1914, 424 [hereafter *Bulletin of BIAS*]. The building cost twice as much as Symphony Hall, Boston (1900), and 1.5 times as much as Orchestral Hall, Chicago (1889), speaking well of its founders' civic and philanthropic spirit, especially considering that Boston and Chicago had more wealthy residents than did Brooklyn.

5. Carol Lopate, *Education and Culture in Brooklyn: A History of Ten Institutions* (Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Educational and Cultural Alliance, 1979), 44-45.

6. Report of the Landmarks Preservation Commission, 26 September 1978, Designation List 118.LP-1003.

7. *Brooklyn Eagle*, 22 September 1907.

8. "A Temple of Music," *Bulletin of BIAS*, 7 November 1908, 181; "The New Brooklyn Academy of Music," *The Brickbuilder* 17 (1908): 235.

9. *Brooklyn Eagle*, 23 July 1908; *New York Times*, 23 July 1908.

10. *New York World Telegram*, 8 November 1958. Caruso died in the following year.

11. "A Greater Brooklyn Orchestra," Brooklyn Orchestra Society Files. Philip James Papers Collection, property of Mrs. Philip James.

12. Martha McGowen, *Growing up in Brooklyn. The Brooklyn Academy of Music: Mirror of a Changing Borough* (Brooklyn: BAM, 1983), 19.

13. *New York Daily Mirror*, 14 October 1956; New York Daily News, 16 August 1956.

14. *Bulletin of BIAS*, 18 March 1911; McGowan,"Growing up," 20.

15. *New York Times*, 7 September 1935.

16. *BIAS Report of the President*, 1 July 1947—30 June 1948, and 1 July 1948—30 June 1949; *New York Times*, 7 June 1951; *New York Daily News*, 7 June 1951.

17. *New York Times*, 23 June 1951, 20 February 1952; *New York Daily News*, 23 June 1951, 20 February 1952.

18. Julius Bloom, interview by author, 19 August 1983.

19. *BIAS Report of the President*, 1955-1956; *New York Journal American*, 31 July 1956; Lisa Coe, "Impressario from Flatbush," *New York Herald Tribune Magazine*, 27 November 1955, 20; *Bulletin of BIAS*, 1908-1909.

20. Bloom, interview.

21. "Brooklyn Hears Its Own Orchestra for the First Time," *Musical America*, 16 March 1949, 3-4; Julius Bloom, interview.

22. Bloom, interview.

23. *New York Daily News*, 11 January 1957, Kings section; *New York Journal American*, 28 March 1957.

24. Brendan Gill, "BAM Grows in Brooklyn," *New York Times Magazine*, 24 October 1976, 69; *New York Times*, 19 September 1960, 13.

25. William McKelvy Martin, former director, BAM, to author, 9 November 1983; Untitled newspaper clippings, BAM File, 1960-1969, Brooklyn Collection, Brooklyn Public Library; *BIAS Annual Reports*, 1963-1964, 1965-1966; George D. Stoddard, *New Departures for the Brooklyn Institute: A Report to the Long Range Planning Committee of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences* (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, 1967), 60; *New York Times*, 30 January 1964.

26. David Ment, *The Shaping of a City: A Brief History of Brooklyn* (Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Educational and Cultural Alliance, 1979), 93-94.

27. *New York Times*, 5 January 1969; *New York Post*, 22 January 1969.

28. *New York Times*, 12 September 1971; *Wall Street Journal*, 23 January 1979; *New York Times*, 17 October 1985.

29. Ibid., 26 October 1975; *BAM Annual Report*, 1974-1975, 1975-1976; Marilyn V. Baum, "The Brooklyn Academy of Music: A Case Study of the Rebirth of an Urban Cultural Center" (Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York, 1983), 102.

30. *Wall Street Journal*, 23 January 1979; Lillie Rosen, "BAM: It has Impact," *Cue*, 6-19 August 1977, 12.

31. Interview with Norman MacArthur, building manager of BAM, 26 October 1982.

32. *New York Times*, 7 and 15 September 1977; McGowan, "Growing Up," 33.

33. *The Phoenix*, 19 September 1977.

34. *New York Times*, 17 October 1985; Ibid., 5 January 1969; MacArthur, interview; Alan Rich, "A Cultural Alternative Grows in Brooklyn," *New York Times*, 14 July 1969.

35. The U.S. premiere was 28 October 1988. Program of Brooklyn Philharmonic, 1988-1989 Season. It is expected that this blend of the traditional and the avant-garde will continue at BAM when, in 1991, the forty-five-year-old Dennis Russell Davies becomes both the principal conductor of the Philharmonic and the music director of the Academy.

36. McGowan,"Growing Up," 28.

37. Baum, "Brooklyn Academy," 92.

38. Ibid., 112-13, 130-32; McGowan, "Growing Up," 38-39.

39. *New York Times*, 13, 19, and 25 October 1987, 22 April 1989.

40. "The Academy," in "Talk of the Town," *New Yorker*, 14 November 1970, 22.

41. *New York Times*, 2 March 1986.

42. Ibid., 5 December 1985.

43. Ibid., 28 July 1987.

44. Ibid., 21 June 1988.

45. Quoted in *New York World Telegram and Sun, Feature Magazine*, 11 April 1959, 3.

From One Island to Another: The Story of Long Island Cubans

By Elaine Anne Pasquali

INTRODUCTION

The migration of Cubans has added another facet to the population of Long Island. Since the fall of the Batista government at the end of 1958, hundreds of thousands of Cubans have gone into self-imposed exile and migrated to the United States in a series of stages or "waves." Within an Hispanic population of 101,975 (almost of half of which is Puerto Rican), some 6,692 Cubans now reside in Nassau and Suffolk Counties, Long Island, the locus of my study.[1]

The migration of Cubans has contributed to the diversity of Long Island's Caribbean/Latin American population, comprised of different ethnic groups distinguishable by such characteristics as language, history, racial composition, reasons for migrating, and legal entry status. For example, the colonial history of the Caribbean or Latin American country of origin is reflected in the language spoken by immigrants. Thus, Cubans speak Spanish; Haitians may speak Creole or French; and Jamaicans speak English. While most Cubans migrated for political reasons, economic reasons may have been instrumental for the moves of other groups, such as Puerto Ricans and Dominicans. Moreover, the historical, political, and socio-economic context surrounding immigration is often reflected in the residential status of Caribbean/Latin American people on Long Island. While most Cubans entered the United States as political refugees, Puerto Ricans hold citizen status, and Mexicans may be classified as immigrants or as illegal aliens.

This article is based on an ethnographic study that traces the migration of Cubans to Long Island. The first wave of migration began in 1958; the most recent occurred in 1980. The experience of immigration is examined within the context of Cuban studies and United States-Cuban relations current at the time that migration occurred.

As an anthropologist, I used an ethnographic perspective which is primarily descriptive. Migration experiences include the subjective accounts of refugees and the meanings they gave to them. Ethnographic data was collected from three hundred Cuban refugees over a three-year period (1980-1983).[2] Ethnographic methods of anthropological research were employed that combined the following fieldwork techniques: extensive participant-observation, life history, genealogy, diary-keeping, guided interview, informal association, attendance at meetings and gatherings, and individual case study. Key informants consisted of eleven Cuban refugees and their families who were conversed with regularly and in-depth, and whose behavior was observed throughout the entire three years of

Long Island Historical Journal Vol. 2, No. 2 pp. 265-277

fieldwork. Casual informants were conversed with less frequently. I associated with and observed the behavior of all informants at home as well as at social gatherings, meetings, and places of employment.

BACKGROUND

The majority of Long Island Cuban informants came as political refugees escaping from a repressive government, rather than as immigrants looking to improve their standard of living. They stated that the prior presence of relatives on Long Island was their primary reason for settling here. In addition, social networks of relatives and friends-of-friends channeled Cuban refugees into unskilled jobs that required little knowledge of English. In this way, occupational niches were carved out that provided some degree of economic security for Long Island Cuban refugees.

In Cuba, most of the informants who became the refugees of the 1960s and 1970s had lived in Havana or other urban areas and had belonged to Cuba's middle class. The majority had completed high school, and some had graduated from or were enrolled in college at the time of the Cuban revolution. Men customarily had been employed in skilled, white-collar, or professional occupations. Almost half of the women migrants had not been employed in Cuba, but had remained at home supervising maids and nannies in the care of the house and the children. Those women who had worked in Cuba usually held positions as professionals (primarily teachers), government workers, or managers of family businesses, and they also had employed servants for housework and child care.

