

THE LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL JOURNAL



after sketch
by Jimmy Hunt,
Santiago, Cuba,
July 41 - 1998

**Private Post at Santiago,
as sketched by a buddy**

Spring 1998

Volume 10 • Number 2



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

Walt Whitman

Spring 1998

Volume 10 • Number 2

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Cover: Private Charles Johnson Post at Santiago, after a sketch by Jimmy Lowe, one of his buddies, July 1898. Courtesy of The American Legion Magazine, © July 1938.

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Richard P. Harmond, associate editor of the *LIHJ*, is professor of history at St. John's University and a prolific author devoted to the study of Long Island as America.

Charles Johnson Post, a New York City writer, artist, and journalist, wrote his eye-witness account while serving as a rifleman in the Spanish American war.

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Call for Papers

Hofstra University will hold a conference in March 1999 commemorating the centennial of Nassau County. Papers dealing with the history of the county are welcome. For a copy of the call for papers, contact the Long Island Studies Institute, Hofstra University-West Campus, 619 Fulton Avenue, Hempstead, N.Y. 11549; (516) 463-6411, or the Hofstra Cultural Center, (516) 463-5669.




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EDITORIAL COMMENT

The year 1998 marks a series of major milestones in the history of Long Island. To begin with, this issue of the *LIHJ* presents three articles on the participation of Montauk in the Spanish American War, not only as Teddy Roosevelt and the Rough Riders' port of embarkation for Cuba, but also as a quarantine camp for them and other troops upon their return. We thank our associate editor, Prof. Richard P. Harmond, of St. John's University, Judith A. Gordon, of the Suffolk County Parks Department, and *The American Legion Magazine* for their respective contributions

In Fall 1998 we will address the formation of Greater New York, another crucial happening of one hundred years ago. Although Long Island remained geographically whole, its political unity ended forever in 1898, with the severing of Brooklyn and western Queens from the counties of Suffolk and soon-to-be-organized Nassau.

Another celebration during this year-to-remember concerns the 350th birthday of East Hampton, the historic East End town and village of the same name with the Main Street many think of as the most beautiful in the nation. The town has organized a monthly series of lectures on every aspect of East Hampton's long and significant past. To obtain a schedule of these insightful—and at times provocative—talks, call Tom Twomey, the redoubtable chair of the splendid team that put the series together, at (516) 324-8200; a list of remaining talks is listed elsewhere in this issue. (Personal note: last 14 March, your editor was privileged to speak at Guild Hall to the series's high-level audience on the subject of "Lion Gardiner: Long Island's Founding Father," reprinted below.)

We extend high praise to *Newsday* for its unusually comprehensive coverage of the history of Long Island, an ongoing presentation of well-researched studies by Steve Wick, George DeWan, and their many capable colleagues. Simultaneously, we salute Allen Oren's half-hour programs on Cablevision's News 12 Long Island, highlighting the Islands history in tandem with *Newsday*.

Marking the grand conclusion of *Newsday's* series, the Museums at Stony Brook will mount an exhibition beginning on 19 September, depicting Long Island history through works in its own collection as well as from other regional resources. Also worth noting is the Museums' presentation of *Stanford White on Long Island*, showing blueprints, paintings, and other decorative objects designed by White in an exhibition that starts on the Fourth of July and continues throughout October.

And speaking of exhibitions, we urge our readers not to miss "*Barren and Waste Land*": *Long Islanders and the Pine Barrens*, show-casing the relationship between people and the natural environment and changing perceptions of the pine barrens over time, that will last throughout 1998 at the Suffolk County Historical Society, 300 West Main Street, Riverhead, NY 11901 (see the article in this issue by Marsha L. Hamilton, the exhibit's curator).

Finally, as for "Long Island - Our Story," we are proud that 1998 marks the tenth year of our existence as a scholarly journal devoted to analysis of Long Island as America. In addition to articles mentioned above, this issue contains Edith L.

Gordon's perceptive of whether town councils should be elected on an at-large or district basis, a question of current interest, especially in the town of Hempstead, Hank Shaw's creative essay on Lewis Noe, a colorful Sayville associate of the explorer, Sir Henry Morton Stanley; and our customary assortment of reviews, including an essay by Floris Barnett Cash on three important books on African American history. In addition, we present two excellent articles by winners of our essay contest for high school students, both of which survey key aspects of Long Island's legal history: Kimberly Horoski on landmark cases pertaining to separation of church and state, and Kimberly Mockler on a Manhasset school integration case in the early 1960s. We are extremely gratified that the contest we sponsor, in conjunction with Dr. Eli Seifman's USB Center for Excellence and Innovation in Education, is yielding such outstanding work: it is a tribute both to the students and to their dedicated social studies teachers.

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THE SPANISH AMERICAN WAR AND MONTAUK POINT: INTRODUCTION TO CHARLES JOHNSON POST'S MEMOIR OF CAMP WIKOFF

By Richard P. Harmond

The Spanish American War is often recalled in John Hay's exuberantly martial phrase as "a splendid little war."¹ And it was certainly splendid for Hay's friend, Theodore Roosevelt, who emerged as a hero from the fighting in Cuba, and went on to become governor of New York and vice president and president of the United States. On the other hand, it was not so splendid for many of the Americans battling the Spanish in Cuba, where more than seven hundred lost their lives. Nor, as indicated in the article by Charles Johnson Post that follows this introduction, did the war seem so splendid to the men shipped from Cuba to Camp Wikoff in the late summer of 1898.

Upon reflection, one might well be curious as to how American soldiers ended up in Cuba—then a Spanish colony—in the first place. Basically, they were sent to that island to terminate a gory and destructive civil conflict.²

When a rebellion erupted in Cuba in 1895, the Spanish military determined to crush it. In this they were unsuccessful. Neither the rebels nor their Spanish opponents were able to subdue the other, and so the war dragged on with devastating consequences for the Cuban economy and civilian population. By 1898, an estimated four-to-five hundred thousand Cubans, one-fourth of the island's population, had lost their lives.

The United States public, alerted to the suffering and bloodshed by the strongly pro-rebel American press, became convinced that the war had to be brought to a close, and Cuba granted its independence. Public opinion, in turn, exerted pressure on President William McKinley and the Republican leadership in Congress. The sinking in Havana harbor of the U.S. battleship *Maine*, on 15 February 1898, added measurably to the pressure. (Though it was never established who actually sunk the *Maine*, the popular American perception was that Spain was responsible). On 11 April, after negotiations with the Spanish government over ending the war proved unsatisfactory, McKinley went before Congress asking for the authority to use the army and navy to bring a halt to the hostilities in Cuba.

Congress responded on 19 April with a joint resolution declaring Cuba free, demanding the withdrawal of Spain from the island, and directing the president to employ force to achieve those ends. McKinley signed the resolution the following day, and five days later Congress declared war on Spain. The slogan "Remember the Maine" soon echoed up and down the land.

The war had barely begun when the United States Asiatic Squadron, under the command of Commodore George Dewey, won a magnificent victory. On 1 May, the American naval force destroyed the Spanish squadron in Manila Bay. At home, Americans were overjoyed at news of the victory, and rejoiced in the appearance of a new naval hero, the now-Rear Admiral George Dewey. Matters did not go nearly as smoothly, though, for the U.S. Army in Cuba.

In late April, McKinley called for 125,000 volunteers (later increased to 200,000). The president also was authorized by Congress to increase the regular army from 26,000 to 65,000 men. Young Americans eagerly answered the president's call.

The recruits, clothed in heavy, blue uniforms suitable for service in the frozen north, and equipped with ancient Springfield rifles, were sent to several camps for basic training. When their training was complete, the first contingent of American troops—which included the Rough Riders— sailed from Tampa Bay for Cuba on 14 June. This force of some sixteen thousand men, under the command of General William Shafter, arrived at the shores of Cuba on 20 June, disembarked at Dacquiri and nearby Siboney on 22 June, and began its advance eastward toward Santiago, where a Spanish fleet lay at anchor. On 24 June, the Americans encountered their first serious resistance at Las Guasimas. They took the town, with an assault spearheaded by the Rough Riders under Colonel Leonard Wood, and his second-in-command, Lt. Col. Theodore Roosevelt. Six days later, on 1 July, in the battle of El Caney, some 6,600 Americans captured the strongly fortified village stubbornly defended by about six hundred Spanish soldiers. (Unlike the Americans, the well-concealed Spaniards used smokeless powder, and so were difficult to locate.)

That same day, the Americans engaged Spanish troops in a battle for Kettle Hill, where the Rough Riders, under Theodore Roosevelt, took the leading role, and the adjacent San Juan Hill. The Americans, under heavy fire, drove back the Spanish defenders and seized the crests of the two hills, which overlooked Santiago.

The Americans were not prepared to attack Santiago, however. The city was well-fortified, and the U.S. side lacked the heavy artillery capable of breaching the Spanish defenses. Indeed, there was serious talk among American officers of falling back. From this potentially embarrassing, if not disastrous situation, the Americans were delivered, when, on 3 July, the Spanish fleet sailed out of Santiago Harbor in an attempt to escape to the open sea. In the ensuing battle, the Spanish fleet was destroyed by the waiting American fleet. On 16 July, in the aftermath of this defeat, the Spanish decided to surrender Santiago, along with Cuba, to the Americans.

In the meantime, dysentery, malaria, and, to a lesser extent, yellow fever, ravaged the American army. Under these circumstances, the War Department

decided to send the men back to the United States and, more specifically, to Montauk Point.!

Montauk was chosen, in part, because the Long Island Railroad provided connections with New York City. Moreover the area was largely uninhabited and isolated—necessary conditions for a quarantine camp at a time when the medical profession did not know how malaria and yellow fever were transmitted.³

Work began slowly on the reception depot, named Camp Wikoff to honor Colonel Charles A. Wikoff, an American officer killed in the assault on San Juan Hill. Some veterans of the Cuban campaign were already there when the Rough Riders, including Theodore Roosevelt, arrived (although, except for some of the officers, without their horses) on 15 August. During the next three-to-four weeks, other veterans were deposited at the camp. And, as soon as they were pronounced fit, they were permitted to board the Long Island Railroad and depart for New York City. Camp Wikoff, its work completed, was officially closed on 9 October; the last troops left the camp on 14 October.⁴

Among the thousands of men who went through Camp Wikoff was a private named Charles Johnson Post (1873-1956). A writer and artist, Post was born in New York City, the son of Louis F. Post, a lawyer and assistant secretary of labor in the Wilson administration. Charles received his education at Penn Charter School, City College, and the Art Students League. He began his career as a journalist-artist in 1893, after which he worked for most of the prominent daily newspapers and magazines of New York, such as the *New York Times*, the *World*, the *Daily News*, and *Harper's Magazine*.⁵

In 1898, though, he interrupted his journalistic career to join the army. He took early basic training at Camp Black on the Hempstead Plains, completed his training in Florida, and was shipped on 14 June from Tampa to Cuba, where he served as a rifleman in the Seventy-first Regiment. As did other veterans of the Cuban fighting, he ended up at Camp Wikoff.⁶

What sort of place was the Camp in 1898? During its brief history, 257 men—of the roughly twenty thousand processed there—died. How much camp conditions were responsible for these fatalities is an open question. After all, a significant number of the men were already in weakened condition when they came to the camp. Still, Charles Post's experiences suggest that in some instances, at any rate, the veterans' treatment—or lack thereof—contributed to the sum total of suffering and death at Camp Wikoff.⁷

NOTES

1. Cited in Frank Freidel, *The Splendid Little War* (New York: Dell Publishing, 1958), 9.
2. A number of books deal with the coming and the course of the Spanish American War, of which Freidel's is an excellent, relatively short account; for a fuller and more recent history, see David F. Trask, *The War With Spain in 1898* (New York: MacMillan, 1981).
3. Yellow fever was once thought to originate in filth—sewage, rotting animals etc.—and great care was taken to avoid touching the "contaminated" body or the clothing of someone who died of the disease. In 1901, Dr. William C. Gorges demonstrated that the yellow fever parasite was carried by a mosquito (*Stegomyia fasciata*), a story nicely summarized in David McCullough, *The Path Between the Seas: The Creation of the Panama Canal, 1870-1914* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1977), 142, 410-421).
4. *New York Times*, 10 and 15 October 1898.
5. *New York Times*, 26 September 1956; Will Lissner, "In Memoriam: Charles Johnson Post," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 15 (October 1956): 23-24.
6. For his account of his army experiences in 1898, see Charles Johnson Post, *The Little War of Private Post* (Boston: Little Brown, 1960).
7. Historians differ on this issue: Trask (332-34) argues that conditions improved over time, and that the number of deaths was, under the circumstances, not excessive, but G. J. A. O'Toole, *The Spanish War: An American Epoch-1898* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1984), 374-75, sides with Post.

MONTAUK: A CHRONICLE OF '98

By Charles Johnson Post

This article is reprinted by permission of *The American Legion Magazine*, © July 1938.



I hereby desire to amend the official Reports of the War Department of the United States. My difficulty is that I do not know whether to address this solemn amendment to the Secretary of War, or to the President of the United States, or to the god of things as they are.

The complacent report I desire to amend—but only with facts—is dated 1898; but I saw it only recently. When it was issued I had other things to think about—diet, convalescence, where to get a job, and how I was going to spend all of the \$55 that Uncle Sam paid me for shooting Spaniards on San Juan Hill, including the ten percent extra that we were paid for war service over and above the \$13 a month base pay. So it happened that not until recently did I read the Report in which was included the report of Surgeon General George M. Sternberg; and the suave statement by him that, in the hospital camp at Montauk Point, Long Island, "milk and eggs were always plentiful" and "large supplies of milk, eggs, chickens, canned articles

and other materials for special diet were always on hand."

I was in that hospital, brought back on the old transport *Grande Duchesse* from Santiago, Cuba, and maybe all of these things were on hand somewhere. Maybe they were, but if so they were pleasantly in the hands of someone else. I did not get them; I did not even see them—none of us did. But I saw many other things and some time I hope to sit next to Surgeon General Sternberg and, between our harp solos or otherwise as the case may be—tell him a few things about things as they were.

For five days we had been packed in on the *Grande Duchesse*. Five men to a stateroom, no hospital, sick and well lying thickly about the decks; fighting at the distilled-water butts twice a day, with the well men winning first place and the sick left to take the hot water as it came from the condenser after the one cake of ice had melted, and then hoard it in a sour tin cup in the shade of an August sun until it was tepid enough to drink. There was no water to wash a mess kit; cooking bits of bacon over candles in your stateroom with delirious men whimpering in the bunk beside you—it was better than the hardtack-and-salt-beef slum of the travel ration. And all of us copiously and unashamedly lousy.



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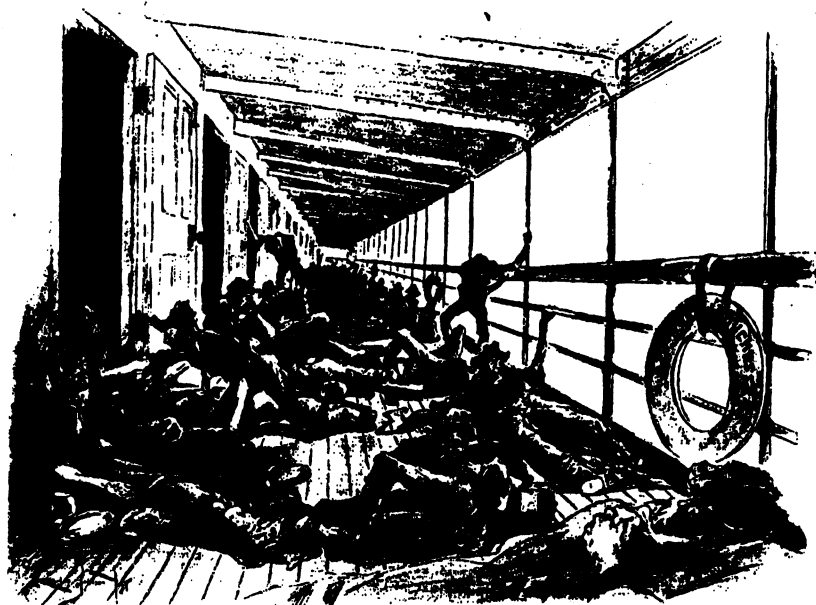
One man died in the former second class washroom and his body, yellow with fever, lay there from morning to late afternoon while we stepped over it and the swinging door bumped its head with each new entrant. Another was picked from his bunk, cold and dead, with his squad bunkie lying unconscious beside him and the stateroom foul with dysentery. Each morning Gus Pitou and Jimmy Lowe lifted a squad mate in a blanket and tied him to the ship's rail in a kind of hammock; and all day he lay there motionless, his eyes glassy and half-open, with pus drooling from his emaciated lips. Down with typhoid, malaria yellow jack, tropical fevers and all varieties of intestinal breakdowns—the official reports are right about that—we shuffled weakly from port to starboard to get into the shade as the sun swung from east to west. Men quarreled with feeble surliness for space in the shade, and the deck was a carpet of men. There were no medicines—it was our regimental surgeon who told me so—not a pill of bismuth, only a few of compound cathartic and only a little quinine. Out beyond the fantail, aft, there had been built a sort of open air latrine over the foaming wake below, and all night men were passing along the decks dinging to the handrails. Some were too weak to make the journey in one stretch and took it in sections; they stumbled among the men sleeping on the deck and cursed and were cursed. One man in his weakness crumpled and slipped through the make-shift structure over the fantail and was saved from death in the churning waters below by a pair scarcely stronger than himself. The officers were helpless; they made perfunctory tours as prescribed by regulations. What could they do? There was little discipline, and little need for it; it was a peevish democracy of sickness, weakness and neglect. If, at night, the officer of the day or officer of the guard picked his way among the blanketed forms on the decks cooler than the fetid staterooms—his passage could be followed in

giving anonymity. Not that all men were sick; many were lucky; but ours was the sick deck. The wounded had been sent home weeks before. On board this *Grande Duchess* were some 1600 men, four battalions of us, less the casualties of San Juan Hill and those too weak to walk on board with their blanket rolls and equipment. These last went to a little island in the bay of Santiago, and died. Sick and well, jumbled together, and praying with oaths for home and decency and cleanness.

And then, in the early dawn of an August morning we saw Montauk Point, emerald green and shimmering white and its softly naked slopes flecked with a little spattering of tents. No regimental hand ever thrilled as did the hoarse clatter of the anchor chain through the hawse pipe as the *Grande Duchess* dropped her anchor. One of the old Coney Island excursion boats drew up alongside to lighten us ashore and we—those who could walk—crawled down the steep gangplank to her upper deck, helped by a double line of men and checked off by a hospital sergeant. Others came down on stretchers or in blankets. By orders, we left behind our blanket rolls and our rifles; we kept our canteens and haversacks. For our ponchos on our blanket rolls were peeled and chipped and worthless; our blankets were fabrics of grime and filth. We took with us only our germs and lice and uniforms and no breakfast, for we had no time for the candle-fired bacon or the hard-tack slum and what of it? Was not everything awaiting us on shore? Thank God, we were going to a hospital at last!

The early morning air was bracing; it was cool after Santiago and its tropic hills. Men who had crawled around the decks of the *Grande Duchesse* bucked up and slapped each other on the back, weakly; only a few lay down. We felt ashamed of being on the sick list. One tried to get back past the hospital sergeant: "Hell, I ain't sick!" he protested. "Captain, I ain't sick," he called up to the deck of the *Grande Duchesse*. "I'm acoming back with the boys." "Go on back, Bill," an officer called down to him, "we'd have you back all right." There was wine in the air; it was the wine of home. A deckhand said: "Gee, you fellers don't seem so bad—we heard you was all sick!" Some one started to sing "The Banks of the Wabash" but it faded out and died in the first verse. From the decks of the transport above there started up "A Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight"—the army song of '08—and we tried to join in; but that too died out. We were sick men. Presently the decks of the Coney Island boat were carpeted with the prone and sluggish figures of men, just as had been the decks of the transport. And then we cast off and made for the little straggling dock by which we were to land. On the beach, back from the dock, a few ambulances were waiting; there were officers in trig blue uniforms and some hospital corps men in khaki. "All who can walk," ordered a medical officer, "walk to the ambulances, they'll take you." Again there were a few minutes of wine in the air and pep in our bodies. Some helped others. "Let him alone!" orders the officer. "Here, sergeant, bring a stretcher." A stretcher! The order was relayed down the dock and to the shore. A stretcher came.

We were home at last! Good old Army; good old United States!

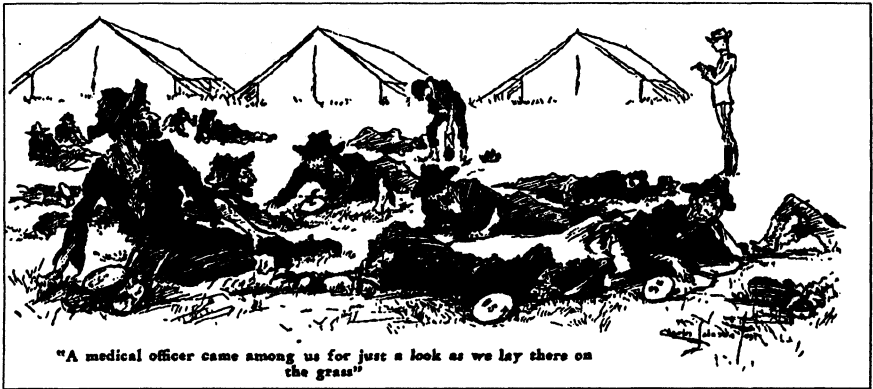


"We quarreled with feeble surliness for a space in the shade, and the deck was a carpet of men"

We crowded into the ambulances, or were crowded in; we made room gladly and hunched in tighter. There were thirteen in my ambulance, with two beside the driver, and a hospital corps man hanging on behind. One ambulance had gone and we were next; on the dock we could see them bringing off stretcher cases and the men in blankets to lie on the dock or beach; there were not stretchers enough. There were not enough ambulances. Down the beach were a couple of little tents with a yellow pest flag flying above them. "Yellow fever—quarantine," explained the hospital corps man.

A ride of about a mile or so and then we clambered out on the grass of a tiny, wind-swept plateau with the beach far beyond and below. A couple of streets of tents, about twenty tents to the street stretched beyond us, and a few more were slowly going up. A medical officer came among us for just a look. There were a hundred men or more, so far, lying on the grass, dropped where they had climbed out of the ambulance; there were no blankets, and more men were arriving and dropping on the ground with every ambulance trip.

The medical officer who was making this preliminary inspection caged for attention: "All those," he said, "who can walk had best get to their regimental camp about a mile. You'll get more there than we have here. It's for your own good, so if you can make it, *walk!*" He disappeared. Some few tried it; but soldiers get wise—we thought he was trying out for malingerers, and, God knows, we



were not malingering. "Lie down, you damn fool!" greeted the few poor devils who tried it conscientiously, "they got to do something for us here." There wasn't a man fit to walk to his tent, let alone a mile.

There was a curious thing about this fever-ridden army of Santiago—perhaps it would be different to go down with typhoid or enteric or yellow jack, with nice nurses and pleasant surroundings and to lie back in an apathetic and unresistant lassitude—but we were fighting men. I don't mean fighting men just because we were soldiers; but fighting men—fighting to get back and die in our own country.

I was not a patient soldier; I was truculent; hating all the obscenities of official stupidity that began when the fighting ended. The patient, docile ones died quickly, generally.

On that grass in the detention hospital of Camp Wikoff on Montauk Point we were sick men. Chills, fever and delirium alternated with brief periods of lucidity.

More men arrived and lay where they had climbed out of the ambulance. Occasionally a rare hospital corps man appeared and looked us over. We clamored for blankets—and water, or something to drink, or eat. Again the medical officer appeared and repeated his urge that men walk to their own regimental camps. But that was all. We had arrived about nine o'clock in the morning. Late in the afternoon a few blankets were distributed—I was not one of the lucky ones. Then a hospital corps man appeared with a pail of soup, not much soup. It gave out before my turn came. Buried in one of the official reports I find that this soup was not army supply but was contributed by a wealthy yacht that lay off the shore, and through the request of a volunteer Red Cross man on shore.

Slowly, as evening wore on, men were being distributed to tents; I got a blanket. And then, after dark, a hospital corps man singled me out and, on a stretcher, I was carried to a tent. I had nothing to eat since the day before, and nothing to drink all day. It was a regulation twelve-by-sixteen tent, grass for its floor, and with five cots placed in it any old way. After midnight an elderly, stout, volunteer civilian nurse a well-meaning old chap appeared with a kettle full of mutton stew—chipped bones, gristle, greasy water, lukewarm or less—and not free from the flavor of mutton-tallow—moldy or slightly rancid. He ladled it into

my mess cup—my mess-kit was lost—and I drank what I could in the dark.

By morning there were five of us in the tent. One had fallen down the hold of the *Grande Duchess* while it was in the harbor at Santiago; his right arm was broken, as was his left leg. Another was a fever case who rapidly passed into a continuous delirium, whimpering for his mother, and damning everyone because they would not tie a bandage tight enough around his head; he steadily complained of pains in his belly and demanded the bandage around his head to cure it. The two others were as precious a pair of worthless young scrimshankers as one would wish not to meet. They claimed to be Rough Riders—but we quickly detected that they had not been in the fight at either San Juan or Kettle Hill, and were fakers. They might have been part of a replacement draft that was, or had been, recruited to join up with the regiments as they returned. They were young, apparently well educated and well supplied with money; and they were neatly clean. How they got into the hospital except by genteel pull—was a mystery. When in the tent they kept a wary eye out for any surgeon or hospital man through the tent flap and would lie down feebly if one hove in sight.

They had some sources of supplies, supplies that they never shared—milk tablets, cookies, a jar of ginger and tins of fancy groceries! Some properly placed officer could probably explain much more about them than I can. We three others hated them and despised them; and they ignored us as their social inferiors. The war was very soft so far as they were concerned. When they left they took their supplies with them—except for the jar of ginger, which they bequeathed to me. We threw it away in contempt. I never liked ginger and the others would not have touched it had it been turkey.

The next day a mild young contract surgeon visited our tent; he was a bashful medical student of two years' training. He took our temperatures, and left me with five two-grain quinine pills, and one fuzzy blue-mars pig. Also, he directed that we were to get into pajamas.

This was the only medicine or examination I had while in the hospital. It was early afternoon before breakfast appeared—thin oatmeal, lumpy, and with some very much diluted condensed milk. I tore up some grass from the floor and swabbed out my mess cup, and in went the oatmeal to mix with the smelly remains of the mutton stew of the night before. Then a hospital corps man and the stout, volunteer nurse appeared with pajamas. They tried to get me into them but I fought with all my strength against it.

The delirious man they put in meekly enough, but they couldn't slip them over the broken leg-and-arm man; his splints made it too awkward. They tried me again. "Don't let 'em do it!" advised the broken-bone patient. He had the same idea that had formed in my mind—still in my uniform I might make it, but in the hospital pajamas there wasn't a chance. If I could run the guard, get back to my regiment, and get the facts before the officers—that was the thing to do. No finer man or officer than my captain, Malcolm Rafferty, ever wore uniform. But that regimental camp was even farther away from the railroad than this hospital. Maybe I could make the railroad and get into New York. I had been a newspaper man; I knew the editors; I knew the facts I had even now; and there was help for us in New York. I had no intention of deserting; I would take any court martial for



"I was on the gangway—home was looming before me. . . ."

going AWOL from a hospital, and—in the phrase that has since come into being—beat the rap. I was not going to be one to die in that wretched camp without all the fight I could make. So it was vital to keep out of pajamas and in my uniform; one could not go wandering around in pajamas without being picked up; in a uniform I would at least have a chance of throwing a bluff of getting past the sentries, as an orderly on an errand. But, comparatively speaking, I had seen nothing yet!

No one again tried to put me into pajamas. No one tried to do anything. The broken-boned man and the delirious bandage-round-the-head doughboy used the tent for a latrine—after the sentry had caught them back of the tent. I struggled conscientiously to the regular latrine far down the street of our twenty tents.

Long after dark that night, the stout, volunteer nurse appeared with supper; tea and the same soupy, smelly mutton stew. I again swabbed out my mess cup with grass and had tea mired with the greasy, and now unmistakably rancid, remnants of the mutton stew of the night

before, and the oatmeal of that morning. Two meals a day; one more or less around noon and the other late at night. This one volunteer nurse was looking after twenty tents in our street, with from five to eight men to a tent! He did his best and at times would moan in utter sympathetic helplessness, despite the fact that we swore at him impersonally.

From somewhere and from some organization—a colporteur had appeared, a little slender man with a virginal beard and a pleading, fawn-like manner that persisted in spite of the steady cursing he received. He wandered aimlessly from tent to tent offering tracts and urging the men not to swear. Saving souls was his only concern and he never, never lifted a hand to help the volunteer nurse who was on the run night and day trying to feed and water the men. We damned this feeble missionary with a steadiness and fluency that would have warmed the heart of the army in Flanders. At any cursing that arose, and that he overheard, he would hurry to the tent and enter his mild, little figure. He would offer to pray for us. "Blank blank you, get us something to drink—some water!" yelled my broken-bone tent-mate. To be quite fair I wish to say that I never let my tent-mate in the street shoulder all the penalties of purgatory in this matter of swearing at this little, pious s hrimp. The man would pause pleadingly:

"Ah, you men," he would say from tent to tent, "you who have stood so close to the presence of death on the battle front, whose time may come any moment when you will stand in the presence of your Maker—to use such language!"