Immigration to the United States frequently necessitated the breakup of the immediate family unit of husband, wife, and children. In the 1960s and 1970s, for some refugee families the separation was temporary and short-lived, as when one spouse emigrated a few days or a few months before the other. For other families, the separation extended over a protracted period, as when children were sent out of Cuba to extended-family members in the United States, or to refugee-relocation centers that placed the children in foster homes. Frequently, these children were not reunited with their parents or siblings for many years.

Parenthetically, years later, the Mariel boatlift refugees of 1980, especially those who had been political prisoners in Cuba, also experienced the break-up of family. Many left Cuba without any opportunity to say goodbye to family members whom they left behind. Some boatlift refugees told of having a parent, spouse, or child removed from the boat just as it was ready to leave port. Some of these family members remained in Cuba. Others were sent to countries other than the United States.

MIGRATION

Most first-generation Long Island Cuban informants settled here in the 1960s and 1970s. Situated in the suburbs of Manhattan, the Nassau and Suffolk communities have Cuban populations residentially dispersed throughout the general population. Several of these communities—Freeport and Rockville Centre among them—have sizeable populations

of Cubans, but in contrast to Miami, Florida, and West New York-Union City, New Jersey, no ethnic enclaves have formed.

The migration of Cubans from Cuba and to Long Island occurred in "waves," and can best be understood by viewing it in its social and historical context.

FIRST IMMIGRATION WAVE

The Batista government fell at the end of 1958. From January 1959 through June 1972, hundreds of thousands of Cubans chose self-imposed exile in the United States.[3] Similar to other Cubans fleeing at this time, Cuban informants who eventually settled on Long Island were mainly the Batista power elite (*Batistianos*) and other upper-class families whose lifestyles were undermined by the Cuban Agrarian Reform Law of 1959 and the Nationalization and Confiscation of Businesses Act of 1960.

The group of Long Island Cuban informants who had been part of the professional army under Batista, or whose families had owned large businesses, was comparatively small. Most of them were able to obtain United States visas as immigrants or non-immigrants with relative ease. Those Cubans who fled in small boats did not have entry visas; they were unable to enter the United States as immigrants but were admitted as political refugees. In this period of American history, people emigrating from Communist countries received political refugee status.[4]

Many of the informants who emigrated from Cuba in this first wave considered themselves fortunate because they had been able to bring many of their assets with them. After the Bay of Pigs incident of 1961, Castro retaliated by restricting the assets that emigrating Cubans could take with them. The following account from an informant is representative of the experience of many Cubans who migrated during this period:

> You could only take $5 out of Cuba and your personal belongings in one suitcase and one bottle of rum per person which you could sell in the United States for American dollars. I was an adult and I came with my three brothers and two sisters. The youngest was thirteen. They confiscated two of the bottles of rum at customs because two of the children were under age. Some Cuban friends had heard we were coming and met us at the airport in Miami. They were very poor but they gave us $50, probably all they had.

This account illustrates the scarce economic resources with which many Cubans began their refugee lives. Informants explained that when families applied to leave Cuba, a government official inventoried the family's assets, including household possessions and financial savings, all of which had to be left in Cuba. Each family member was able to take one suitcase of personal belongings and a bottle of liquor (usually sold in the host country). This comprised the family's economic stake to a new life.

As many Cubans became disenchanted with the revolution, lower-and middle-class families, and frequently children unaccompanied by parents, left Cuba via a holding country for the United States. Often, the decision

to leave Cuba had to be hastily made and implemented, as one Long Island Cuban man explained:

> I had been a supporter of Castro during the Revolution but by 1960 I realized that Castro was a Communist and I joined the underground against Castro. One day, a friend who had married a captain in Castro's army came and told me that in two days Castro's men were coming to my town to arrest anti-revolutionaries and I was going to be arrested. I was eighteen years old at the time and I had forty-eight hours to get out of Cuba. I panicked. I had no relatives outside of Cuba. Then I thought, let me go back to my school [the Catholic high school from which he had recently graduated]. The priest told me I was not the first and would not be the last to leave Cuba. There was a classmate of mine whose mother had contacts in the Spanish Embassy in Cuba and she got me on a boat to Spain within two days.

Cuban youths, mainly pre-teen-agers or teen-agers, who emigrated without their parents were customarily met at their destinations by relatives, godparents, family friends, or friends-of-friends who acted as their guardians. The following accounts of two informants who left without their families represent the experiences of many youths who came to Long Island:

> I left Cuba by boat without any money. You weren't allowed to bring any money out of Cuba, but I had a letter of introduction to a priest in Spain.
>
> When the boat arrived in Spain, I had no one to meet me, only a letter of introduction. I had left my family, everything, behind me. I have a letter and I'm going to beg for help. While I was crying, a boatmate came and told me a priest was looking for me. The priest and one of my classmates (from Cuba) who was already in Spain had come to claim me.
>
> I lived at a *colegio*, the sister school to the one I had attended in Cuba, for one and a half months. The priests at the school told me that an invasion of Cuba was being planned in the United States...The invasion was the Bay of Pigs...After the unsuccessful invasion of Cuba, I decided to come to the United States. I came with no money but with three bottles of cognac for friends of my godmother. These were the only people I had in the United States...I lived with them.

and,

> I came to the United States when I was twelve years old. I came with my fourteen-year old brother. My brother and I stayed with an aunt for two years. My aunt had come to the United States in 1949. To me, it was like living with a strange person. I didn't know my aunt. When my brother was sixteen, he left school and got a job and me

> and my brother left my aunt's home and rented a room to live in. My brother supported me. I had a job too, selling newspapers on the street for sixty cents an hour. I worked for two hours each day after school. I made $6 a week. We ate a lot of hamburgers...In Cuba, we had been rich. We didn't know what it was to wear mended clothes. Once we came to the United States, we matured fast. It was like a survival struggle. We didn't have time to just be a kid.

These youths' migration experiences illustrate how social networks, especially the secondary zone of friends-of-friends, were activated in order to leave Cuba, and the role of extended-family members in helping refugees to resettle on Long Island. Other studies of Cuban refugees of the 1970s have also noted the importance of social networks, especially secondary zones, in the resettlement process.[5]

Because the Castro government had placed a restriction on the emigration of boys within two years of military age, many families sent younger sons out of Cuba, but sons between the ages of fifteen and twenty-six had to remain in Cuba. As one Long Island Cuban man explained,

> My mother had sent me and my brother out of Cuba to the United States to escape military service in Castro Cuba. But my other brothers were military age and they were not allowed to leave Cuba. My mother wanted to stay with my brothers. She didn't want to leave them alone in Cuba. It wasn't until the boatlift that my mother and my brothers were able to come to the United States.

When, in 1961, the United States ended diplomatic relations with Cuba, it became impossible for most Cubans to obtain visas to the United States without first going through a third country. Those Cubans who had obtained nonimmigrant visas prior to January 1, 1961 and who were able to book a flight on a commercial plane were still able to fly into Miami.[6]

Although informants recounted stories about other Cubans who obtained counterfeit nonimmigrant visas, they denied having done so themselves. Because Castro had set a lower age limit for the emigration of children from Cuba, one mother admitted that she had used an underground network to obtain a counterfeit birth certificate stating her daughter's age as one year more than it really was. Since so many Cubans were unable to qualify for nonimmigrant visas, the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service granted parolee status to Cubans who wanted to reside in this country but did not have visas.[7] Many Long Island Cubans had parolee status when they entered the United States.

SECOND IMMIGRATION WAVE

Following President John F. Kennedy's speech on the Cuban missile crisis, on 22 October 1962, Castro prohibited air flights between Cuba and the United States, and immigration dramatically declined. During this period, the main ways to emigrate from Cuba were to leave in small boats or to fly to third countries, usually Mexico or Spain.[8] A few Long Island

Cuban informants emigrated at this time, living in Spain or Mexico for months before obtaining entry visas to the United States. Because of the cost of flying to the holding country and living there after arrival, immigration to the United States became very expensive.

THIRD IMMIGRATION WAVE

Not until December 1965, when Castro decided to permit Cubans with relatives in the United States to leave Cuba, did immigration to the United States resume. During this period, which lasted until the "Freedom Flights" were terminated in April 1973, more than one-third of the Long Island Cubans in the study arrived in the United States. Nationwide, approximately 285,000 Cubans took advantage of these Freedom Flights.[9] Early in this period, the United States government recognized that most Cubans who came as refugees would probably stay here permanently. On 2 November 1966, Public Law 89-732 was enacted to allow Cuban refugees to alter their legal status from parolee to permanent resident.[10] All but one of the Long Island Cubans in the study took advantage of the law and became permanent residents.