"Get back to New York and tell them what we need—what you've seen! Get help!"

"The son of-a-so and-so is dumb, blank blank him!"

"You get rations—why the bed don't you get us ours—or bismuth!" Our formula of talk was quite as regular as his.

"Such language such blasphemy—taking the Name—" the little man would say earnestly. "Now, if you would only let me pray for you, I'm sure it would help."

All day long, and at night, too, he would indefatigably flutter from tent to tent, empty of hand except for tracts and a Bible, but with his urgent heart twittering with its piety according to his little rush-light.



"For two days men had been washing the grass with water so the Secretary of War would not know the facts"

The pathos and the tragedy were less ours than his, or that of the consecrated imbeciles who had sent him.

We heard there was food down at the cook shack—for those who could make it. I tried it. Out in the open, fronting the cook shack, there were two long tables made of boards on trestles. There were not less than two hundred men there; the walking sick and crawling sick, but robust compared to those left back in

the tents. And some, curiously, that seemed as healthy as the day we landed in Cuba.

A cook's assistant would come out with a huge, square Buzzacott pan of fried eggs, and pass down the tables shoveling one out on the dirty mess tin before each man. Bread was on the table. There were never enough eggs to go round and the rest waited for the next pan. The men sat on empty canned-goods case, with others behind them waiting their turn for the use of the box; if you didn't have a box to sit on at the table, the cook would give you nothing! With each pan that appeared there was a mild riot. Standing men rushed the cook and tried to grab an egg or a handful of fried potatoes and were either beaten off with his large spoon, or pulled off by those pushing in to make a snatch for themselves. Coffee there was, too, and theoretically, at least in the official ration list, sugar; but there never was any sugar. At night it was tea in the place of coffee, and again no sugar.

I got an egg, once. The man next to me had gotten one. He tried it. He had gotten the last in the pan. "Here, no," he said, turning to me, "you want an egg—it's yours if you can eat it." He was right; he couldn't eat it and I couldn't either. Yet other men were wolfing them down and trying to get more. There were, it may be observed and as Surgeon General Stemberg wrote, "eggs." In a way, of course,

he was correct; if you care to press the point technically. But there was no milk of any kind—other than the diluted, condensed milk. Yet milk came, too, and later we will come to that.

Each day I went down, at least once, to the cook shack at meal time to take my chance I was not strong enough to buck the rush, and, except for the egg that was given me, the food always gave out before I could get my turn. The third serving never went around. I never saw an officer at the cook shack, nor any hospital corps man, nor any control or order. The cooks kept what order they chose with their iron spoons, and hated the men as cordially as the men hated them. The cooks, we heard, were civilians hired under some form of army contract.

The only latrine was down at the far end of the camp near the cook shack; it was fifty yards from the nearest tent, and from the farthest tent over a hundred yards. Men did their best to make it and at any hour of the day or night you passed them lying in the grass or making of the street, itself, a latrine. Something was finally done, for the grass streets were bloody and filthy—my street became a latrine from one end to the other. Before resting on one of these journeys one carefully picked out an oasis to lie down on. At night it was not so simple a matter; so packing cases, sawed in half, were placed in each street, about four or five to the street, as latrines. They were never emptied or chemically treated. But there they were, actually a luxury! However, long before this the grassy streets of the hospital had become foul beyond description. There was a military medical headquarters with an army surgeon in charge, in this Montauk hospital camp, and hospital corps men and hospital non coms the official records will show this. But from that first day I rarely saw them. Mine was the last street in the hospital and possibly that was why. But there were very few in charge in any event. And soon those ominous-looking boxes appeared.

Then came the storm. In the official reports this is referred to as "some rain"—but merely to indicate triviality and slightness and not the intensity of the blasting storm it really was.

It was at night that I became conscious of the storm. I was having a most pleasant delirium; I was back around Santiago and a battle was on. I could hear the seething sping and patter of the bullets as they smacked into the trees. Maybe I was shouting, I don't know, but slowly there came into my consciousness the fact that someone else was shouting. Slowly the delirium and the drama faded and I heard with increasing clearness my broken-bone tentmate yelling, "Get out, damn you—get out—the tent is going down!"

The man with the bandage about his head was screaming and pushing against the tent pole in front. In an instant my head had cleared, the delirium had gone and I scrambled to help with the pole; it was leaning heavily in and slowly pressing down the screaming man who struggled against it. By the lightning flashes I could see him doing his best and being aided by the two young gentlemen who, next day, made me the residuary legate of the jar of ginger. By a lightning flash I saw them slip through the tent flap and out into the storm. The two of us left, struggled to hold the pole but with the wind against the spread of canvas it bore us slowly back. I could hear above the roar of wind and driving rain the broken-bone man yelling at me: "Get out—get out—damn you, you can't hold it—she's coming

down!"

And it did. In an instant the driving thunder storm had soaked me to the skin. By the lightning I could see, now and again, a tent-fly sailing through the air. Other tents were slowly sagging in my street, and in the street next beyond; some were already down. Around, to where had been the front, I found the little missionary colporteur, wringing his hands and uttering a sort of semi-wordless chant.

"Get some help—help—go for help!" I yelled at him. His eyes stared straight ahead; he, too, could not hear.

Then, for the first time, the sentry of the camp guard from the Tenth Cavalry appeared. With the lazy southern drawl that nothing could abate he spoke to the broken-bone man and myself.

"Ah's jist called for the' corprol of the' guard six times an' I don' git no answer," he explained. "Mah next post doan seem to heah me."

"Fire your carbin—it's emergency," I suggested.

"Ah can't do it, boss only fo' fire 'r insurrection. That's regulations, you knows that!" He tried yelling for the corporal of the guard again, and uselessly. Then I started out in the driving rain and in pitch blackness, except for the lightning flashes, to get to the hospital headquarters. There were pools of water ankle deep and tent pegs that I stumbled over; but that made no difference for I could not get wetter. But on the way I met not a soul.

At the hospital headquarters I was stopped by a sentry. It was after hours and orders are orders—come around in the morning. Persistently, I clamored. A dim light was burning inside and I knew someone must be on duty. An angry hospital sergeant came out. "Get the hell out of here!" he ordered. I clamored again that tents were going down, men were dying under them, the camp was being blown away. I have never felt more rational and yet I must have looked like a half-drowned maniac. An officer called out from inside, irritably. "Man says tents being blown down, sir," the sergeant explained. The officer appeared in the doorway. "What is it, my man?" he asked me. I told him, excitedly, and in all likelihood, deliriously. He was a nice officer, whoever he was. "Well," he said soothingly to me, "we'd have a look, anyway. Sergeant, take this man and get him back into a tent." The sergeant got a lantern and we went back; he was soothing, too, and going to put me in the nearest tent until daybreak.

By reason of some freak of the gale, the tents nearest the headquarters were intact. I rose in clamor that he go over to my street, the last in the camp. Finally, still in a humoring mood he went. We stumbled between rows of tents and then he struck my street. There were no tents there. Incredulous, he followed down the street. The hysterical missionary had disappeared; so had my broken boned tent-mate; I've never seen either of them again. There was nothing but piles of sodden canvas, and sometimes not even that. "Good God!" ejaculated the hospital sergeant. He turned to me: "Pick yourself a tent wherever you can—I'll take care of this now "

I picked out a tent in the darkness after trying several where they swore at me; they had only grass floors, anyway, and, since I had orders to pick myself a tent anywhere, I was going to pick one with a nice, soft board floor up off the flooded

grass. When dawn came we counted up in the tent I had picked; there were fifteen of us in that tent; five in cots and the rest on the floor, wedged in.

By daylight the freakishness of the storm stood revealed. In my street not a tent was left standing; some were blown clear away, some just bogged down heavily on the cots and stayed, and three had merely sagged over backward until their ridgepoles were a scant four feet off the ground. In the next street some were blown away and the rest were sagging badly. The street beyond was scarcely touched, while the two other streets were almost intact.

All the day following the storm we noted that, besides men civilians—putting up the tents and stiffening guy ropes, that others were washing the grass streets with brooms and pails of water. There were more men busy in this cleaning up and camp making than we had ever seen before. But they were only for that; we shifted for ourselves as we had before. The packing case latrines in the street had disappeared; we felt this was just cause for complaint and we railed against it. We heard that a man had been placed under arrest because he couldn't make the main latrine. Discipline was stiffening. Rumors were flying; there was to be a new commandant of the hospital; there was not—but we were all to be discharged; we were to be shipped to hospitals in New York; Washington had heard of us; we were to join our regiments and be under regimental hospital care and we thanked God for that rumor. And, this day following the storm, there came also the wild rumor that there was *milk!* We jeered. But it was true. The rumor culminated at noon; there was milk at the cook shack; come and get it!

My tent was now nearer the cook shack than it had been and I started out. The word was passing from tent to tent in ail the streets. Milk! Men were drifting down the streets toward the cook shack, shuffling along weakly, some with mess cups, and some—still skeptical—without. They converged on the cook shack. And there, in a row, were milk cans, in quilted canvas and still wet on top where a cake of ice had lain during their shipment. It was between mealtimes and no cook was in sight. Incredulous, we looked at them; there was no rush—at first—for we were unbelieving. Bearded, lousy, emaciated, brilliant fevered eyes in sunken sockets, gaunt cheekbones, shrunken lips that bared the teeth in a perpetual grimace we stood there, murmuring and uncertain. More were straggling up.

A cook's assistant appeared in the doorway. "Milk?" a regular asked him, nodding toward the row of cans. "Sure," said the cook's assistant, "help yourself!" There was a rush for the cans as he disappeared within. The quilted canvas jackets were clumsily uncovered—we had never seen milk cans in Mother Hubbards before. Men jerked off the lids and thrust their mess cups in. They poured it into the outstretched cups of men crowding behind; down the tented streets men heard the rising shouts and tried to hurry lest they be late. I could not get into the front rank and a mess cup of milk in a hairy hand came out of the crowd.

Some man dumped milk into my cup and his hand went back for more. Men were just jostling to get to the front; two or three sickly blows were struck; it had become a tiny riot. In the door of the cook shack appeared the red face and burly figure of the head cook. "Get out!" he shouted angrily in a thick, foreign voice and waving a heavy, long-handed milk dipper. There was protest; the milk was ours; we had been told so but no one knew by whom. And, in an instant, that cook was

swinging his milk dipper on the heads of the sickly crowd and wading into us with a savage ferocity.

Those closest gave way under the blows of the heavy dipper. A couple of men were knocked down, but there was no backing away for the crowd behind was too close—the men in the rear pressed forward. They were sick, but savage against this wanton, sadistic brutality. It was a riot of sick men. Weak, as individuals, the mass closed in and, by sheer mass of men—even weak men—closing round him, he could not swing his iron dipper. We would have killed him—I say we, because even at this late date I do not wish to shrink from my share of the impulses of that moment; personally, I was only on the outskirts of that fracas; but I tried to get farther in, God knows I tried.

Mind you, this was no tame, tabbycat crowd; there were men from every regiment—regiments and companies that had spent years on the frontiers of the West—the tough, lean, hard-hitten men that Frederic Remington has made immortal; their bodies might be weakened, but they only counted the odds after a fight was over. A few scared faces appeared in the door of the cook shack and disappeared. The cook was shouting for the guard; an officer appeared and roughed his way to the front followed by a hospital sergeant. There was argument and clamor. The cook retreated inside. "No milk," said the officer. "Cot back to your quarters. Sergeant, put a guard over those cans." We drifted back to our tents and lay down.

The milk? Ah, yes, I had almost forgotten that. It was all soured and acid. I could not drink it; but some could. It was a shipment from somewhere during the night before and the thunder storm had soured it.

The next day Secretary of War Alger visited this detention hospital. How neat it was! For by that time every tent peg was in place; every tent guy and tent fly neatly taut; every tent was up; the grass in the streets had been washed and polished. It was a great credit to the Army!

The Secretary first walked through my street, the street that had been blown down; he beamed approvingly—an excellent camp, apparently. He was a little man, with gray moustache, in a black frock coat and silk hat. He walked alone; three paces behind him, his aide in crisp, dark blue and gold insignia, and back of him, various officers of the camp and a sprinkling of hospital corps men. It was the first time we had seen them—or, at least, so many of them. We watched them through the back of our tent. Our street would be the next he inspected. Down at the other end he turned for the return trip and we could not see him. But word came up by the men themselves: "He's looking into the tents—he's talking with the men! He's asking how they are—if he can do anything!"

Volunteer messengers went from tent to tent, secretly, under the back flap or far in advance of the official group. "Get up and kick! Alger's asking questions—have a man speak for your tent, anyone, kick hard. Give it to him straight—we'll die here if we stay!"

I was picked to speak for my tent. When the Secretary of War reached us his aide stood dutifully three paces in the rear with the rest of the staff grouped informally back of him. Some one called "Attention!" The Secretary of War looked in the tent; he spoke pleasantly: "At ease, men," he said. "How are you—can we

do anything for you?" Maybe it was only an ordinary bedside question to sick men; maybe he meant it. I got up and saluted: "Mr. Secretary," I said—

"Sit down, my man," said the Secretary. "Tell me what you want."

I have made many speeches since then, but that was my first. Perhaps, because it was my first, I can still remember it as if it were yesterday; it is engraved on my memory—and it was not a long speech.

"Mr. Secretary," I said, "I am speaking for this tent and many other tents. We are dying here without attention, without rations or medicines or care. That street back of here blew down two nights ago. Men were picked out of it dead. For two days men have been washing the grass with water so you could not know the facts. Latrines were in the streets—a man fell into one. They are all gone. Every energy has been made to make this a nice place for your inspection and it's not true. It's a lie. We're dying here in neglect."

I became conscious of an unseen audience back of the tent. I could hear whispered advice: "Give it to him—that's the stuff." The official staff did not look pleased. I did not care; what did court martials mean to me, or to men who were dying?

"You have been tied to in this inspection," I said. "This hospital is a lie and a shirk. Anyone who tells you different as a liar. We have friends at our homes and we can't get to them. I have had five quinine plus and one blue mass since the transport landed us. We will die if we are kept here."

The Secretary's face seemed to be more serious: "There, there, my man," he said soothingly—perhaps he thought I was delirious. "We'll fix everything."

"Give us a furlough so we can get to our friends and medical care," I said. "Those men out there are lying to you. Everything is to make a nice camp for you to see."

"Tut, tut," said the Secretary. "You mustn't talk like that. We'll do better than a furlough; we're going to give you your discharges."

"I'm telling you the truth. We're dying here without care. You've been shown lies. Thank you, Mr. Secretary." And I dropped back on my cot. He left. Later I heard that he got the same kind of talk from other tents, with only here and there some wretched little dog-robber saying, "Everything is fine, thank you."

The next day the rumor went around that passes to New York were being issued. It was true; a man showed me one. Off to one side of the camp was a special tent where an adjutant was issuing them. I went down. No passes; all given out, a sergeant major surlily explained. Another rumor; more would be issued—but you had to prove you could walk to the railroad station a mile away. Another rumor and I made the trip again; same result. And then another rumor and I tried again. This time the rumor was true. A line of men had formed outside the tent, sitting or lying down. The word passed along, "Don't lie down—you've got to walk to the station or no pass." We sat up. I traded a place in the line to be next my bunkie, Jimmy. He had a boil on his forehead so large that his hat had to sit far back on his head. We went up to the adjutant's desk together.

"What's this man doing here?" demanded the adjutant. "One at a time."

"He's my bunkie," said Jimmy. Jimmy had me by the back of my shirt so that I should not sway or fall, and would look as if I could wad to the station. We tried

to imitate healthy men. I stood close to Jimmy in his turn, with the slack of his shirt grabbed tight to steady him. A pass was made out.

"Go to the bath tent, take a bath, get into the new uniform and come back here for the pass then. Can you walk to the station?"

"Yes, sir," we replied. And I still think we lied.

A hospital sergeant pointed out the bath tent and issued us new underwear, socks, and a khaki uniform. "Helen Gould gave them," he said, "and see you take a bath, no faking."

Inside the bath tents were three ordinary, round wooden wash-tubs. A few filthy towels lay about mixed with piles of cast off uniforms and fetid underwear. The water in the tubs was the color of foul dishwater, and cold; it never had been hot—there was nothing but cold water; on the surface floated clotted suds, dark gray with filth. A hospital corps man was on watch at the tent flap.

"Do we have to take a bath in this?" we asked. There were six of us together. "Can't you turn the other way a bit?"

"If you want new water, go get it at the well," he responded, "and you take a bath and no faking. That's orders." Two of the men dumped one of the tubs and started off with it to the well a hundred yards away; it was all they could do to tote it empty and those tubs held two hundred pounds of water, easily, and them two, poor, conscientious chaps, fever-ridden, were going to try and lug it! The other four of us were wiser. Slowly we undressed and wondered; we wondered if the hospital man was human. He stuck his head in from time to time inspecting. Our lack of haste seemed to irritate him. "Say," he said at last, "hurry up, get in that bath. I've got to see the adjutant and I'll be back in ten minutes—and see that you get that bath!" He was a kindly man—at the last, anyway.

When he came back we all had damp hair—how the head-lice survived it I don't know, but they did, and lustily—and a towel in our hands, and were half dressed in the new outfit; although Jimmy had conscientiously stood in one of the tubs for a few seconds.

The pass was issued and with it five dollars and a railroad ticket to New York City. Jimmy and I got our haversack and the sentry passed us without making us go to the guard house. Far off we could see the railroad station below. Army trucks were passing back and forth to the regimental camps. We sat down on the hill. We slipped down the grassy slope and waited for a truck. The first army truck going our way stopped.

"You boys from up there?" he waved his whip at the detention hospital above. "Git up her—lie down in the truck—I ain't supposed to be carrying' passengers—except him, he's Red Cross." There was a civilian on the mat beside him. The civilian began asking questions about the hospital; and we told him. "I've wondered," he said, "because they won't let us inside that hospital; I've tried. I have money; but they say they need nothing."

At the station I lost Jimmy in the crowd and I did not see him again until hours later, on the old Long Island ferry, crossing the East River. I wanted milk; I had some at the lunch counter. I also bought a can of preserved peaches and a can of condensed milk. The counter man opened them for me. I bought a bunch of bananas to eat on the train; and I had a cup of coffee with milk and sugar in it; yes,

and a ham sandwich—and a fair portion of all them I ate. Crazy? Or was it proof that I had a sick man's appetites it wasn't appetite; it was a craving, the capriciousness of a fever-ridden frame and the vagaries of malnutrition. My belly was bloated, and had been for weeks, over since the fevers bored into us back in the hills around Santiago; I could hardly buckle my cartridge belt around it even at the farthest hook. It was the malnutrition bloat, best known in the photographs of the camps of the Cuban reconcentrados.

I bought the last parlor car seat in the train; I was going to lie on a carpet. To get that mat I rode around the switch yard for an hour on the steps of the locked Pullman and caught the porter as he came out from his car. On the car, when we started after sundown, was my colonel, his wife, and various other officers. Some of the officers were sick men. At the end of the first hour some of them, too, were lying on the floor. Once I tried to find Jimmy; he was in one of the day coaches, forward. One could not pass through the train; every car was jammed; men were lying on the floor and in the mats and wedged into every space. I had wired a physician friend in New York to get an ambulance.

Three months before I had crossed that same ferry with the regiment to board the transport Seneca in New York harbor. Again, at midnight, New York was looming before me. I was on the forward gangway—home was looming before me over the midnight waters—home and a hospital, and medicines and care. I felt no weakness, I felt a well man; I was stalwart with vigor. I wondered, even, if I ought to go to a hospital oh, maybe for a day or so. In the dim light of the ferry slip I saw my physician friend and back of him an ambulance. He waved and I called something across the narrowing gap of the ferry and the slip. I felt two hands gently take me by the elbows. "Steady!" someone said.

"I'm all right—fine," I heard myself saying. And I felt myself suddenly slipping limply through their grasp to the deck. I wanted to stand—but I could not. I was ashamed. I was not crying—I never felt less like it—but I could feel little rivulets of water pouring down my cheeks. Weakness, they told me later. I knew I was crumpled on the deck. Then I was on a stretcher and being carried to the ambulance. On arrival I wanted to wan into the hospital; they made me come in on a stretcher. And the next thing sheets; and the night nurses all popping their heads around the corner to have a look at me in Roosevelt Hospital, and each coming in with a glass of mint. I was the first man back from the block house on San Juan Hill to arrive in the hospital, and a curiosity—at least for that night—for stories had been abroad and no one knew the facts.

Was I a sick man or just nervous and imaginative? I spent the next eleven weeks in Roosevelt Hospital and was discharged early in the care of relatives. I was one of the four percent on whom opium was tried when Warburg's mixture failed, and I pulled through. I believe my recovery gave the hospital some pride because, for weeks, I was a delicately balanced medical problem in a complex tropic fever; and once they put the screens around me in the ward.

Here are some facts on Montauk, from official records:

On August 4th sick troops began arriving. "No teams, lumber, tools, or means at hand to prepare for their reception."

On August 7th Col. Forwood was "still waiting" for supplies, "Mill obtained

from Amagansett each day . . . but had to be hauled from the station. Water was brought to hospital on army wagons." On August 16th: "Tons of supplies at the railroad station we are trying to get."

On August 8th, 6th Cavalry arrived, "no means except troops' own for transport." "At that time there were no tents and no provisions whatsoever for the reception of these men . Some lumber at the station but only one team and two carpenters waiting to go to work." Medical supplies with contents not marked on the cases! (from Report of Col. Charles R. Greenleaf, Chief Surgeon.)

August 17th, Captain Winter in command and reports only one physician in charge and six Hospital Corps men for too tents and crowded hospital. "Of drugs almost none, most essential articles lacking."

On first visit of Secretary of War to this camp August 20th "he found . . . most deplorable unsanitary conditions." (from Report of Major Franklin A. Meatham.)

Montauk Point was at the end of 125-miles of single track railroad, uninhabited, with the nearest village to miles away. It was to be a ramp for 30,000 troops and all facilities—yet to be provided.

My article is not fiction but actual facts. I was there.

SUFFOLK COUNTY'S COMMEMORATION OF THE SPANISH AMERICAN WAR

By Judith A. Gordon

When people think of Theodore Roosevelt and his connection to Long Island, his home Sagamore Hill, in Nassau County, immediately comes to mind. However, Theodore Roosevelt also had a strong connection to Suffolk. In 1898, as colonel in command of the First United States Volunteer Cavalry, better known as the Rough Riders, Roosevelt spent one month quarantined in Montauk at the conclusion of the Spanish American War. At Camp Wikoff, established by the War Department to receive ground forces returning from Cuba, more than twenty-three thousand soldiers were quarantined over virtually the entire Montauk peninsula. The camp existed from the second week of August to October 1898.

Part of what was Camp Wikoff is now Theodore Roosevelt County Park. Third House, built in the eighteenth century as one of the three shelters for the cattle herders of Montauk, served as an officers' headquarters. When Roosevelt's family visited Camp Wikoff, his wife Edith and daughters Alice and Ethel stayed at Third House; Ted Jr. and Kermit slept in a tent with their father, who always preferred to be among his beloved Rough Riders.

Suffolk County plans to commemorate the centennial of the Spanish American War throughout 1998. The culminating proceeding will be a reunion and reenactment weekend in Montauk on 18, 19, and 20 September. As a result of these and other activities across the country, it is expected that Long Islanders will learn about our connection to this historic event.

The Spanish American War was a conflict of such swift duration that we often forget it even took place. However, it had a profound effect on the history of America and the world, signaling the emergence of the United States as a major global power. It also marked the first time after the Civil War that former Union and Confederate soldiers fought side-by-side in the service of the United States of America.

Although conflict with Spain may have been inevitable, the catalyst was the explosion of the American battleship *Maine* in Havana harbor, in February 1898. The cause remains a mystery, with no hard evidence implicating Spain, Cuban rebels, an accident, or other force.

The sinking of the *Maine* with the loss of 260 lives inspired front-page, banner headlines in newspapers across the country. As the slogan "Remember the Maine" resounded from coast to coast, such leading publishers as William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer slanted the stories in their papers, presumably to

provoke a war. An often-repeated account concerned the well-known artist, Frederic Remington, hired by Hearst in 1897 to go to Cuba with the equally renowned journalist, Richard Harding Davis. When Remington reported that nothing was going on and he wanted to come home, Hearst supposedly responded: "You bring me the pictures and I'll manufacture the war." The term "yellow journalism" was coined around this time to describe sensational newspapers: there is little doubt that the jingoistic writing of the Hearst and Pulitzer papers fueled the fires of war. Reporters, photographers, and illustrators intensively covered the conflict from the front lines.

As the war came to a conclusion, American ground forces in Cuba were suffering from various tropical diseases, such as malaria and yellow fever. The Department of War had every intention of keeping the troops in Cuba to recover from their maladies, rather than bring them back to the United States where they were likely to spread the diseases. Army officers in Cuba strongly disagreed with this policy, and advocated returning the troops to recuperate in the United States. They conveyed this opinion to the War Department, and may have convinced Secretary Russel A. Alger. General William Shafter, who commanded the Fifth Army Corps in Cuba, called his officers to a meeting to discuss the dreadful conditions and how to deal with them. They recommended that Colonel Roosevelt, who was not a career military man, speak to the press about the crisis and the necessity for the troops to return to the United States. Roosevelt was eager to do so, but his immediate superior, Colonel Leonard Wood, advised him to go through army channels. (Wood, a former army surgeon, was the original colonel of the Rough Riders, with his good friend, Lt. Col. Theodore Roosevelt his second in command: on 1 July, Wood was promoted to general and Roosevelt to full colonel). On Wood's advice, Roosevelt submitted a letter to General Shafter, signed by all the officers, advising immediate return of the troops. When Roosevelt tried to hand it to Shafter, the latter would not accept the document; instead, it was placed on a table, where the press was able to see it. As a result, the letter appeared in the newspapers before it reached Secretary Alger. Needless to say, the secretary was enraged. However, it is possible that the decision to bring the troops home was made before the publication of the "Round Robin letter," as it came to be known.

The Department of War decided to ship the more than twenty-three thousand troops to Montauk, where they would be quarantined until free of disease. It was felt that the air in Montauk would aid their recuperation. Preparing the Montauk peninsula for an army encampment proved to be an extremely ambitious undertaking. The Long Island Railroad, which had been extended to Montauk in 1895, enabled supplies to reach the site: between the railroad workers and the Signal Corps, the necessary infrastructure was rapidly in place. There was, however, a problem in delivering supplies throughout the camp. Although the press criticized its general conditions, the camp received an outpouring of assistance from the surrounding communities in terms of supplies and food for the soldiers. A woman from Greenport, Ella Wingate Ireland, a cousin of "Fightin'" General Joe Wheeler, chartered a boat and organized a relief trip to Montauk. Wheeler, a former Confederate general who commanded the Cavalry Division in

the Spanish American War, arrived at camp aboard the same transport as Roosevelt and the Rough Riders.

Camp Wikoff soon became a tourist attraction. In addition to families anxious to find out the fate of their loved ones, many people from the New York area rode the train to Montauk to have a look at what was going on. In addition, private homes all over Suffolk County were opened to take in sick soldiers.

One of Suffolk County's priorities is to pay tribute to the local people who gave assistance to soldiers. We look eagerly for anecdotal information that we can print in pamphlet form, and anticipate mounting a plaque at Third House in recognition of such efforts. Other scheduled activities include a reenactment involving living history groups from across the country, and a reunion of descendants of Spanish American War veterans, an event prompted by the Rough Rider reunions held annually after the war. With Jim Foote, our Theodore Roosevelt reenactor, portraying the colonel, there will be a parade, period entertainment, and a memorial service.

Our centennial celebration began in March, Women's History Month, by recognizing the nurses, Daughters of Charity, and volunteers who served at Camp Wikoff and otherwise aided the war effort. In April, at the Huntington Hilton, the New York State Recreation and Park Society held its annual convention and exhibition. The keynote speaker, Tweed Roosevelt, enthralled the audience with his "River of Doubt" speech about his great-grandfather's expedition along a remote tributary of the Amazon.

Throughout our hundred-years-after remembrance of the Spanish American War, the Suffolk County Parks Department will do all in its power to honor Long Island's insufficiently understood role in a not well-remembered conflict. A museum display for Third House will open at the end of May and remain throughout fall 1998. We cordially invite all readers of this journal to visit this exhibit as well as join us at the following stirring events.



SUFFOLK COUNTY ROUGH RIDER CENTENNIAL CALENDAR OF EVENTS

23 May (Memorial Day Weekend):

Memorial Service at Rough Riders Landing
Condominiums Dock, Fort Pond Bay, Montauk.
Opening of museum display, Third House, Montauk

July and August, Thursday through Sunday, 7-9 P.M.:

Barbecue Dinner with the Rough Riders
at Montauk.

4 July: Annual Festivities, Sagamore Hill, Oyster Bay

22 August: Centennial Event at Meadow Croft, Sayville.

5,6,7 September (Labor Day weekend) "Back at the Ranch" activities

18-20 September - all events throughout the weekend.