FOURTH IMMIGRATION WAVE

The termination of the Freedom Flights ushered in a seven-year hiatus in the immigration of Cubans to the United States. The next wave occurred with the Mariel boatlift of 1980. After approximately ten thousand Cubans took political asylum in the Peruvian Embassy in Havana, Castro decreed that those with relatives in the United States were free to leave. This wave of migrants primarily consisted of three groups: Cubans who had sought refuge in the Peruvian Embassy; Cubans who had relatives in the United States and had been unable to leave Cuba during the Freedom Flights; and Cubans who had been incarcerated in Cuban prisons, often for political offenses.[11]

The events leading up to this fourth wave of immigration date back to December 1978, when Castro decided to allow Cubans living in the United States to visit their families in Cuba. The visits were to be for a period of one week and took place between 1979 and early 1980. This period is often referred to as the "blue-jeans revolution" because, of all the gifts that visiting Cuban-Americans brought to their relatives, designer blue-jeans were the most prized.[12] Informants told of cramming suitcases with clothes and of returning to Long Island with only the clothes on their backs. Some of them suspect that opportunities and living conditions in the United States may have been exaggerated by returning emigres who were trying to impress their relatives. Still, relatives in Cuba began to realize that American emigres had a lifestyle superior to Cuba's.

Moreover, Cuba was in the midst of an economic recession. Its two main export crops, tobacco and sugar, were being ravaged by disease, and government austerity programs were on the increase. Disenchantment with Castro's government rose, as did political dissent. The boatlift benefited Castro by decreasing an acute housing shortage, by clearing the island

of dissidents, and by providing scapegoats for the stagnating economy.[13] Some 20 percent of the Mariel boat people were black.[14] However, because the vast majority of the Long Island Cubans of the '60s and '70s who participated in this study would be considered white, this was not true of *Marielitos* brought into their households.

During the boatlift, one-third of informant households brought relatives and long-time family friends out of Cuba. It cost Long Island Cuban informants an average of $5,000 for each person they brought out. Some Long Island Cubans took time off from their jobs to go to Miami (sometimes they sailed on boats to Cuba) in order to expedite emigration procedures. In addition to bringing out relatives and friends, many informants served as sponsors and helped Mariel refugees to resettle. Resettlement assistance included opening their homes to refugees or finding them apartments, enrolling refugees in English-language classes, and finding them jobs. Many Mariel refugees found employment and housing within days of arriving on Long Island. Social networks of relatives, friends, and friends-of-friends were activated to obtain jobs, housing, clothing, and food. As one Long Island Cuban explained, "It's not imposing to ask. It was done for us when we came. Now we do it for others. It's paying back."

CROSS-CUTTING WAVES OF IMMIGRATION

The experience of Long Island Cuban families often spanned several waves of immigration, as illustrated by the account of Mrs. M. and her family. In 1956, Mrs. M. came to Long Island for a visit, liked the area, found a job, and decided to stay. She had left her husband and three-year-old son in Cuba. Mrs. M. divorced her husband and tried to get her son out of Cuba. In the interim, the Cuban Revolution occurred and she was unable to visit Cuba. Since her ex-husband refused to give the consent necessary under Cuban law for her son to come to the United States, the boy remained in Cuba. When her ex-husband died, she began proceedings for her son to emigrate from Cuba. He was granted permission to leave and went to Mexico, where he lived for one year with one of Mrs. M.'s sisters and eventually obtained a visa to the United States. Then, in 1967, by means of the Freedom Flights, Mrs. M.'s father, mother, another sister and her husband, and the first sister's daughter left Cuba and came to the United States. They all lived with Mrs. M., her second husband, and her son in a two-bedroom house on Long Island until Mrs. M.'s sister, brother-in-law, and niece were able to move into their own house in the same neighborhood. Lastly, in 1980, the brother of Mrs. M.'s second husband, who for twenty years had been a political prisoner in Cuba, came to Long Island in the Mariel boatlift.

RESETTLEMENT

For most informants, the presence of relatives was the primary reason for settling on Long Island. The importance of such "migration chains" in determining immigrant resettlement was first identified by Robert E.

Park and Herbert A. Miller.[15] In their study of the same phenomenon, Thomas D. Boswell and James R. Curtis state that, "Social networks have proven to be very influential in determining where refugees finally settle in the United States."[16] Most informants immediately settled on Long Island and lived with already established relatives or close friends until they could afford to set up independent households. Before settling in Nassau or Suffolk, only a few lived in urban villages in Queens or Brooklyn, or in ethnic enclaves in Florida or New Jersey.

Settlement on Long Island followed a pattern of residential dispersement. Ethnic neighborhoods did not develop, and Long Island Cubans did not become residentially segregated from the non-Cuban population. This is different from other areas of the country where, "although there is considerable mixing among Cubans and other ethnic groups in the suburban areas there is still a tendency for clearly identifiable Cuban neighborhoods to develop."[17]

RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

Residential mobility was common during the process of resettlement. Moves were usually made to be closer to a job, to have more living space, to reside in a more affluent neighborhood, or to change one's status from renter to home owner. A typical example is the L.'s, a newly married couple when they emigrated from Cuba and arrived in Florida. Although they had planned to settle in Florida, limited job opportunities led them to reconsider. When they heard that job opportunities were more plentiful in New York, they moved north, staying with Mr. L.'s brother and his family in Freeport. Through friends of his brother, Mr. L. obtained a custodial job and his wife became a kitchen helper in a near-by community hospital. Once both were employed, they rented a furnished attic room. Two months later, they moved to a second furnished room in the community where they worked. In a few years they had saved enough money to buy a small house in a Long Island neighborhood zoned for residential housing and small businesses. Ten years later, they bought a larger house in an upper middle-class Long Island neighborhood.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Long Island Cuban informants tend to reside in one of two types of neighborhoods. According to criteria adapted from W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole's classic study of American ethnic groups,[18] Type A neighborhoods are characterized by residential dwellings interspersed among retail establishments or adjacent to central business districts. Type B neighborhoods are zoned only for residential dwellings, which tend to be large, well-kept, and far removed from business establishments. Type A neighborhoods tend to have larger numbers of Cuban and Hispanic residents than do Type B neighborhoods. Because of the presence of Cubans and other Hispanics, bodegas and botanicas that sell Hispanic foods and religious ritual materials generally are found in Type A neighborhoods. When they first arrived on Long Island, most of the

informant-refugees of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s settled in Type A neighborhoods.

As informants prospered and became upwardly mobile, they generally moved into Type B neighborhoods. Frequently, there was only one Cuban family in a Type B neighborhood. Rosemary B. Cooney and Maria A. Contreras's study of Cuban refugees of the 1960s and 1970s suggests that in communities in the United States where there are few Cuban elites, "ethclass" neighborhoods do not develop.[19] Cuban elites, therefore, move into non-Hispanic, upper-middle-class neighborhoods. Prosperous Long Island Cuban informants seem to follow a similar residential pattern.

Another reason for settling here was that Long Island suburban communities offered more job opportunities than did such Cuban enclaves as Miami, Florida, and West New York-Union City, New Jersey. Although most informant-refugees of the 1960s and 1970s were from Cuba's middle class, had high school educations, and possessed occupational skills or professional training, they had difficulty speaking English. These refugees took menial jobs which did not require fluency in English. People who, in Cuba, had been teachers, physicians, white-collar workers, or skilled workers initially worked as janitors, kitchen help, factory workers, or office cleaners. By parlaying jobs, Long Island Cuban refugees successfully used low-status, low-paying jobs to obtain higher status, better-paying positions.

In addition, the practice of holding two or more jobs helped to increase the incomes as well as the standard of living of Long Island Cuban informants. For example, when Mr. R., who had owned a tire recapping business in Cuba, came to Long Island his brother got him a job as a dishwasher. Through contacts he made in his dishwasher job, Mr. R. found work as a cook in a deli. Within eighteen months, he obtained a job as a cook in a local restaurant, which he held for eight years. Then he learned from a friend of two jobs, one with an office-cleaning service and the other in the kitchen of a local hospital. Mr. R. decided to work in the hospital kitchen during the day and for the office cleaning service in the evening. When the cleaning service went out of business, he persuaded the building owner to let him and his brother-in-law clean the offices, and, when the building owner agreed, Mr. R. went into business with his brother-in-law. Mr. R.'s wife and teenage daughter helped to clean offices. Eventually, five buildings engaged his service and he had to hire employees. Although his office-cleaning business prospered, Mr. R. kept his day job in the hospital kitchen.