Reunion and Reenactment weekend, Camp Wikoff, Reunion, descendants of Spanish American War veterans; Reenactment of encampment, including living history groups from across the U.S.; Reenactment of presentation of the *Bronco Buster*; Walking tours of Montauk and Camp Wikoff; Parade; Performance of the Gramercy Brass Band.

We are still looking for descendants to contact us!!!

For further information, please call the
Suffolk County Parks Department
(516) 854-4985

STATE OF THE ISLAND

Our "State of the Island" department provides a forum for analysis of problems confronting Long Island today. We invite responses from those concerned with the issue addressed in this article.

COUNCILMANIC OR AT-LARGE DISTRICTS FOR LONG ISLAND TOWNS?

By Edith L. Gordon

Within the past decade, citizens across Long Island have challenged the existing system of at-large elections for town council members. In Babylon, Brookhaven, Islip, and Southampton in Suffolk County, and in Hempstead in Nassau County, grass roots reformers have actively sought to change their electoral system to one of ward elections for town council members. New York State Town Law #81 mandates that if the residents of a town wish to change the at-large election system, an election be held "to *establish* or abolish the ward system for the election of councilmen in towns having four or six councilmen."¹

Historically, the ward system has been associated with Tammany Hall corruption, "ward-heelers," and power politics. In the early twentieth century, the Progressives fought for nonpartisan, efficient, "good" government. They sought to appoint experts, civilian (as opposed to political) city managers trained in the business of municipal governance. At-large elections for members of policy-making city and town councils would loosen the grip of the party bosses, they believed. In practice, over years of growth and change, these solutions, including the town-wide, at-large electoral system, have led to reassessment of government structure. The situations and issues in Southampton, Brookhaven, and Hempstead differ, but in each, if the voters choose to replace the present at-large elections with councilmanic districts or wards, four or six election districts of roughly equal populations would be created. In each of these districts, the voters would choose one of the town council members.²

Southampton, the biggest town on the East End, covers 140 square miles with a population that has grown to some 46,700 residents. At present there are five council persons with staggered, four-year terms. Four of the five live within a 3.2-square-mile section, Hampton Bays and East Quogue. Residents scattered in other quarters, especially the largely minority community of Flanders, have had no one from their area elected in recent memory. Referendums in 1976 and 1987 to change the electoral system were defeated, and one in 1996 was thrown off the ballot. In 1997, the proposition, reading: "shall the ward system be established for the election of town councilmen and/or women in the Town of Southampton?" was again placed on the ballot in Southampton to decide whether to replace the five

council members by four, elected concurrently for two-year terms.

The chairman of the Southampton Republican Party, John Czygier, said: the movement for change is by "a party that's out of power [and] is trying to get back into power." Councilman James Drew and Highway Superintendent William Masterson said of the ward system, "we don't need big-city politics in rural Southampton."

Indeed, Adam Grossman, the chairman of the opposition Southampton Party, advocated election districts to make each representative responsible to the community from which he or she were elected, and guarantee that citizens in all areas of the town would have someone to whom to take local problems. Further, if council members represented different parties they would serve as checks on each other.³

The League of Women Voters of the Hamptons found the issues complex and politicized. When the Southampton LWV government committee canvassed town clerks in the ten upstate New York towns having ward systems, it was told the towns "had always had the 'ward' system, felt it gave better representation to all the district [*sic*] and had not found it to be divisive." Supporters of at-large elections disagreed. The Hamptons LWV took no position, but sought to educate voters on the issues.⁴

In contrast to the two urban, densely populated towns considered below, Southampton is a rural, exurban township. The incumbents mounted an intense and—according to Grossman—dissembling letter campaign, charging the ward system would raise taxes and change the character of the town. However, in the Southampton November 1997 referendum, voters defeated the proposition by nearly three to one (about 8,900 to 3,000), turning back the challenge and keeping the at-large election system in place.

Reformers in Brookhaven, the largest town in Suffolk County, have chosen regional rather than ethnic minority representation as grounds for seeking councilmanic district voting. Civic associations and good government groups could cite as an example of the disconnectedness of its members and their constituents the first Brookhaven Town Board meeting of Tuesday, 6 January 1998. At this, the first public meeting of the new term, chaired by Town Supervisor Felix Grucci, the six newly reelected council members (five men and one woman, all Republicans), took turns reading *seventy-five* resolutions and adjourned after *forty* minutes. None of the media covered the event. A lone League of Women Voters observer viewed the proceedings without comment.⁵

Brookhaven council members have been elected at-large since New York State, a charter member of the new republic of the United States, adopted its first constitution in 1777. Now, as then, Brookhaven stretches from Long Island Sound on the north to Great South Bay and Fire Island on the south. Its western border abuts Smithtown and Islip, while to the east it touches Riverhead and Southampton. This is an area of 413 square miles (equivalent to all of Nassau County). In the nineteenth century, Brookhaven's six council members were elected at large by several thousand residents. As a result of the phenomenal population growth since World War II, Brookhaven Town has increased to 430,000 residents in 1997.⁶ Each of six council members is elected by all of the

more than 221,515 voters.

In the early 1970s, Coram civic association leaders attempted to alter the system in Brookhaven Town. The reformers circulated petitions for a ballot referendum proposing to change from an at-large to a ward electoral system, securing the required valid signatures of 5 percent of voters in the previous gubernatorial election. The town clerk validated the petition signatures and the proposition was put on the ballot.⁷ The law requires this be done not fewer than sixty or more than seventy-five days after the petition filing.

A majority of the electorate in 1972 voted in favor of the ward system of elections. However, when the town sued to rescind the result on technical grounds, the vote was nullified. The proposal to change from at-large to ward system again was on the ballot the following year. This time, proponents of the status quo, including incumbents, mounted a full-scale campaign against the proposition, and it was defeated three to two.

Now, twenty-five years later, the Affiliated Brookhaven Civic Organizations (ABCO) and other organizations, most prominently the Civil Service Employees Association (CSEA), are campaigning to replace at-large representation of town council members by the district system of election.

The incumbent officials argue that voters want the right to elect all six members to the town council, as they presently do. Ward elections would restrict Brookhaven voters to electing only one council person and the supervisor. They contend that town-wide needs would become subordinate to those of small areas, and that the council would be fragmented and unable to function as a decision-making body. They cite the high cost to taxpayers of setting up six new district offices. Councilwomen Patricia Strebel declared that, "I work diligently to represent all the residents and taxpayers in the town of Brookhaven and have never turned a deaf ear to any constituent in any part of this town...a ward system would limit every constituent to one council person and the supervisor."⁹

ABCO and CSEA between them represent the residents of Brookhaven Town and the white- and blue-collar employees of the libraries, schools, town, county, and state. According to Thomas Kilmartin, CSEA legislative and political director for Long Island, five of six town council members do not live where the union's members live, and are isolated from their problems, whether they concern replacement of equipment or improvement of services. Because council members post no regular office hours, they are hard to contact.

Those favoring the smaller units of government point to post-World War II structural changes in county government, first in Suffolk, and, more recently, in Nassau. These examples of voters' support for district representation buoy their resolve to use public pressure to bring about change to councilmanic districts. In a town of Brookhaven's large area and population, they look to this election system to assure constituents at least one town board member who will listen and respond to local needs; they believe that district representation is the way to insure democratic give and take.¹⁰

ABCO has compiled the following table showing the 1996 ratio of numbers of constituents to elected law makers at different levels:¹¹

Representation at Various Levels of Government

Level of Govt.	Number of Constituents
Congress	580,000
Assembly	120,000
Suffolk County Legislature	73,000
Brookhaven Town Council	430,000

Ward system proponents maintain that just as elected representative on the federal, state, and county level understand the interests of their districts and consider the welfare of the entire governmental entity which they are sworn to serve, so, too, would each Brookhaven town council member. In Brookhaven, the needs of its separate parts impact on each other, and each area is affected by what happens elsewhere. Council members elected by voters in one of six districts will need to work in coalition for the good of the whole, while remaining aware of the concerns of individual areas. There need be no added expense, as town council members could continue to have their offices in the Brookhaven town hall in Medford, a central location.

In Southampton, proponents of change held that the at-large electoral system discriminated against impecunious candidates. Brookhaven's vast geographical size and population make access to the ballot and running a campaign, exponentially more difficult for candidates who lack the money. CSEA, ABCO, and the League of Women Voters of Brookhaven (LWVB) contend that if the town were divided into six districts, any candidate for the Brookhaven town council could more easily meet constituents and solicit support. Assemblyman Steven Englebright and county legislator Brian Foley, to cite two examples, now walk their districts, getting to know constituents first-hand. In terms of representation, the most populous areas of the town are Coram (31,262), Stony Brook (27,159), Centereach (26,621), Shirley (24,359), Medford (21,902), East Patchogue (20,775), and Selden (20,710).¹¹ Presently, only one councilman—John Lavalle (R-Centereach)—resides in a densely populated area of Brookhaven. Larry Mikorenda, president of the Middle Island civic group, the Excelsior Club, told *Newsday* that in his opinion most Brookhaven residents have no sense of connection. Richard Johannesen, president of ABCO, believes that "Town Government is the level of government that has the weakest relationship with our local community."¹³

For elections at the councilmanic district level, massive funds for media coverage are not essential. To win at-large elections, on the other hand, very large amounts of money and manpower are required. When elected, candidates of the dominant political party—Republicans in Brookhaven's case—repay generous donors to the party in power, aver advocates of the ward system. Major contributors, such as land developers, are assured of special treatment at town hall. Patronage favoring supporters is a perquisite of political power, as well. Those for whom the system works oppose changing to councilmanic districts.

A legal question, says State University at Stony Brook Professor Howard Scharrow, is whether the at-large election method in Brookhaven complies with the

Supreme Court's rulings regarding one person, one vote. The Court has found that electoral systems that effectively deny minorities representation are unconstitutional. While in Hempstead, as explained below, it is African Americans and Hispanics who consider themselves denied a voice in government, in Brookhaven it is often white, middle-class residents of specific regions.¹⁴

Under Brookhaven's present system, town civic associations argue, even when residents of an area of the town make a concerted effort to affect the decision-making process, they feel "that within the current system meaningful input is unavailable to them." Certainly, residents adjacent to a proposed multiplex theater on Route 347 have reached this conclusion. Despite residents' concern, and presentations and protests about the potential impact of cars and crime on their homes adjacent to the theaters, Brookhaven's town zoning board approved construction of a fifteen-screen theater.¹⁵

Together, ABCO and CSEA began circulating petitions in spring 1997, an effort joined by the League of Women Voters of Brookhaven. The petition reads: "Shall the Ward System Be Established for the Election of Town Council in the Town of Brookhaven?"

At the time of this writing, organizations' members and others favoring councilmanic districts have collected some six thousand valid signatures, representing more than the 5 percent (5,788) of Brookhaven voters in the 1994 gubernatorial election. They aim for many more, as a cushion against challenged signatures found invalid.

Once the town clerk receives the collected petitions, checks the signatures, and finds that an adequate number are valid, an election date must be set for within thirty to ninety days: a special referendum may be scheduled as early as late spring 1998.¹⁶

The third Long Island town with a movement to adopt the ward system is Hempstead, the Island's most densely inhabited town, with a population of 725,639. Hempstead's ongoing battle for a ward system has been responsive to Congress's easing of the legal barriers to electoral victory. There were towns in which councilmanic districts were approved in the 1970s only to be thwarted by legal challenges on technical grounds. The 1982 amendment to the Voting Rights Act mandated that advocates of election districts no longer had to prove that an election system intentionally prevented candidates from being elected. They needed merely to show that this was the regular result. Citing this provision in 1988, two black and two Hispanic plaintiffs sued the town of Hempstead on the grounds that they were disenfranchised by that town's system of at-large elections. Babylon advocates of the system of election districts also sued their town. The Babylon challenge was rejected by a federal judge in 1996, but in Hempstead the pro-district supporters had more success.¹⁷

Members of Hempstead's minority communities feel the hundred-year-old at-large election system "dilutes minority voting strength and has impeded the ability of the minority community to nominate and elect any candidates of choice of said community," in short, that at-large elections are racially biased and effectively disenfranchise them. Incumbents and some political analysts, on the other hand, argue that "the patterns of the vote in Hempstead is driven by persistent partisan

preferences of the electorate." Lee E. Koppelman, executive director of the Long Island Regional Planning Board, believes "to a large extent, the issue is really not mechanics, but the quality of the candidates. You put up good candidates, the candidates have a good chance of winning."¹⁸

Incumbents argue that deals and trade-offs could thwart reformed district representation. The other side contends that one minority representative in town council would bring the light of scrutiny to the conduct of town business. That is, such wheeling and dealing would be public and therefore could be exposed

As early as 1981, and again in 1985 and 1988, African American candidates have run unsuccessfully for office. A suit claiming Hempstead at-large elections for town board shut out minority voters was originally filed in 1988. Then, in 1991, Hempstead Democrats ran an African American, thirty-one-year-old David Ford, for town board. Ford concentrated his campaigning in Roosevelt, Lakeview, Freeport, Uniondale, and Hempstead Village, the areas of the town with the highest proportion of minority residents. When Election Day results were tallied, Ford was first among eleven candidate in those neighborhoods, but sixth town-wide. This, the Democrats assert, shows that voters in minority areas cannot elect politicians of their choice to Hempstead town office. A local lawyer, Frederick K. Brewington, himself an unsuccessful Democratic candidate for town board, challenged the electoral system in federal district court. It took eight years, but the suit finally proceeded in July 1996 before U.S. District Judge John Gleeson.¹⁹

Jacqueline A. Berrien, a lawyer with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, cited statistical studies of Hempstead voting patterns showing "persistent racially polarized voting." Lawyers for the defense sought to prove that elections outcomes were *partisan* preferences. However, since 1907, in election after election, no matter who the candidate, Republican candidates drew 20 to 30 percent more support from white voters than black voters. With a voting-age population of 562,000 and the minority population in Hempstead of about 12 percent, there can be no town-wide winner from this group alone.²⁰

Lawyers for the town do not attribute domination by Republicans at the polls to at-large voting. Rather, they suggest blacks are "relatively new," having exceeded 10 percent of the population for the first time in 1990; if they wanted representation, they could vote Republican, the party which has totally dominated town board since 1907.

On 20 February 1997, Judge Gleeson ruled that while African Americans have no *a priori* right to be represented on the Hempstead Town Board, they have a right "to an even playing field." He ordered the Hempstead Town Board "to submit to the Court within seventy-eight days a remedial plan that divides the Town into six single-method districts" to replace its at-large system, including one in the largely African American section of town. In May, a highly unusual two-district plan was submitted by the Hempstead Town Board, which the plaintiffs opposed and the judge ruled unconstitutional. Judge Gleeson found that the town board had "not been responsive and at times had been blatantly insensitive o the unique needs of the black community." His decision is being appealed by Hempstead officials.²¹

Such use of taxpayer dollars, says NAACP President Kweisi Mfume, is

"regrettable." At the February 1998 awards luncheon of the Long Island NAACP, the civil rights leader accused the town of Hempstead of being "hell-bent on ignoring the lessons of history and precariously fanning the timbers that fan racial unrest." The case "could be a benchmark...in the way we go about interpreting and pursuing litigation under the Voting Rights Act," he stated.²²

Given this history of efforts to change from an at-large to a ward or councilmanic district system in three widely disparate towns on Long Island, it is pertinent to analyze the present situation. On a provincial level, the unfolding story of choosing between these electoral systems points to dramatic differences between these particular towns in Nassau and Suffolk counties.

In addition to local factors of town size and population density, the three case histories illuminate changing—sometimes conflicting—pressures in the national debate on voting rights. In Hempstead, the growth demographics have caused dissatisfaction with the existing at-large electoral system. At the same time, the court challenge to that system invokes application of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and amendments to it, in support of the ward system. The outcome in Hempstead, the largest township in the United States, will be momentous for civil rights advocates, who are pursuing litigation under this law in other parts of the country.

In Brookhaven, reformers have been careful to avoid race as an issue. Rather, what concerns local civic associations and property owners are issues of zoning and town board accountability to residents in Brookhaven's vast reaches. Establishment of councilmanic districts might change the political composition of that board. In the case of The result of the Hempstead challenge and town appeal may determine whether the federal court, more conservative than in the 1970s and 1980s, will view the at-large electoral process as one dominated by racial politics, excluding participation in democratic government of minority groups. An alternative is that the court decides one-person, one-vote to be a basic constitutional right, whatever the racial composition of the minority in question.

A further necessity of our representative form of democracy, not often argued, is the need to develop political leadership. Neutralizing any segment of voters has this effect: It makes it hard, if not impossible, for a minority party or ethnic group to rally enthusiasm for grass roots participation and create significant opposition. Political clubs are training grounds for future politicians and public servants. Proponents of councilmanic districts believe this system will encourage participatory government. People will have easier access to their representative, should they have a problem. Constituents will be able to hold the ward-elected council person accountable for his or her decisions.

Hempstead has captured the attention of the media and of national political and civil rights organizations. Deep-pocketed interests on both sides are providing funding. Will the protagonists on both sides of the ward system issue in Brookhaven be equally well supported in the battle to change the system? Is there sufficient outrage of resident and voter groups to overcome inertia and apathy? These questions may well be answered in the coming months of 1998.

NOTES

1. New York State Law #81, Article 6(b): 267, emphasis added.
2. The negative connotation of "ward" leads reformers to favor "councilmanic district," but I use the terms interchangeably.
3. The Southampton campaign to change to the ward system was well reported in *Newsday*: Mitchell Freedman, "Southampton to Vote on Wards," 10 June 1997, A36; Jordan Rau, "A Cry for Change: Bid to dump At-Large Voting Is Hot Topic in 3 towns," 14 Oct. 1997, A27; and Geoffrey Mohan, "A Vote to Stay the Same," 6 Nov. 1997.
4. "Government," *League of Women Voters of Hamptons Voter*, June 1997, 5.
5. Author's interview, Jan. 1998, with Ruth Erk of Setauket, member of the board of the League of Women Voters of Brookhaven Town, who was present at that meeting.
6. LILCO statistics, 1997.
7. Author's interview, Nov. 1997, with former First C. D. Rep. George Hochbrueckner, who was active in the Coram reform movement.
8. Jordan Rau, "Push for Wards in Brookhaven," *Newsday*, 22 July 1997, A24.
9. Patricia Strelbel, "Ward System a Disaster," *Three Village Herald*, 10 Sept. 1997, 13; Jordan Rau, *Newsday*, 22 July 1997, quotes Supervisor Felix Grucci's spokesperson, accusing labor groups of bringing pressure during contract negotiation: "The council people in Brookhaven are everywhere..."
10. ABCO's president is Richard Johannesen, of Rocky Point; most of my information about this organization's work comes from its publication, the *Civic Sentinel*, and a past president, Don Garber; information about the CSEA position and actions on behalf of councilmanic districts comes from Thomas Kilmartin, legislative and political director for Long Island, telephone interview, 18 Feb. 1998.
11. Table compiled by ABCO, January 1998.
12. Long Island Lighting Co. statistics, 1996.
13. *Newsday*, 22 July 1997, A24.
14. Ed Rogers, "Civics Hear Argument for Council Districts in Town," *Village Times*, 6 Nov. 1997, 3.
15. "Kickoff!!" *Civic Sentinel*, Dec. 1997, 2; see also *Newsday*, 14 Oct. 1997, A27.
16. Election information supplied in author's telephone interview with Suffolk Board of Elections Asst. Commissioner Neil Tiger, 27 Jan. 1998.
17. Judge John Gleeson, "Findings of Fact and Conclusions of Law," *Dorothy Goosby et al v. Town Board of Hempstead and Nassau County Board of Elections*, U.S. District Court, Eastern District of New York, 88 CV 2453 (JG), 20 Feb. 1997, *Newsday*, 14 Oct. 1997, A27.

18. Robin Topping, "Critic At-Large Study: Hempstead System Deprives Minorities of Voice," *Newsday*, 5 Aug. 1993; Gleeson, "Findings," 22; John T. McQuiston, "Hempstead Fights Ruling on Elections," *New York Times*, 8 Feb. 1998, Metro sec., 38; Jerry Markon, "Mfume Lashes Town on Voting," *Newsday*, 8 Feb. 1998, A4.

19. Katherine I. Butler, "Brief of Defendants-Appellants," *Dorothy Gossby et al v. Town Board of Hempstead and Nassau County Board of Elections*, U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, 97-7403, 8; Jordan Rau, "U.S. Judge Order Bias Suit to Trial," *Newsday*, 8 Feb. 1998, A4; Frederick K. Brewington and Randolph M. Scott-McLaughlin, "Plaintiffs' Post-Trial Findings of Fact and Conclusions of Law," *Goosby et al v. Town Board*, U.S. District Court, 1; John T. McQuiston, "Lawyer Clams L.I. Town Shuts Out Minority Voters," *New York Times*, 15 July 1996, 1.

20. McQuiston, "Hempstead Fights Ruling ."

21. Gleeson, "Memorandum, Order and Permanent Injunction," *Goosby et al v. Town Board*, U.S. District Court, 64-65; McQuiston, 8 Feb. 1998.

22. Markon, *Newsday*, 8 Feb. 1998, A4.

Editorial note. The following is a transcript of a lecture given at Guild Hall last 14 March, under the auspices of the 350th Anniversary Celebration of the Town of East Hampton, 1648-1998, Tom Twomey, lecture series chair. Late this year, this creative organization will publish a pictorial history of East Hampton, with text by Averill Geus, along with an East Hampton History video tape produced by Victor Teich, both of we will review in our Fall 1998 issue; early next year it will release an anthology of the twenty-five anniversary lectures (a list of pending lectures may be found elsewhere in this issue), which we will review in Spring 1999.

LION GARDINER, LONG ISLAND'S FOUNDING FATHER

By Roger Wunderlich

In the year of our Lord, 1635, the tenth of July, came I, Lion Gardiner and Mary my wife from Woerden a towne in Holland, where my wife was born . . . to London and from thence to New England and dwelt at Saybrooke forte four years . . . of which I was commander: and there was borne to me a son named David, 1636 . . . the first born in that place, . . . Then I went to an island of mine owne which I had bought and purchased of the Indians, called by them Manchonake by us the Isle of Wight, and there was born another daughter named Elizabeth . . . in 1641, she being the first child of English parents that was born there.

—Lion Gardiner, lines in a family Bible¹

Long Island as America is the premise that the history of this Island reflects as well as contributes to most major phases of national life from colonial times to the present. One may examine the Long Island story through the prism of national history, or view the nation's history in terms of events on Long Island—the subjects are interchangeable.²

The Long Island as America thesis applies equally to the impact of European settlement on the Native American people: the pattern of colonial growth; Long Island in the Revolution and then in the early Republic; slavery; whaling; the building of the Long Island Railroad; farming, fishing, and shipbuilding; the Civil War and the Gilded Age; the Gold Coast estates; the rise of the suburbs; the Roaring Twenties, replete with the Jazz Age, Prohibition, and the revival of the Ku Klux Klan; Long Island as cradle of aviation; the Great Depression; Robert Moses, the controversial master builder; Long Island as arsenal of fighter planes and producer of the Lunar Module; the post-World War II population boom,

exemplified by Levittown; the social upheavals of the sixties; the change at the end of the Cold War from a manufacturing to a service economy; and current, postsuburban Long Island, where most of its people work as well as live, beset by the high cost of taxes, housing and energy. There is no better example of this concept than the career of Lion Gardiner, with whom the search for Long Island's founding father begins and ends. Lion Gardiner, who lived from 1599 until 1663, was the original English settler not only of Long Island but also the future state of New York. This robust pioneer stands as the first as well as the prototype of the colonists, who, in the words of Silas Wood, Long Island's first major historian, "had forsaken the scenes of civilization, broken asunder the ties that bound them to their native soil, . . . encountered the dangers of the ocean, and . . . submitted to the hazards and privations of a new and savage country." ³

Gardiner's lifework exemplified the transition from the old to the modern world. He took part in three of the principal movements that marked the emergence of popular government from the bonds of absolute monarchy: the winning of Holland's independence from Spain, the English Revolution, and the Puritan colonization of New England and Long Island. As a young man, he served as an engineer in an English regiment stationed in the Netherlands in support of the northern provinces' battle to break away from the Spanish empire. While engaged in this early war of national liberation, he was hired by leading opponents of the state and church of England to build a fort at Saybrook, at the mouth of the Connecticut River. In 1639, at the end of his four-year contract, he crossed the Sound to become lord of the manor of Gardiner's Island, a fertile sliver of land between the forks of Paumanok. In 1650 he purchased land in the recently founded town of East Hampton; three years later he left Gardiner's Island in the hands of retainers and moved to the fledgling village to assume a leading role in its civil and religious affairs. His cordial relations with Native Americans saved eastern Long Island from the bloody interracial warfare that plagued New England. Toward the end of his life, he became the catalyst for the creation of Smithtown, conveying to William Smith the thirty thousand acres given to him by the Montauk sachem, Wyandanch, whose daughter Gardiner helped to ransom when she was kidnapped by mainland Indians. ⁴

Gardiner exerted a major influence on the development of East Hampton, which, together with Southold, Southampton, Shelter Island, Huntington, Brookhaven, and Smithtown, comprised the scale-model city-states that distinguished eastern Long Island. Although they restricted first-class citizenship only to Puritan co-religionists, these self-governing Bible commonwealths endowed future generations with two of the building blocks of liberty—the town meeting and the independent church, wholly owned and managed by its congregation. As Silas Wood described them, "each town of the first settlement was a pure democracy: the people of each town exercised the sovereign power. All questions were determined by the voice of the major part of the people, assembled in town meeting." ⁵

These eastern towns found themselves outside the orbit of domination, so distant were they from the centers of Dutch and British power. In the words of another of Long Island's nineteenth-century historians, Nathaniel S. Prime, they were "absolutely in a state of nature, possessing all the personal rights

and privileges which the God of nature gave them, but without the semblance of authority one over another." When they found it expedient to ally themselves with New England, it was not because of doubt that they could manage their internal affairs, "but solely for defence from foreign aggression. And the nature of the union was rather that of an alliance than subjection."⁶ When parting from Great Britain took center stage a century later, the descendants of Puritan pioneers were ready for a republic.

As a townsman of East Hampton, Gardiner helped to shape a new and American social design, which enabled ordinary folk to own property and enjoy the freedoms restricted to the privileged gentry across the sea. However, though he was our founding father he was not our patron saint. While his statesmanship cemented peaceful relations between the settlers and the Indians, he also presided over the peaceable but permanent transfer of Long Island real estate from its Native American owners to himself and his fellow settlers. As the symbol of two phenomena—the formation of the model Puritan township and the nonviolent displacement of Indians—Lion Gardiner personified the dual and sometimes ambivalent mission of the colonists of Long Island.

Necessity compelled Gardiner and his compatriots to cope with the basic conditions of life in completely new surroundings. This involved the providing, from a standing start, of food, shelter, and artifacts, and a safe and harmonious social order attuned to the New World, not the Old. Above all, as they dealt with these elementary needs, the uninvited settlers grappled with the question of their legal right to the land that was now their only home. It was glaringly apparent that every acre was the possession of the indigenous Native Americans.

It is easy to judge the past by present standards. A moralist can argue that the six thousand Long Island Indians were entitled to hold their land forever, thus changing the English influx from a settlement to an invasion. Or, that because there was so much room to coexist on this lush and sparsely settled island, Lion Gardiner et al cannot be excused for basing their system of land acquisition on dispossessing the Indians. In particular, why did the English not pay a fair price instead of trading trifles for treasure?

We may beg the question by reminding ourselves that in many ways it is moot: by the end of the seventeenth-century, Long Island's Indian population was almost wiped out by the germs of smallpox, measles, and other diseases inadvertently spread by their almost immune English carriers. In his memoir, written in 1660, Gardiner mentioned a recent "time of a great mortality," during which "two thirds of the Indians upon Long-Island died." Ten years later, in the first English account of New York, Daniel Denton observed how few Indians remained on Long Island, a state of affairs he welcomed as God's serendipitous bonus to British colonists: "It hath been generally observed, that where the English come to settle, a Divine Hand makes way for them, by removing or cutting off the Indians either by Wars one with the other, or by some raging mortal Disease."⁷

Although death by disease played the largest part, the issue of how the Indians lost their land still goads our historical conscience, and we seek acceptable motives for the policies of the colonists. The blunt reality is that the tide of English immigration, swelled by the prospect of land for the taking, proved far too

strong for deterrence by legal niceties. Lion Gardiner, the intrepid pioneer and archetype of English homesteaders, was also a business man obsessed with acquiring real estate from its present, ancestral owners. Many of his contemporaries held that the Indians were primitive simpletons, whose collective holding of tribal grounds made real estate dealing impossible. According to the conventional wisdom, the aborigines were too uncivilized to conceive of buying and selling land they naively believed belonged to all who lived on it.