When one Cuban refugee learned enough English to get a more highly-skilled job, another Cuban refugee was channeled by a relative, friend, or friend-of-a-friend into the vacated job. In this way, occupational niches were carved out for Long Island Cuban refugees. Similar network functioning to facilitate employment was found among West New York and Tarrytown Cuban refugees.[20]

Occasionally, job-brokerage systems emerged. In contrast to other brokerage systems that exchange jobs for loyalty or political patronage,[21]

this pattern was not part of the Long Island system. Although Long Island Cuban job-brokers were highly regarded and favors were exchanged for a job, most of the time reciprocity was not evident. Thus, networks comprised of extended-family members, friends, friends-of-friends, and/or job brokers have facilitated job hunting for Long Island Cuban informants. Rarely have they had to rely on private or government employment agencies to locate jobs. After becoming fluent in English and, when applicable, meeting educational requirements for licensing, many Long Island Cuban refugees have been able to transfer their occupational skills and reverse the trend of downward socio-economic mobility.

A third factor that attracted informants to Long Island was its geographical similarity to Cuba. Long Island is an island endowed with beaches and in close proximity to New York City, just as the suburbs of Havana have access both to beaches and the city. One Long Island Cuban succinctly expressed the attraction to Long Island that many informants have described: "I think that's why so many Cubans live on Long Island...It reminds people of Cuba."

CONCLUSION

Cubans are residentially dispersed throughout the communities of Nassau and Suffolk counties. Cuban neighborhoods have not formed, and physical barriers to intergroup relations, which often perpetuate social distance, have not developed. However, residential proximity does not assure integration into American social networks. Cultural differences and language may persist as barriers to assimilation.

In a culturally pluralistic society, degree of assimilation reflects a minority group's position in the society. Assimilation is a process in which, through social contacts, people and groups are incorporated, without prejudice or discrimination, into the cultural, social, economic, and political life of the dominant group. Assimilation usually occurs in two stages. In stage one, the minority group uses secondary-group associations to establish working relationships with the dominant group. In stage two, primary-group relationships (recreational and friendshipgroups) are established with members of the dominant group.[22]

The assimilation of Long Island Cuban refugees of the '60s and '70s was influenced by two very different factors. On one hand, Americans responded to the flight of Cubans from an oppressive Communist government. Their plight "pulled at the very heart of American patriotism and sense of justice and compassion."[23] On the other hand, assimilation may have been slowed by the prejudice many Cuban informants encountered when they first migrated to Long Island. The most common prejudice was discrimination against Hispanics. In the 1960s and 1970s, the largest Hispanic group in New York metropolitan and suburban areas was Puerto Rican. Frequently, informant-refugees found that Americans did not differentiate between Puerto Ricans, who were predominately lower class and had come here for economic reasons,[24] and middle-and upper-class Cuban political refugees. It has been noted that "if Cubans

are distinguished by their relative affluence among Hispanic groups, Puerto Ricans are known for their perseverance in the face of grueling poverty."[25] Most Long Island Cuban informants who emigrated in the '60s and '70s felt that they had to prove to their American neighbors that they were skilled, educated, hard-working people.

By 1980, most Long Island Cuban informants felt that they had achieved a good image in the eyes of Americans. Then, in May 1980, a new wave of Cubans arrived—the Mariel boatlift refugees. At that time, one informant succinctly stated the fears of many Long Island Cubans: "By sending undesirables, criminals, and homosexuals, Castro has undermined the good image we had established with Americans." Some Long Island Cuban informants referred to this practice as "Castro's revenge."

Many informants involved with the resettlement of Mariel refugees found more resistance among Americans to Cuban than to Vietnamese boat people. The Long Islanders involved with the resettlement of Cuban boat people believed that Cubans suffered from a "bad press" that focused on the few criminals and trouble-makers in the group, and made no distinction between civil and political prisoners. This view has been shared by others. Boswell and Curtis conclude that the "...receptive posture (pre-boatlift) was tainted by the events surrounding the Mariel boatlift and its aftermath." These included the economic climate in this country at the time of the boatlift, marked by recession and high unemployment, and certain events that followed the boatlift, among them the disclosure that many boat people were prisoners, homosexuals, mentally ill, elderly, or infirm. This unfavorable perception was compounded by disturbances at resettlement camps, and crime sprees in New York and Miami perpetrated by a small number of *Marielitos*. American public opinion toward Cuban refugees had been tainted.[26]

Many informants who had lived on Long Island since the '60s and '70s began to feel the impact of a new wave of prejudice. As one informant explained,

> It used to be when I went some place, people (Americans and other Hispanics) would say, "Cuban people are nice," but now they are saying "Look what your *paesanos* are doing." Cubans began to hear Americans refer to "those lazy Cubans" and "those ungrateful troublemakers."

The most recent wave of migration's impact on the assimilation of Long Island Cubans awaits future evaluation. If negative public opinion has indeed affected assimilation, the nature of the effect needs to be determined. It is possible that the two stages of assimilation have been differently affected. Specifically, relationships may have continued to be established through secondary-group associations, while primary-group associations may have lagged.

In addition, we may speculate about the possible ramifications for Long Island Cubans of the wave of freedom and democratic reform that is washing over Eastern Europe. If Cuba ever responds in kind, will some

Long Island Cubans decide to return in a "wave" of reverse migration? Although most refugees initially thought of their emigration as temporary and hoped to return to their homeland some day, to make such a decision today would be fraught with strains. After more than twenty years in the United States, Long Island Cubans have established themselves in jobs, friendships, and families. Moreover, many of their children were born and raised in this country. These children, who have formed social networks with Americans and in many cases consider themselves more American than Cuban, might not respond well to uprooting and relocation. In addition, some Cubans who migrated as youths have married Americans; it is doubtful that these spouses would want to migrate to Cuba. Thus, there would be many encumbrances attached to deciding to go back to Cuba.

Hopefully, future research will continue to investigate the assimilation of Long Island Cubans, so that their place in life on Long Island will have on-going documentation.

NOTES

1. *1980 Census of Population: General Population Characteristics. Part 34, New York* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1980), 653, 662. According to the Long Island Planning Commission, these are the latest available statistics for Cubans on Long Island, but do not reflect the addition of Marielitos to the population.

2. Ethnographic data were collected as part of my doctoral dissertation, "Assimilation and Acculturation of Cubans on Long Island," SUNY at Stony Brook, 1982, and postdoctoral research in 1983. All informants were guaranteed anonymity and clearance was obtained from the Human Subjects Committee, SUNY at Stony Brook.

3. Virginia R. Dominguez, *From Neighbor to Stranger: The Dilemma of Caribbean Peoples in the United States* (New Haven: Antilles Research Program, Yale University, 1975), 21-24.

4. Ibid., 21.

5. Eleanor M. Rogg, *The Assimilation of Cuban Exiles: The Role of Community and Class* (New York: Aberdeen Press, 1974), 29-42; Alice James, "Economic Adaptions of a Cuban Community," Annals of the New York Academy of Science 293 (1977): 194-205.

6. Dominguez, *From Neighbor to Stranger*, 21-24.

7. Ibid., 22.

8. Ibid.

9. *Cuban Refugee Program Fact Sheet* (Washington, D.C.: Department of Health, Education and Welfare, United States Government Printing Office, 1972).

10. Dominguez, *From Neighbor to Stranger*, 22.

11. "Cuba: The Flotilla Grows," *Time* 115 (12 May 1980), 36-38; Anthony Ramirez, "After a Year Here, A Cuban Likes U.S., but Jobs Are Scarce," *Wall Street Journal*, 2 June 1984, 1, 18.

12. Thomas D. Boswell and James R. Curtis, *The Cuban-American Experience: Culture, Images and Perspectives* (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman & Allanheld Publishers, 1983), 52.

13. Ibid., 52-53.

14. Ibid., 104.

15. Robert E. Park and Herbert A. Miller, *Old World Traits Transplanted* (New York: Harper, 1921), 43, 119-20, 145-224.

16. Boswell and Curtis, *Cuban-American Experience*, 50.

17. Ibid., 69.

18. W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups: Yankee City Series*, Vol. 3 (New Haven: Yale Univer2Dsity Press, 1945), a classic study of American ethnic groups.

19. Rosemary S. Cooney and Maria A. Contreras, "Residence Patterns of Social Register Cubans: A Study of Miami, San Juan, and New York SMAS," *Cuban Studies* 8 (July 1978): 33-49.

20. Rogg, *Assimilation of Cuban Exiles*, 47-64; James,"Economic Adaptions of a Cuban Community," 194-205.

21. Stan Steiner, *La Raza: The Mexican Americans* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), 40-50; Edward Wakin, *The Immigrant Experience. Faith, Hope and the Golden Door* (Huntington, Indiana: Our Sunday Visitor, 1977), 24-27, 67.

22. Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), a classic treatise on assimilation; Raymond H.C. Teske and Bardin H. Nelson, "Acculturation and Assimilation: A Clarification," *American Ethnologist* 1 (1974): 351-367; and A.J. Jaffe, Ruth M. Cullen, and Thomas D. Boswell, *The Changing Demography of Spanish Americans* (New York: Academic Press, 1980), 9-20; Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, *Puerto Rican Americans* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1970), 34-43.

23. Boswell and Curtis, *Cuban-American Experience*, 4.

24. Dominguez, *From Neighbor to Stranger*, 24-27.

25. David M. Reimers, *The Immigrant Experience* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1989), 120.

26. Boswell and Curtis, *Cuban-American Experience*, 4-6.

REVIEWS

Robert Moses: Single-Minded Genius. Joann P. Krieg, editor. Interlaken, NY: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1989. Illustrations, index. Pp. 222. $18.00 (paper).

The centennial commemorating the birth of Robert Moses in 1988 included a Long Island Studies Conference held at Hofstra University on June 10 and 11, 1988, sponsored by Hofstra's Long Island Studies Institute. The general theme was "Robert Moses and the Planned Environment." A tangible result of the conference is this collection of papers, selected by Dr. Joann P. Krieg, a professor of American Literature and American Studies at Hofstra.

The accomplishments of Robert Moses include major arterial parkways and highways, public buildings, bridges and tunnels, housing projects, power plant facilities, and parks. Up to the present, Robert Caro's Pulitzer-prize-winning biography, *The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974) remains the definitive source on the man who dominated planning and public works projects in New York State, New York City, and Long Island for more than forty years. Caro's primary theme was the impact of Moses' projects on the lives of New Yorkers resulting from the unique and overwhelming aggregation of political power in the grip of one official—a non-elected one—often exercised in autocratic and ruthless fashion. One objective of the conference was to re-examine Caro's thesis and perhaps, by introducing new scholarship on the subject, to provide a more balanced view of the most complex and talented public servant in the history of New York State. An inescapable consequence is that the conference was as much a confrontation and dissection of Caro's work as it was an exposition on Robert Moses.

The first three major papers in the collection are the most general, by the historians Kenneth T. Jackson, George Stevens, and Karen E. Markoe. Professor Jackson, who uses Caro's book in his classes on urban history at Columbia University, was cited by Karen E. Markoe as labeling *The Power Broker* "the single most important book on twentieth-century urban history ever written." Nevertheless, in his keynote address to the conference, Jackson argued that a "more temperate and moderate view of Robert Moses is closer in accord with the evidence." For example, although he agrees with Caro that Moses' concentration on highways was at the expense of mass transit, he points out that Moses was reflecting the na-

tional emphasis on roads; and, in fact, a larger percentage of New Yorkers rely on mass transit (35 percent of mass transit riders in the nation are in the New York Metropolitan Region now—a rise from 20 percent of the total sixty years ago). Jackson challenged Caro's charge of racism, pointing out that Moses has to be considered within his time and place. In conclusion, he predicted that Caro's extremely negative view will be modified in the years ahead.

Professor Stevens' paper, "Robert Caro's Moses: A Historian's Critique," applauds Caro's monumental work but points out that this author's "Great Man" approach to history is, in a sense, an historical view in the context of current analysis based on social process. Institutional, demographic, economic, social, and environmental factors are the crucial elements in historical development. He objects to Caro's attacks on Moses' alleged racism, emphasis on roads, and insensitivity to people, and bolsters Jackson's arguments by observing, "The master builder and his policies were much more a product of a historical process than *The Power Broker* indicates. At least as much as he shaped them, Robert Moses reflected his times."

As the title of her paper implies, Professor Markoe's "Robert Caro and His Critics" makes the most strident attacks on Caro by raising fundamental issues of methodology, accuracy of evidence, and lack of historical perspective. She stresses Professor Richard Wade's serious reservations, and his astute observation that Caro was not really interested in cities—the ostensible subject matter of Moses' career—but in power. One's initial impression from her paper is that the historians are "circling the wagons" because this interloper (Caro) without historian credentials has invaded a sacred turf. This is not really the case. His critics all acknowledge the contribution made by Caro, while at the same time they express a more tolerant view of Moses (and thus lower his pedestal by giving the tide of history credit for a portion of his accomplishments). Whether Wade is correct in predicting that a superior biography of Moses will emerge, I believe that Markoe's conclusion is reasonable—that at least new monographs will successfully challenge Caro on specific issues. The Hofstra conference is already part of that process, as pointed out by Dr. Krieg in her introduction.

The book also contains a brief and attractive photographic essay that illustrates a small segment of Moses' projects. The remaining papers address such specific topics as Jones Beach, the Long Island Motor Parkway, Long Island State Parkways, park design, and Moses' role as a Trustee of Hofstra University. One of the papers most favorable to Moses was Professor John Black's "Robert Moses: Long Island's First Environmentalist," claiming that virtually every environmental problem plaguing Long Island was recognized first by Moses. The creation of the network of state parks on Long Island set the tone for shore-front protection, just as Moses' opposition to sand and gravel operations and uncontrolled dredging projects were ahead of their time. Black concludes that "Robert Moses was, undoubtedly, Long Island's first environmentalist." This paper's weakness is in its chronology. Beyond question, Moses' work in the first three

decades of his career was one of environmental accomplishment. However, when his record during the 1960s is examined it becomes clear that Moses' perception of environmental issues did not keep pace with the burgeoning environmental movement. His proposal to build an ocean highway on the crest of the dune line on the Great Barrier Beach (commonly known as Fire Island) was perhaps the single rallying issue behind the creation of the Fire Island National Seashore. A similar point can be made about his battle to create a bridge proposal from Oyster Bay to Rye. The highway access to the bridge on Long Island would have traversed some of the most sensitive freshwater wetlands in the town of Oyster Bay, and also would have impacted the salt-water wetlands and oyster beds in Long Island Sound.

Although one might quibble with the relative balance and quality among some of the papers in this collection, the editor did a good job in achieving a sense of coherence among disparate themes—especially where the authors represent a wide range of disciplines. In fact, the collection should be required reading for those interested in the works of Robert Moses and the development of Long Island. If not the definitive statement, it is a valuable addition to the literature, and may be the "starting gun" for a new generation of serious historical scholarship in the work and impact of Robert Moses on the development of the metropolitan region of New York.

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Barbara Cohen, Steven Haller, and Seymour Schroth. *Trylon & Perisphere: The 1939 World's Fair.* New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1989. Illustrations. Pp. 79. $24.95 (paper).

Larry Zim, Mel Lerner, and Herbert Rolfes. *The World of Tomorrow: The 1939 New York World's Fair.* New York: Harper & Row, 1989. Illustrations, bibilography, index. Pp. 240. $40.00.

In the decades following World War II, Long Island provided an important arena where the United States carried on an influential dialogue with the future, a place where many of the fixtures and features of a new way of life took hold. The development of suburbia and a suburban life style, the growth of mass consumption and of shopping malls as the late twentieth century's variation on the "marketplace," the rise of aerospace and other high-tech (often military-related) industries as pivotal to American economic growth, all these and other innovations were tested in the social laboratory furnished by the Island's postwar expansion.

If the years after 1945 witnessed a period of colossal social and cultural reconfiguration, Long Island's claim on the idea of the future was established, spectacularly, before the United States entered the war. I refer to the 1939-40 New York World's Fair, conceived in 1935 by Joseph Shadgren, a civil engineer, and built and operated by a non-profit organiza-

tion headed by Grover Whalen, New York City's flamboyant "official greeter," on a twelve-hundred-acre site in Flushing Meadow Park, in Queens. Even now, fifty years later, the spectacle of this event fires the imagination. The durable allure of the 1939 Fair, and of the Trylon and Perisphere—the futuristic monuments that together served as its trademark—probably has something to do with the way in which the event, while drawing heavily upon the past, established new cultural guidelines for the future.

To a certain extent, the Fair was a culmination of thinking rooted in eighteenth-century Europe, the notion that a systematic organization of public space and the proper use of monumental architecture could inspire civic pride and social order among citizens. Such planning, it was thought, could defuse the dangerous wills of both the individual criminal and "the masses." This sort of instrumental use of architecture and design informed eighteenth- and nineteenth-century urban planning to some extent, as in the area around New York City's Washington Square Park, but found its most faithful applications in the design of many industrial fairs and expositions of the nineteenth century, including the London Exposition of 1851, the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition of 1876, and the World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893. The 1939 World's Fair, with its radiating broad boulevards, all converging on the focal point of the Trylon and Perisphere, was but one grand example of this venerable conceit of power.