Lion Gardiner, to his credit, exhibited none of this pervasive prejudice. He accepted Indians as friends and not inferiors: his cordial relations with Yovawan and Wyandanch, the successive sachems with whom he dealt, exempted eastern Long Island from the interracial bloodshed that afflicted Connecticut and Massachusetts. In the process, however, Gardiner amassed a fortune in land by "buying" it for trinkets, and expediting sales by promoting the Native American seller, especially Wyandanch, to the fictitious but handy rubber-stamp rank of "Sachem of all Long Island." One way to obtain the land was by force: the Long Island way, perfected, if not invented, by Lion Gardiner, was to "purchase" deeds from a super-sachem and have them confirmed by colonial writ. As contended by John A. Strong, a current authority on Long Island's Indian legacy, Lion Gardiner crowned Wyandanch with the title of Grand Sachem "to legitimize his purchase of lands all over Long Island." The Montauks' lack of military power "made a mockery of this presumptuous title," the sham enabling "Gardiner and his associates to avoid the difficulties of negotiating with the numerous small bands living on the lands in question."⁸

Lion Gardiner's lineage has not been traced, but according to Curtiss C. Gardiner, who wrote the history of his famous ancestor on the two-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of Lion's arrival on his island, "He was probably a gentleman without title, of the middle rank, between the nobility and the yeomanry, yet he might have been a yeoman." Granted that seventeenth-century spelling was on a do-it-yourself basis, Lion generally signed himself as "Gardener," a name which Curtiss C. Gardiner pointed out "may be derived from an occupation, the keeper of a garden," and subsequently "may have been changed . . . to Gardiner, that the occupation and the name of a person might be the more readily distinguishable." His unusual first name "was Lion, as he invariably wrote it so": there is no reason to speculate that his baptismal name was Lionel. His army grade was sergeant, as evidenced by letters to John Winthrop Jr., the governor of the Saybrook colony and Gardiner's only superior there, in which one correspondent referred to "Seriant Gardener," another to "Sergiant Gardiner." Gardiner's later rank of "Leiftenant" was a promotion for his service at Saybrook.⁹

Nothing is known of Gardiner's life before 1635, the starting point of his memoir, "Leift. Lion Gardener his Relation of the Pequot Warres." While serving as "an Engineer and Master of Works of Fortification in the legers of the Prince of Orange, in the Low Countries," he was recruited by Hugh Peter and John Davenport, the exiled Puritan ministers of the English church of Rotterdam, and "some other well-affected Englishmen of Rotterdam," to build and command a fort in New England. The project was sponsored by upper-class dissenters from the government of Charles 1, who, during the 1630s, suspended Parliament,

demanded Anglican orthodoxy, and levied unacceptable taxes. In addition to Davenport, who became a founder of New Haven, and Peter, a firebrand chaplain-to-be of Oliver Cromwell's army and Protectorate, its supporters included Viscount Saye and Sele (William Fiennes) and Baron Brooke (Robert Greville), the spokesmen in the House of Lords of the Puritan opposition; Sir Arthur Haselrig, a prominent rebel in the House of Commons; and George Fenwick, another member of Parliament who defied the royal authority. Of these, only Fenwick came to live at the fort—it was he who named the place Saybrook to honor its two main sponsors. Once the Long Parliament convened in 1640, and especially after war with the Crown erupted two years later, the organizers lost interest in Saybrook; Fenwick sold it to the colony of Connecticut in 1644, before returning to England to resume his seat in Parliament and command a militia regiment.¹⁰

A third nineteenth-century Long Island historian, Benjamin Franklin Thompson, assessed Lion Gardiner as "one of the many young men of Britain of bold and adventurous spirit, who, seeking fame or sympathizing with the oppressed," joined the ranks of English nonconformists, "both of the church and the laity," fighting to liberate Holland. Lion's commander in the lowlands was Sir Thomas Fairfax, the future general of Cromwell's army. His Saybrook employers were ringleaders of the movement that eventually overthrew the British monarchy, beheaded the king, and instituted a short-lived republic: it seems unlikely that this band of dissidents would hire Gardiner had he not sided with their cause. According to Curtiss C. Gardiner, "he adhered to the Parliamentary party, and was a Dissenter and a friend of the Puritans." However, Lion Gardiner's memoir expresses no political viewpoint in connection with Holland or Saybrook. While in Holland, Thompson noted, he married "Mary Willemson, a native of [the small city of Woerden], and a lady of prominent connections." It is tempting to assume that Gardiner sympathized with his rebel employers, but it is also possible that this unblinking realist took the Saybrook job for the hundred pounds a year it paid, and the chance to begin married life as the leader of a bold and prestigious venture.¹¹

As it turned out, Saybrook was a disaster. "According to promise," wrote Lion, "we expected that there would have come from England 300 able men, 50 to till the ground, and 50 to build houses. But our great expectation at the River's mouth, came only two men, Mr. Fenwick, and his man." A recent historian of the Winthrops found that after five discouraging months, John Winthrop Jr., Gardiner's superior, "quit Saybrook . . . before the end of his term as governor, and left Lion Gardiner in charge of the thinly manned outpost, to spend a miserable winter [1636-37] behind the palisades, beleaguered by Pequots." Somehow, Lion managed to shepherd his small flock of settlers through the hardships of that bitter season, when he "had but twenty-four in all, men, women, and boys and girls, and not food for two months, unless we saved our cornfield, which could not possibly be if they came to war, for it is two miles from our home."¹²

The war he dreaded was with the Pequots, the intractable local Indians with whom traders had been skirmishing, and whose extermination was held necessary

by many New England settlers. As a harbinger of impending conflict, twenty Massachusetts Bay men raided the Pequots and marched home again, to Lion Gardiner's "great grief, for, said I, you come hither to raise these wasps about my ears, and then you will take wing and flee away." He was a pragmatist, not a pacifist. He disapproved of small sorties that resulted in counterattacks on his vulnerable fort, in one of which he was shot in the thigh by a Pequot arrow. But in 1637, when Captains John Mason and John Underhill led a large force of colonists and Indian allies against the Pequot stronghold, Lion rejoiced in the "Victory to the glory of God, and honor of our nation, having slain three hundred, burnt their fort, and taken many prisoners." Although he praised the outcome of the Pequot War, he criticized the carnage as the avoidable result of violence and counter-violence that began with the murder of a Pequot by an Indian friendly to Massachusetts:

Thus far I have written in a book, that all men and posterity might know how and why so many honest men had their blood shed, yea, and some flayed alive, others cut in pieces, and some roasted alive, only because . . . a Bay Indian killed one Pequit.¹³

The Pequot's defeat led to Gardiner's meeting with Wyandanch, the Montauk leader, who visited Saybrook three days after the battle. Although Gardiner referred to Wyandanch as the "next brother to the old Sachem of Long Island," it is more likely that they were colleagues, with Wyandanch next in line to succeed the "old Sachem," Yovawan, whom the English called Poggatucut.¹⁴

According to Gardiner, the purpose of Wyandanch's call was to "know if we were angry with all Indians," or only with Pequots. In his typically forthright manner, Lion answered "No, but only with such as had killed Englishmen." When Wyandanch asked if the English would trade with "they that lived on Long Island," Gardiner gave him a conditional yes: "If you will kill all the Pequits that come to you, and send me their heads, then . . . you shall have trade with us." Wyandanch said he would bring this news to "his brother . . . and if we may have peace and trade with you, we will give you tribute, as we did the Pequits." Gardiner sealed his bargain with a grisly demand with which Wyandanch complied:

If you have any Indians that have killed English, you must bring their heads also . . . so he went away and did as I had said, and sent me five heads, three and four heads for which I paid them that brought them as they had promised.¹⁵

It was not a squeamish age on either side of the ocean. Settlers captured by Native Americans sometimes suffered deaths as horrible as that inflicted by fellow Englishmen on one of Gardiner's former employers, the Reverend Hugh Peter, who, shortly after the Restoration, was hung, drawn, and quartered after being forced to witness the similar fate of a friend.¹⁶ The price of peace on Long Island was harsh, but the pact between Gardiner and Wyandanch, and the lasting friendship that followed, relieved eastern Long Island of the English-Indian

carnage that persisted for forty years in New England, from the Pequot War in Connecticut through King Philip's War in Massachusetts.

Soon after Winthrop left Saybrook, Lion wrote to him that those who remained would be loyal and work hard for the colony, but "it seemed wee have neither masters nor owners." If not provided for, he continued, "then I must be forced to shift as the Lord may direct."¹⁷

To shift as the Lord may direct was something Lion did incredibly well. At the end of his Saybrook contract, in 1639, he crossed the Sound with his family and some farmer-soldiers from the fort to become the first of an unbroken line of lords of the manor of Gardiner's Island, seven and a half miles long and three miles across at the widest point, a few miles off-shore from East Hampton. Lion called it the Isle of Wight because of its contour; the Indian name, "Manchonake," meant a place where many had died, perhaps from some great sickness that swept the east end of Long Island before the coming of the English. The description of Gardiner's Island in 1798 by its seventh-generation proprietor might well have applied to the island in Lion's time:

The soil . . . is good & is very natural for Wheat and White clover. The timber is of various kinds, mostly large White oak . . . The land is well watered with brooks, springs & ponds . . . Beef, Cheese, Wheat, and Wool are the staple articles . . . Fish of various kinds may be procured at almost any time. For fertility of soil & for various advantages it is not perhaps exceeded by many farms in the United States.¹⁸

In the opinion of Curtiss G. Gardiner, the traditional consideration of "one large black dog, one gun, a quantity of powder and shot, some rum and a few Dutch blankets [is] not well founded." The real price, recorded in a lawyer's notebook, was "ten coates of trading cloath," paid to "Yovawan Sachem of Pommanocc and Aswaw Sachem his wife," for Lion Gardiner and his heirs "to have and to hold . . . forever (as of) the third day of the moneth, called, by the English May in the yeare by them of their Lord . . . 1639." Ten months later, Lion obtained a confirming grant from the agent of the Earl of Stirling, then the king's grantee for Long Island and its adjacent islands. The consideration of five pounds a year empowered Gardiner

to enjoy that Island . . . he hath now in possession, Called . . . by the English the Isle of Wight . . . forever . . . And also to make Execute & put in practice such Laws for Church & Civil Government as are according to God the King and the practice of the Country without giving any account thereof to any whomsoever.¹⁹

Even before he moved from Gardiner's Island, Lion Gardiner took an active part in the affairs of East Hampton and its church. He was instrumental in the selection of the first minister, Thomas James, a young man about whom he wrote to John Winthrop Jr. in 1650, the year the church was gathered. The letter began, characteristically, with a proposal to sell ten cows "for fiftie pound, in good

marchantabl wampem, bever, or silver." As for the newly formed church, declared Gardiner in keeping with Puritan striving for a congregation of visible saints, it aimed for quality, not quantity: it would rather part with some of its members than "resave more without good testimonies." East Hampton was willing to pay "the young man . . . 20*li* a year, with such that as I myself eat, til we see what the Lord will do with us." In a passage illustrative of Gardiner's erudition at a time of widespread illiteracy—his history of the Pequot War was peppered with biblical quotations—he asked Winthrop to tell the "yung man (who) hapily hath not manie books . . . that I have . . . the 3 Books of Martyrs, Erasmus, moste of Perkins, Wilsons Dixtionare, a large Concordiance, Mayor on the New T(e)stement."²⁰

In contrast to many of his peers, Gardiner did not clutter his mind with superstition, as proven by his reaction to an accusation of witchcraft. The defendant, Goody Garlick, was charged with causing the death in childbirth of none other than Lion's young daughter, Elizabeth Howell, in 1657. Perhaps because Goody and Joshua Garlick, her husband, worked for him for many years, or perhaps because he had too much common sense to believe in "black cats and harlequin devils . . . Lion seems to have exerted himself in behalf of this unfortunate woman," wrote Alexander Gardiner. Lion's influence aborted a trial at Hartford and saved Goody "from an awful fate."²¹

Lion Gardiner and Thomas James became bosom friends, a relationship that expanded from ecclesiastical to business matters. A 1658 entry in the East Hampton Town Record reported that "Wyandanch, Sachem of Long Island," gave half of all whales cast up on the beach from "Nepeake eastward to the end of the Island" to Leiftenant Lion Gardiner, and the other half to Thomas James. The "first good whale" was given "freely and for nothing," after which the grantees would pay "what they shall Judge meete, and according as they find profit by them." However, it is likely that this windfall was prompted by the Montauks' by-now complete reliance on the armed power of the settlers. The Pequots, before their defeat, and the Narragansetts after that had staged predatory raids on the Montauks, extorting payments of wampum in exchange for refraining from violent reprisals. Following Gardiner's pact with Wyandanch, the Indians, decimated by sickness and unable to compete in war, transferred their allegiance and annual payment of tribute from mainland Native American to English "protectors." In his 1983 study of East Hampton, T. H. Breen concluded that the Montauks lost their gamble that "their alliance with Gardiner and the other settlers would translate into power over the Narragansetts." When this "strategy backfired, they found themselves even more dependant upon the English."²²

When New England Indians tried, without success, to foment armed resistance to English rule of Long Island, Wyandanch not only refused to join the conspiracy but reported the plot to Gardiner, for which Nathaniel S. Prime commended him:

Though often cajoled and threatened by the N. E. Indians to induce him to conspire against his new neighbors, he not only rejected their overtures but even delivered their agents into the hands of the English. He reposed unbounded confidence in Lion Gardiner; and communicated to him, without reserve, every thing that involved his own interests, or the safety of the

whites.²³

Prime's impression of Wyandanch as a statesman who crossed racial lines to preserve the peace is not shared by Gaynell Stone, a current scholar of Long Island's Indian heritage. According to Stone, the militarily weak

Wyandanch was a figurehead supported by the English . . . to consummate their continuing land purchases . . . Perhaps he had no choice, caught as he was between two aggressive forces, the Narragansetts and the English.²⁴

East End English settlers and Native Americans never met on the field of battle, but the Montauks and Narragansetts did. In a 1654 raid the Narragansett/Niantic warlord Ninigret is said to have pillaged the camp of Wyandanch on the night of his daughter's wedding, killed the groom, and kidnapped the bride. On behalf of the grief-stricken father, Thomas James begged John Winthrop Jr. to help to speed delivery of the wampum raised for ransom, "which he [Wyandanch] hears was intercepted by Thomas Stanton [a colonist]." "At last," wrote Curtiss C. Gardiner, "through the exertions of [Lion] Gardiner . . . (the young woman) was redeemed and restored to her afflicted parents."²⁵

To express his gratitude, Wyandanch, with his wife and son, made a free gift to Lion Gardiner, "his heirs, executors and assigns forever," of land that "lyeth on Long Island . . . between Huntington and Setauket... [and] more than half way through the island southerly." Dated East Hampton, 14 July 1659, the deed acknowledged twenty-four years of Lion's "kindness . . . counsell and advice in our prosperity," with special remembrance that,

in our great extremity, when we were almost swallowed up of our enemies— . . . he appeared to us not only as a friend, but as a father in giving us money and goods, whereby we defended ourselves, and ransomed my daughter.