Yet if the New York World's Fair participated in a centuries-old belief that social space could be constructed to constitute a visual chain of ideas, many of these ideas were innovative, laying a groundwork for many of the most characteristic cultural practices of postwar consumer society. While some have argued that the 1939 Fair offers no more than a nostalgic reminder of a naive optimism—of an unsullied belief in the future—no longer held, it must be added that many of the Fair's innovations continue to prevail as American cultural institutions. It is often noted that television, and other "conveniences" of contemporary life, were first exhibited at the 1939 Fair. Yet beyond such particularities, the Fair, overall, prefigured much about the world we now inhabit. Ostensibly an occasion to celebrate the 150th anniversary of George Washington's inauguration, this historical pretext paled against the spectacle of the future.

In a totally administered environment, synchronized around the iconography and hype of an imagined corporate/technological future, Flushing Meadow supplied America with its first modern Theme Park. Following this point, one might contend that the Fair provided a model for unified-theme shopping malls. The Fair was a point of take-off for the development of corporate publicity, from which industrial and graphic design took flight on an unprecedented scale, elevating and establishing "the image" as an essential component of modern marketing strategies. With an enormous number of consumer products bearing the logo of the Trylon and Perisphere, the World's Fair was also an extraordinarily successful experiment in mass merchandising and product licensing later

refined by the Disney Corporation and other image-making enterprises, and today an inescapable feature (or blight, depending on how you look at it) on the cultural landscape.

During a period of economic depression, when many began to question the long-term viability of capitalism, the Fair furnished a context in which such dangerous ideas could be domesticated and transformed into advertising slogans. "I have seen the future, and it works"—a previous example of naive optimism voiced by Lincoln Steffens when he visited the Soviet Union in the 1920s—may have inspired the "I Have Seen the Future" buttons distributed by General Motors to visitors to its Futurama exhibit. (Steffens actually wrote that "I have been over into the future, and it works" [*The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens*, 2 vols. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1931) II: 799], but the altered text I have cited has become the accepted version.) The appropriation and transformation of oppositional ideas is now a basic device in the kit-bag of the advertising industry, as is the widely promulgated myth of corporate utopia.

As a persuasive ideological and imagistic springboard for postwar consumer culture, the Fair in Flushing Meadow Park continues to fascinate. *Trylon and Perisphere* and *The World of Tomorrow* afford ample testimony to this ongoing fascination. These works contain written texts yet they are essentially picture books. As a long-time sucker for picture books, I must add that both are lavish examples of this genre of publishing.

Trylon and Perisphere was "compiled" (I think that is the appropriate word) by Seymour Chwast, a designer and illustrator, who, along with Milton Glaser founded the influential Pushpin Graphics Studio; Steven Haller, a commercial art director and author; and Barbara Cohen, an "antiquarian bookseller." While the book was copyrighted in 1989, it looks, feels, and reads like a pricey souvenir guidebook to the Fair. Oversized and immaculately produced, this book offers a fine visual documentation of the "official" Fair. It contains spectacular color portraits of the fairgrounds and some exhibits, monumental posters, maps, publicity "candids," uniforms worn by Fair employees, countless pictures of products which bore the trademark of the Fair, and other sanctioned artifacts, all beautifully rendered. From the book's lush physical character, one gets the feeling that in the absence of the "real thing," *Trylon and Perisphere* is a reasonable facsimile.

But facsimile of what? Little in the book encourages analysis or evaluation of the event as a social, personal, or historical experience. Its influence as a cultural prototype is virtually ignored. Meager text is scattered tastefully around pictures, as in an expensively made public relations brochure. For the most part, *Trylon and Perisphere* rarely wanders from the promotional atmosphere of the Fair itself. While a sentence or a quotation is here and there suggestive, no ideas, aside from the authorized rhetoric of the Fair are pursued. Even the four-page oral history section lacks the texture of assimilable experience; it merely ratifies the flat echo of populism that surrounded the event. One is treated to an essentially "official" presentation, primarily visual propaganda produced for the Fair, occa-

sionally interrupted by a flurry of verbal hype, much of it also cranked out for the Fair. If one is looking for a ceremonial memento, this will do. If one is looking for cultural understanding, this will serve only as an artifact.

The World of Tomorrow is also a collaborative effort, begun by Larry Zim (a designer, like Chwast), continued after his death by Mel Lerner, his business partner, and completed after Lerner's death by Herbert Rolfes, a collector of Fair memorabilia. At first glance, the book appears far more substantial than *Trylon and Perisphere*, with more text, more pages, and some of its chapters appearing to contextualize the Fair more broadly. "The Great Fairs of the Depression," for example, ranks the 1939 New York World's Fair as the grandest among many (Chicago's 1933-34 Century of Progress, the 1937 International Exposition in Paris, San Francisco's Golden Gate International Exposition of 1939, and others in Brussels, San Diego, Dallas, and Cleveland). This is an interesting approach, suggesting the ways in which spectacles may be launched in response to social crisis. Unfortunately, it is not pursued, leaving readers on their own to make sense of things. Similarly, a relatively lengthy chapter, "A Day at the Fair: An Eyewitness Account," promises something that is missing from *Trylon and Perisphere*—an entree into the subjectivity of an actual fairgoer. Again, the reader is disappointed. The "Day at the Fair" turns out to be a feature article from the *New York Sun*, a puff piece serving as little more than evidence of the hazy line between news and public relations that was already established in 1939.

To a large extent, this book suffers from the same problems as *Trylon and Perisphere*. It lacks historical analysis, consisting mainly of the "authorized" picture story dispensed by the Fair's promoters. Clearly, both works compete for the same market. Nonetheless, in its organization and material quality, *The World of Tomorrow* is a more valuable resource than *Trylon and Perisphere*, with a considerably greater amount of factual and visual information. While *Trylon...* gives too sparse, too generic a view of the Fair to make much sense, the more extensive visual/textual evidence in *World...* offers some meat to chew on. Its account of "The Communications and Business Systems Zone" at the Fair, for instance, explains how the exposition anticipated the nature and direction of the American "information" economy as it would develop after the war.

The chapter on "The Production and Distribution Zones," which covers the pavilions of many familiar consumer products industries, takes a bountiful look at the ways that marketing strategists aestheticized, fetishized, and promoted a new way of life, totally dependent upon the new merchandise they hoped to sell, and simultaneously encouraging consumers to dispose of "outdated" goods. Regarding this last point, the chapter offers a look at the corporate tactic of planned obsolescence (waste) that would—after the war—become the norm. The chapter on "The Government Zone" takes note of the presence in 1939 of the Soviet Union, Italy, Great Britain, France, Poland, and Japan—all the major belligerents in

the war that began in September, except for Nazi Germany, "conspicuous by its absence." By 1940, as nation after nation fell to Hitler's onslaught, the World's Fair "almost overnight...turned into an American county fair." An "Afterword," a reprint of an editorial in the *Bronx Home News* in the final week of the Fair's second year, remarks that for all of the Fair's $155-million investment and 43 million patrons, its "mission of world peace was set at naught by the coming of war and its international section was decimated..."

But ultimately, the most telling thing about these two books may be that they both were conceived, in large part, by commercial designers, not historians. The 1939 World's Fair was a powerful and prescient monument to the power of "the image" in the contemporary world, to aesthetics as a business tool and to architecture and design as tools of persuasion. Perhaps this is why, in the telling of the tale, neither set of authors felt it necessary to veer from the official path. It was a path, after all, which provided many among the compilers with their *raison d'etre*. Perhaps we can expect no more. For a more substantial evaluation of the Fair, I recommend, for starters, Warren I. Susman's article, "The People's Fair: The Cultural Contradiction of a Consumer Society" (in Warren I. Susman, *Culture As History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* [New York: Pantheon, 1984], 211-229).

STUART EWEN
Hunter College, City University of New York

Joann P. Krieg. Long Island and Literature. Interlaken, NY: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1989. Pp. 44. Bibliography, index. $6.00 (paper).

This monograph is the sixth in a series called "Long Island Studies," sponsored by the Long Island Studies Institute based at Hofstra University, where Dr. Joann P. Krieg, the author (the cover incorrectly refers to her as the editor), is a Whitman scholar and professor of American Literature. Although its brevity limits the book to an overview of the already limited topic of "native" literature on the Island, Dr. Krieg offers some interesting insights into writing in the region (rarely discussed elsewhere).

She begins by commenting on regionalism in literature, noting that Long Island never had enough of an individual cultural basis to be distinguishable as a cultural region. Certainly, little of New England culture took root here. Thus, the author provides a mostly anecdotal discourse on local luminaries, from Walt Whitman to John Hall Wheelock, the vastly underappreciated modern poet from East Hampton. There is a thorough analysis of William Cullen Bryant, although it hardly seems necessary to reprint in its entirety one of his poems that has no apparent local references.

It might have been more useful to include passages by the more contemporary poetic voices that Dr. Krieg mentions, including such important Long Island based poets as David Ignatow, Louis Simpson, and the late May Swenson. Roslyn's other eminent man of letters, Christopher

Morley, is discussed, but not his friend, Don Marquis (Locust Valley), whose *archy and mehitabel* series satirized contemporary life. There are also citations to writers who lived on the Island, often in the summer, but whose work never picked up the regional imprint, a category that ranges all the way from James Fennimore Cooper to F. Scott Fitzgerald, Jack Kerouac, John Steinbeck, Thomas Pynchon, Edward Albee, and Truman Capote. Two other interesting subjects are the English-born juvenile writer, Frances Hodgson Burnett, the author of *Little Lord Fauntleroy*, and Jupiter Hammon (*ca.* 1720— *ca.* 1800), the slave whose religious verses published at Lloyd's Neck comprised the first book by a black writer in this country. Dr. Krieg has not included Bloodgood Cutter, the nineteenth-century self-styled "Long Island Farmer Poet," whose far from deathless rhymes were widely read.

Needless to say, this publication is a guide rather than an exhaustive study. Thus its brevity is understandable. The series itself is a practical and useful idea and we should hope for more such monographs.

PAUL ETTENSON
Glen Cove Public Library

Editor's note: This is the first of what we hoped would be many reviews by Paul Ettenson. We deeply regret Paul's untimely death last December. He was a bright and caring man who will be missed by all who knew him.

George C. Dade and Frank Strnad. *Picture History of Aviation on Long Island 1908-1938*. New York: Dover Publications, 1989. Pp. 166. $12.95 (paper).

In less than eighty years, aviation has grown, boomed, and declined on Long Island. However, its Long Island developments helped to transform flying from a dangerous sport to a viable means of commercial transportation. The many record-setting and historic flights that transpired and the many aviation companies that developed here helped to make aviation the integral part of the world that it is today. Accordingly, Dade and Strnad's book sets out to tell the story of the early days of aviation, the colorful thirty-year period between 1908 and 1938. In a straightforward and roughly chronological manner, this important work documents the history of an industry that has all but evaporated on Long Island.

Surprisingly, this is the first photo-book specifically devoted to Long Island aviation, a welcome addition to the library of any aviation enthusiast or historian. The 302 photographs compiled, many published for the first time, provide an excellent summary. From the early years of frail wood and wire crates, through the first war birds and trans-Atlantic fliers, a comprehensive survey of historic photos is presented. It is exciting and yet sad to see pictures of wondrous, long-gone places such as Mitchel Field and Roosevelt Field—their day never to be seen again except in photos like these. Readers unversed in the subject will be astounded by the variety and importance of aeronautical activity during the period; the book

will also help school children wishing to familiarize themselves with some of Long Island's accomplishments.

The book does not have a text as such, but rather all of the photographs have lengthy, informative captions which are remarkably free of error—a first for this reviewer. Kudos are due to Dade and Strnad for their thorough research and preparation of these captions.

As with other Dover Publications, this book is handsomely produced and heavily illustrated. However, since it is basically a photo-book, there is no interpretation or analysis of why these events happened and what their ramifications were for the aviation community at large. It might have been advantageous to organize the book more thematically, with sections focused on such aspects as airports, personalities, historic flights, technical experimentation and innovation, and the important subject of production—the growth of what once was a major industry in Long Island. In that case, perhaps companies as important as Orenco and American Marchetti would not have been overlooked, and the close relationship between Long Island aviation and the sea could have been developed.

This complaint is minor compared to the merit of the book. At last, a popular work is promoting the exciting and nationally significant history of aviation, while at the same aiding Long Islanders to understand and appreciate their heritage. George Dade, author, pilot, and founding Director of the Cradle of Aviation Museum, and Frank Strnad, an experienced aviation historian and photographer, are to be complimented for their outstanding job in gathering these historic photos, researching them, and seeing the project through to completion. I believe that *Picture History of Aviation on Long Island 1908-1938* will remain a valuable reference book for many years to come.

JOSHUA STOFF
Curator, Cradle of Aviation Museum

JOSHUA STOFF. The Aerospace Heritage of Long Island. Interlaken, NY: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1989. Illustrations, appendix, notes, index. 116 pp. $10.00 (paper). Published under the auspices of the Long Island Studies Institute of Hofstra University.

For the true aviation buff, particularly those of us who grew up on Long Island in the '30s and '40s, this book by Joshua Stoff, the curator of the Cradle of Aviation Museum, is a must. Following a foreward and introduction, the opening pages are devoted to pre-World War I activities centered in the Hempstead Plains. One of two adjoining airfields there was known as Mitchel Field (Army), 1918 to 1961; the other was called Hazelhurst Field until 1919, Curtiss Field in 1920, and finally, from 1929 to 1961, the familiar Roosevelt Field, now a large shopping center bearing the same name.

In 1929, Roosevelt Field was called the "World's Premier Airport." In a section entitled the "Golden Age" of flying, Stoff proceeds to describe the many record-breaking flights of this era, including Charles A. Lindbergh's. An absorbing passage follows, describing various other military

and civilian airfields of the time, among them Mitchel (Army), Floyd Bennett (Navy), and the origin of today's Kennedy International Airport and LaGuardia Field. However, the author omits a listing of the many smaller private fields and their locations—Fitzmaurice in Massapequa, Islip, Brentwood, and others—which would have provided additional interest.

After a comprehensive listing of 16 Long Island aircraft manufacturers dating from World War I to the present, the author deals separately, and in some detail, with Grumman and Republic. He states that "allied fighter operations were clearly dominated by Long Island built airplanes," followed by the claim that "During World War II, the P-47 was the main air corps fighter in Europe." In this reviewer's opinion, these judgments are debatable considering the success of such other fighters as the famous P-51 Mustang, created in Ingelwood, California. There is a good account of the Grumman "Iron Works" during and after World War II. One might add that a production high was attained with a total of approximately 12,275 F6F Hellcats and 2,300 TBF Avengers. Stoff describes how a small civil aircraft, the Kitten, was designed for the personal market in 1944. In addition, a small two-place amphibian called the Tadpole (Design No. 65) also was developed, although, as in the case of the Kitten, only one was ever built.

The postwar history of Republic and Grumman is well covered, from Republic's F-84 Thunderjet in 1944 to their A-10 in 1980, and the demise of the company in 1988 following cancellation of their T-46 Trainer. Grumman arrived in the jet age with the F9F Panther and Cougar series, mainstays in the Korean conflict, described by the author along with other production aircraft through the Navy's current inventory of F-14 Tomcats, A6 Intruders, EA-6B Prowlers, and early-warning E-2C Hawkeyes.

The book's final section— "Probing the Final Frontier"—starts with Dr. Robert Goddard's early rocketry experiments, made possible by a $50,000 grant from Harry Guggenheim, the Sands Point philanthropist. From this beginning, Republic, Grumman, and Fairchild got into the missile business in varying degrees. In 1960 Grumman won a space contract for the highly successful OAO (Orbiting Astronomical Observatory); four years later Republic developed the AOSO (Advanced Orbiting Solar Observatory), another successful satellite.

The book concludes with a comprehensive account of the Lunar Module (LM), Grumman's major space accomplishment, and how the firm's work force swelled from 1961 through 1963 to accomodate the new project. Stoff provides thorough coverage of the twelve operational Lunar Modules in the Apollo Program. Long Island's involvement with the space shuttle is described, with Grumman's contract to build the wing and Republic's to build the vertical fins and rudder.

The appendix is a useful reference, listing twenty-two Long Island manufacturers of aircraft and related products dating from 1912 to the present. *The Aerospace Heritage of Long Island*, a well-rounded account of its subject, should be a welcome addition to the aero-historian's library.

ROGER SEYBEL
Grumman Corporation, retired

Raymond E. Spinzia, Judith A. Spinzia, and Kathryn E. Spinzia. *Long Island: A Guide to New York's Suffolk and Nassau Counties.* New York: Hippocrene Press, 1988. Indexed, cross-referenced, maps. Pp. 455. $14.95 (paper).

A family collaboration has produced the first comprehensive guidebook to Long Island. Raymond Spinzia, his wife Judith and daughter Kathryn, have assembled over 400 entries organized by county and town in this guide that will prove indispensable both to Long Island visitors to long-time residents.

The breadth of selection is impressive. The guide covers all of the federal, state, and county parks and preserves, nature conservancies, archaeological and historical sites, museums, churches, manors and estates open to the public, notable gravesites, lighthouses, windmills, marinas, arboreta, fish hatcheries, tide mills, and theaters.

The sites included run the gamut from well-known museums, such as the Vanderbilt Museum and Planetarium, Clinton Academy, and the Nassau County Museum of Fine Arts, to such lesser-known sites of interest as the New York Telephone Museum, in Huntington Station, where a replica of the first telephone made by Alexander Graham Bell is on display, to the Third House Museum in Montauk, which became the headquarters for Teddy Roosevelt's Rough Riders in 1898, to the Museum of Childhood in Greenport, and the Polish Museum in Port Washington. Notable gravesites include those of Guy Lombardo, Jackson Pollock, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, Gary Cooper, and even of Checkers, Richard Nixon's cocker spaniel.

The guide provides something for everyone. Architectural aficionados will find information on Minard Lafever's Egyptian Style Whaler's Church in Sag Harbor, and on noted architect Stanford White's own house in St, James, "Box Hill." History buffs will learn of Council Rock in Oyster Bay, which George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, used as a pulpit when he spoke to over 200 people in 1672, as well as of Broken Mast Monument in Sag Harbor, a unique monument shaped like a splintered ship's mast and dedicated to six local ship masters who died at sea.

Buildings that contain Tiffany windows are particularly detailed. In fact, the book presents for the first time a catalogue of eighty-six Tiffany windows found in Nassau and Suffolk Counties, fifty-two of which had been lost to art historians until now. Another useful feature is a separate listing of all Long Island's historic buildings and sites included on the National Register of Historic Places.

The guide provides concise, informative anecdotes about the sites, directions from the Long Island Expressway or other central location, admission prices, hours, and telephone numbers.

CAROL TRAYNOR
Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities

FRANK CHILD AND FRANCES CHILD. The Search For The Palestine. Port Jefferson: Port Jefferson Historical Society, 1989. 55 pp., illustrations, index. $10.00 (paper).

The Search For The Palestine is a compact reconstruction of the topsy-turvy life of an elegant Long Island sailing yacht turned commercial fishing schooner, aptly written by Frank and Frances Child with the research assistance of Naomi Solo. The book details the tenure of the schooner's three owners beginning with the story of its construction by James M. Bayles & Son, "Ship and Yacht Builders" of Port Jefferson, who launched her on 16 June 1904. The accompanying illustrations provide a lasting record of the early nineteenth-century history of this once-important local industry.

The *Palestine* was designed by A. Cary Smith, a famous New York naval architect and marine painter, for Henry C. Tinker, a banker and business leader of the Three Village district on Long Island's north shore. The yacht summered around Long Island, culminating each season on the annual New York Yacht Club cruise. In the winter, however, she served the owner's true purpose by safely making the passage to the West Indies and voyaging in their vicinity. Three years after Tinker's death in 1914 the *Palestine* was sold to Andrew G. Pierce, Jr., president of American Woolens of New Bedford, Massachusetts, which became her home port while she cruised in New England waters.

Disaster came in the form of the infamous 1938 hurricane. It drove the *Palestine* onto the Hathaway Machine Company wharf at Fairhaven, Massachusetts, where she demolished a stone building, stoving in her side in the process. After salvaging, the insurance company sold the wreck to Captain Robert A. Sanchez of Newport, Rhode Island, under whose ownership the *Palestine* became a commercial fishing schooner. She was still plying this trade seventeen years later when she struck a submerged object and sank off Point Judith, Rhode Island, ending her fifty-two year career.

The Search For The Palestine is a thoroughgoing example of a construction-to-destruction ship narrative and certainly deserves a place on the bookshelf of anyone interested in local social or maritime history.

W.M.P. DUNNE
SUNY at Stony Brook

BOOK NOTES

The Nassau County Historical Society Journal Cumulative Index, 1958-1988. Compiled by Jeanne M. Burke. Hempstead: Long Island

Studies Institute, Hofstra University, 1989. Pp. 26. $5.00 (paper).

This comprehensive index is in dictionary form, with titles, authors, and subjects arranged in one alphabetical list. It is available at college and public libraries in Nassau and Suffolk Counties, and may be purchased from the Nassau County Historical Society, P.O. Box 207, Garden City, NY 11530, or from the Long Island Studies Institute, Hofstra University, Hempstead, NY 11550.

Long Island Almanac 1989: An Annual Comprehensive Factbook Recording the Status of the Nassau-Suffolk Region. Paul Townsend, ed. Ronkonkoma: Long Island Business News, 1989. 76 pp., illustrations, map, tables. $24.50 (paper).

The contents of the twenty-second edition of the fact-filled *Long Island Almanac* range from general information, transportation, population, and education to real estate, economic standings, and business. A center foldout contains a useful, four-page-wide map of the region. This valuable reference tool abounds with easy-to-read, essential statistical information. The 1990 *Almanac* (which should be in print by the time of publication of this issue of *LIHJ*) may be obtained from the Office of Economic Development of both Nassau and Suffolk Counties, or directly from LI Business News, 2150 Smithtown Avenue, Smithtown, NY 11779.

COMMUNICATIONS

Dear Editor,

I am writing to congratulate you on the first two issues of the LIHJ. As editor of the Long Island Historical Society's *Journal of Long Island History* for three years I can appreciate the effort involved. It is nice once again to have a place where articles on local history can be published. It is especially nice in view of the superb journal you and your associates have produced.

I salute you. I also offer my assistance. If you think I can be of help in this effort, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Donald E. Simon, Ph.D.
Monroe Business Institute, Bronx, NY

Response: We welcome Dr. Simon to our editorial board, and look forward to his forthcoming article on Prospect Park. For the information of our readers, the former Long Island Historical Society changed its name to Brooklyn Historical Society in 1984, and from then on focused its excellent work on Brooklyn, where its building at 128 Pierrepont Street contains a wealth of reference material pertaining to Long Island history. Our publication is not the successor to the Society's discontinued Journal of Long Island History, *but we strive to attain a comparable reputation for readable and reliable scholarship.*

To the Editor:

Gary Marotta's review of Peter Matthiessen's *Men's Lives* is by far the best I have seen, because it notes the romantic approach to baymen and the attraction their primitive lifestyle exerts, which underlie Matthiessen's evaluation of the baymen's plight.

So far as I am aware, neither the baymen nor the many wealthy people who attended the author's party when *Men's Lives* was published have organized a political effort to force New York State to clean the toxic PCB's out of the Hudson River, so that the South Fork baymen can honorably, as well as legally, catch and sell striped bass. Without such an effort, the concern over the loss of a picturesque and valuable group of men, working on what Marotta aptly refers to as a kind of frontier, is very shallow. Likewise, the affluent residents of the South Fork have not assured a supply of housing, etc., for the relatively low-paid workers of establishments which process what baymen and local trawlers catch.

The full story of the fisheries—and agriculture—of our island is not complete without detailing how vague affirmations of sympathy and admiration for people who work the sea and land are not backed by activism on their behalf.

Frederick S. Lightfoot, Greenport
Editor, the Lightfoot Collection

Dear Roger,

Thank you so much for the *Long Island Historical Journal* —the two articles on Gardiner's Island are well done. I enjoyed reading them...

Robert David Lion Gardiner
East Hampton

Dear Editor:

Alice Hutto, our National President, recently visited Long Island. At that time we presented Alice with a copy of your "Long Island As An Island" issue. In appreciation of the *LIHJ*, The Ladies Auxiliary to the Veterans of Foreign Wars would like to make a donation for future publications.

Clara C. Lorer
Nissequogue VFW Post, Ladies Auxiliary, Kings Park

Editor's note: we thank John G. Peterkin, founder and president of the Cedar Swamp Historical Society, for keeping us informed of his valiant efforts to preserve the few eighteenth-century buildings still intact in the Oyster Bay-Glen Cove area. We look forward to presenting the views both of Mr. Peterkin and the Town of Oyster Bay concerning the town's demolition of the landmark Caleb Frost House.

We also are grateful for the books, one on the Pine Barrens and the other on Little Neck, so graciously sent by Anna Maier, of Queens Village, and for letters from her and from her daughter, Lorraine Maier Hewins, of Dix Hills, who has been "collecting material on Fred Stone since the renewed interest in his Amityville ranch which my family owned for fifteen years."

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We welcome comments, proposals for articles or book reviews, or offers to help in whatever phase of our work you select.

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