Above the marks of his son Wiancombone, and "The Sachem's Wife" (Wicchiaubit), the signature of Wyandanch is a drawing of two stick figures shaking hands, an unusual gesture of affection and equality. Yet a skeptic will wonder who worded the document, which states that now that the sachem and his wife are old, "we have nothing left that is worth his [Lion's] acceptance but a small tract of land left us, [which] we desire him to accept," a strangely modest description of thirty thousand choice acres.²⁶

If Lion used his friendship with Indians to his advantage, his trust in them was genuine. When Wyandanch was ordered to testify before the magistrates of Southampton, and his people feared for their sachem's safety, Lion, who happened to be at the Montauk camp, presented himself as a hostage. "I will stay here till you all know it is well with your Sachem," he declared, in his strong, terse, style, "if they bind him, bind me, and if they kill him, kill me." All's well that ends well, albeit somewhat grimly; Wyandanch found the four Indians who committed the murder in question "and brought them to Southampton, and they were all hanged

at Hartford." In 1659, Wyandanch met his death, perhaps from sickness, perhaps at the hands of hostile Indians because of his English collaboration. In his memoir, Gardiner stated that although Wyandanch perished during the "great mortality (epidemic) among them (the Indians) . . . it was by poison." He mourned the passing of the sachem: "My friend and brother is gone, who will now do the like?"—a lament with ambiguous overtones.²⁷

In 1660, the governor of Barbados, who was a friend of John Winthrop Jr.'s, expressed interest in buying Gardiner's Island. Oh no, wrote Lion to Winthrop, "I having children and children's children, am not minded to sell it at present." Not "at present" or ever would this island leave possession of the Gardiners (although it nearly changed hands several times in the present century). "Butt I have another plac," went on Lion, "(I suppose) more convenient for the gentleman that would buy, liinge upon Long Iland, between Huntington and Setokett."²⁸

When this sale fell through, Lion and his son David conveyed to Richard Smith (then known as Smythe) the land that would be the principal part of the future town of Smithtown. Smith, a friend of Lion's, was one of the three English witnesses to Wyandanch's deed; it is said that Wyandanch's daughter was returned to her father at Smith's home in Setauket, where the grateful sachem presented his gift of land to Gardiner. Lion died soon after this, and his son consummated the sale to Smith, of which no record remains.²⁹

Lion Gardiner died in 1663, at the age of sixty-four, one year before the English conquest of New Netherland from the Dutch: the creator of its first settlement never heard the words "New York." Although he had to dilute his fortune in order to redeem the debts run up by David, his extravagant son, he left a considerable estate. In his will he apologized to his wife, his sole beneficiary, for not leaving more, because David, "after hee was at liberty to provide for himself, by his own engagement hath forced me to part with a great part of my estate to save his credit, soe that I cannot at present give to my daughter and grandchild that which is fitting for them to have."³⁰

In 1665, one year after the English ousted the Dutch from New Netherland,, Mary Gardiner died and, contrary to Lion's wishes, left Gardiner's Island to their son. Richard Nicolls, the governor of the newly formed New York Province, gave David Gardiner a grant for the Isle of Wight at an annual quit rent of five pounds. Five years later, the rent was commuted to one lamb yearly, upon demand, by Governor Francis Lovelace. In 1686, David received a new patent from Governor Thomas Dongan, who erected the Isle of Wight "a lordship and manor to be henceforth called the lordship and manor of Gardiner's Island." The rent of one lamb a year was renewed, as was the Gardiners' sovereignty. In the judgment of Benjamin F. Thompson, the fees for these parchments were "perquisites of the governors . . . to fill their pockets at the people's expense." Power to hold court-leet (criminal) and court-baron (civil), as well as the advowson (the naming of clergy), and other ancient rights issued to David Gardiner were never exercised—they were given in anticipation of the manor's "becoming a numerously tenanted estate," which it did not. Their ownership remained uncontested, but the Gardiners' unlimited powers were curtailed in 1788, when the state legislature annexed the island to the town of Easthampton (then one word).³¹

The life of Lion Gardiner, Long Island's first English settler and founding father, illumines our understanding of Long Island as America. To begin with, his experience contradicts the assumption that Long Island was cloned from New England. Gardiner and fellow settlers were not New Englanders who came to Long Island, but English emigrants who sojourned in New England before choosing to make the Island their permanent home. He embodied the old and new system of ownership: he was the lord of his own manor who also served as a townsman of the Puritan commonwealth of East Hampton. There, in the words of the historian Peter Ross, "he filled the office of magistrate and in all respects was regarded as the representative citizen of that section of the island." His rejection of charges of witchcraft shows that even widely held superstition did not corrupt the clarity of his mind, even though the case pertained to the death of his own daughter.³²

Gardiner learned the language and gained the trust of his Indian neighbors, whom he treated without condescension. When a Southampton court summoned Wyandanch to testify, he unflinchingly offered himself as a hostage pending the safe return of the sachem. Largely due to his diplomacy, the interracial wars of the mainland did not erupt on eastern Long Island. In the process, Gardiner acquired a handsome fortune in Long Island land by inducing his Indian friends to sell him large tracts at small prices, confirmed by English deeds.

Three hundred and fifty-nine years have passed since Lion Gardiner, freedom fighter and pioneer, set foot on eastern Long Island. He and his hardy wife, Mary, who left her comfortable home in Holland to cross the ocean with her husband and suffer the rigors of frontier life, are symbols of the transition from the Old World to the New by the first generation of emigrants. They were Americans long before the word was coined.

NOTES

1. Curtiss C. Gardiner, *Lion Gardiner and His Descendants* (St. Louis: A. Whipple, 1890), 3. These lines, in Gardiner's hand, were written in a Geneva Bible found many years after his death. First published in 1560, the unauthorized, pocket-size Geneva Bible, with Calvinistic marginal notes, was the pre-King James version favored by the English laity. Gardiner's inscribed copy, published in 1599, the year of his birth, is in the exhibit case of the East Hampton Free Library's Long Island Room, open from 1 to 4:30 P.M., Monday through Saturday, under the supervision of Dorothy King.

2. James E. Bunce and Richard P. Harmond, eds., *Long Island as America: A Documentary History to 1896* (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1977); the *Long Island Historical Journal*, published semiannually by the Department of History, SUNY at Stony Brook, is devoted to the study of Long Island as America.

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

4. Lion Gardiner is his own best source, in "Leift. Lion Gardener his Relation of the Pequot

Warres," *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (hereafter cited as *CMHS*), vol. 3, 3d series (Cambridge, 1833), 131-60; the manuscript, written at East Hampton in 1660, was found in 1809 among the papers of Gov. Jonathan Trumbull of Connecticut; see also his letters to John Winthrop Jr. in the "Winthrop Papers" (hereafter cited as "WP") *CMHS*, vols. 10, 3d Series, 6 and 7, 4th series, and 1 and 8, 5th series, and *Records of the Town of East Hampton* (hereafter cited as *EHTR*), 5 vols. (Sag Harbor: James H. Hunt, 1887) 1: passim. For secondary sources for Lion and later Gardiners (written mainly by descendants), in addition to Curtiss C. Gardiner, cited above; see John Lyon (most later Gardiners with this name were Lion, but some were Lyon) Gardiner, "Notes and Memorandums Concerning Gardiners Island, Written in May 1798 by John Lyon Gardiner the Present Proprietor of That Island *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1859* (New York, 1970), 260-72; Alexander Gardiner, "History of the Gardiner Family," *CMHS*, vol. 10, 3d series (Boston, 1846), 173-85; Sarah Diodati Gardiner, *Early Memories of Gardiner's Island (The Isle of Wight, New York)* (East Hampton: *East Hampton Star*, 1947); William S. Pelletreau, "East Hampton," in *History of Suffolk County* (New York: W. W. Munsell, 1882), especially 5, 25, 30; Robert Payne, *The Island* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1958); Jason Epstein and Elizabeth Barlow, *Last Hampton; A History and Guide*, rev. 3d ed. (New York: Random House, 1985); Roger Wunderlich, "'An Island of Mine Owne': The Life and Times of Lion Gardiner, 1599-1663," *LIHJ* 2 (Fall 1989): 1-14. For Smithtown, see J. Lawrence Smith, "Smithtown," in *History of Suffolk County New York*: W. W. Munsell, 1882).

5. Wood, 19.

6. Nathaniel S. Prime, *History of Long Island, from Its First Settlement by Europeans. to the Year 1845, with Special Reference to Its Ecclesiastical Concerns Part I* (New York: Robert Carter, 1845), 77-78.

7. Lion Gardiner, "Pequot Warres," 157-68; Daniel Denton, *A Brief Description of New-York: formerly Called New Netherlands* (London, 1670, reprinted in Cornell Jaray, ed. 1865, reprint, Port Washington: Ira J. Friedman, 1968), 6-7.

8. John A. Strong, "How the Montauk Lost Their Land," in Gaynell Stone, ed., *Readings in Long Island Archaeology and Ethnic History*, vol 3, *The History & Archaeology of the Montauk*, 2d. ed. (Stony Brook: Suffolk County Archaeological Association, Nassau County Archaeological Committee, 1993), 79; for Gardiner and Wyandanch, see also Strong, *The Algonquian Peoples of Long Island: From Earliest Times to 1700* (Interlaken, N.Y.: Empire State Books, 1997, prepared under the auspices of Hofstra University, 1997), passim.

9. Curtiss C. Gardiner, 46. xvii; Edward Hopkins to John Winthrop Jr., 28 October 1635, "WP," *CMHS*, vol. 6, 4th series (Boston, 1863), 326, 329, announcing the departure from London of the *Batcheler*, the twenty-five-ton North Sea bark bearing "Sergeant Gardener, his wife and her maid, and his workmaster to New England"; Sir Richard Saltonstall to John Winthrop Jr., 27 February 1635 (new style 1636), *ibid.*, 579-91, asking to be commended to "Sergeant Gardiner . . . whom I purpose, God willing, to visit this summer, if he will provide a house to receiue me & mine at my landing." Two letters signed "Lion Gardener," in 1652 and 1660, were endorsed "Leift. Gardiner" by John Winthrop Jr. ("WP," *CMHS*, Vol 7, 4th Series, 64-65); in the "Pequot Warres" and most of his letters in the "WP," Lion spelled his last name "Gardener."

10. Lion Gardiner, "Pequot Warres," 136. English units in the Netherlands defended the Dutch Republic, a loose federation of provinces under the stadholdership of the prince of Orange, which waged a long and successful struggle for independence from Spain (see Pieter Geyl, *The Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century*, rev. and enl. ed. (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1961 [first pub. 1936 as *The Netherlands Divided*]); for a guide to modern

interpretations of the English Revolution, including those of Christopher Hill, R. H. Tawney, H. R. Trevor-Roper, Lawrence Stone, Perez Zagorin, and many other historians, and the roles of Lord Saye and Sele, Lord Brooke, Sir Arthur Haselrig, George Fenwick, Hugh Peter, John Davenport, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Sir Thomas Fairfax, and others encountered by Gardiner, see R. C. Richardson, *The Debate on the English Revolution* (London: Methuen, 1977), and Derek Hirst, *Authority and Conflict: England 1603-1658* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1986).

11. 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: Robert H. Dodd, 1918) 3:313-14; Curtiss C. Gardiner, 46.

12. Lion Gardiner, "Pequot Warres," 137-39; Richard S. Dun, *Puritans and Yankees: The Winthrop Dynasty of New England 1630-1717* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1962), 69.

13. Lion Gardiner, "Pequot Warres," 140, 150, 151. Like Gardiner, Mason and Underhill were soldiers in the Netherlands before coming to New England; see Major John Mason, "A Brief History of the Pequot War," *CMHS*, vol. 8, 2d series (Boston, 1836):120-53; Louis B. Mason, *The Life and Times of Major John Mason, 1600-1672* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1935); Captain John Underhill, *Nerves from America . . .* (London, 1638; facsimile reprint ed. New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), an account of the Pequot War that justified the slaughter because sometimes "Scripture declareth women and children must perish with their parents" (40).

14. Lion Gardiner, "Pequot Warres," 150. Yovawan, the Manhansett sachem, and Wyandanch, the Montauk sachem, resided in present-day eastern Suffolk County, the region the Indians called Paumanok.

15. *Ibid.*

16. Prime, 93.

17. Curtiss C. Gardiner, 65.

18. John Lyon Gardiner, "Gardiners Island," 270-71, 261-62.

19. For the terms of the original deed for Gardiner's Island, copied in the records of a Boston lawyer, Thomas Lechford, see Curtiss G. Gardiner, 58-61; *EHTR*, 2-3.

20. Lion Gardiner to John Winthrop Jr., 27 April 1650, "WP," *CMHS*, Vol 7, 4th Series, 59; for William Perkins (1558-1602) and other Puritan theologians, see Perry Miller, *Orthodoxy in New England* (Boston, 1933), *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (1953; reprint, Boston: Beacon Press, 1961), and *Errand Into the Wilderness* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1956).

21. Alexander Gardiner, "Gardiner Family," 183-84; for the charges against Goody Garlick, see *EHTR* 1: 132-36, and 139-40.

22. *EHTR* 1:150, 13 November 1658; T. H. Breen, *Imagining the Past, East Hampton Histories* (Boston: Addison, Wesley, 1989), 112.

23. Prime, 93.

24. Gaynell Stone, "Long Island as America: A New Look at the First Inhabitants," *Long*

Island Historical Journal I (Spring 1989): 166.

25. Curtiss C. Gardiner, 65; Thomas James to John Winthrop Jr., 6 September 1654, "WP," *CMHS*, vol. 7, 4th series, 482.

26. J. Lawrence Smith, "Smithtown," 2. The deed is recorded in the *Book of Deeds*, office of the Secretary of State, Albany, NY, 11: 118-19; a copy is in the collection of the Brooklyn Historical Society.

27. Curtiss C. Gardiner, 65; Lion Gardiner, "Pequot Warres," 157-58; for Wyandanch's death, his appointment of Lion and David Gardiner as guardians of his son, the challenging of this by John Ogden, a rival of the Gardiners, and the purchase of 9,000 acres of Montauk land by the Gardiners and others from Wiancombone and his mother Wicchiaubit, known as the Sunk Squaw after her husband's death, see Strong, "How the Montauk Lost Their Land," 35, 79-80.

28. Lion Gardiner to John Winthrop Jr., 5 November 1660, "WP," *CMHS*, vol. 7, 4th series, 64-65; the governor of Barbados was called "Mr. Serie" by Winthrop, and "Daniell Searle" by Lion.

29. For the founding of Smithtown, without any bull, see J. Lawrence Smith, "Smithtown," 2-3.

30. Gardiner's estate was inventoried at £256, his property on Gardiner's Island at £511, as enumerated in Pelletreau, "East Hampton" 26.

31. Thompson, 1:198, 209, 3:318.

32. Peter Ross, *A History of Long Island, from Its Earliest Settlement to the Present Time*, 3 vols (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing, 1902) 1:80.

THE MANY LIVES OF SAYVILLE'S LEWIS NOE

By Hank Shaw

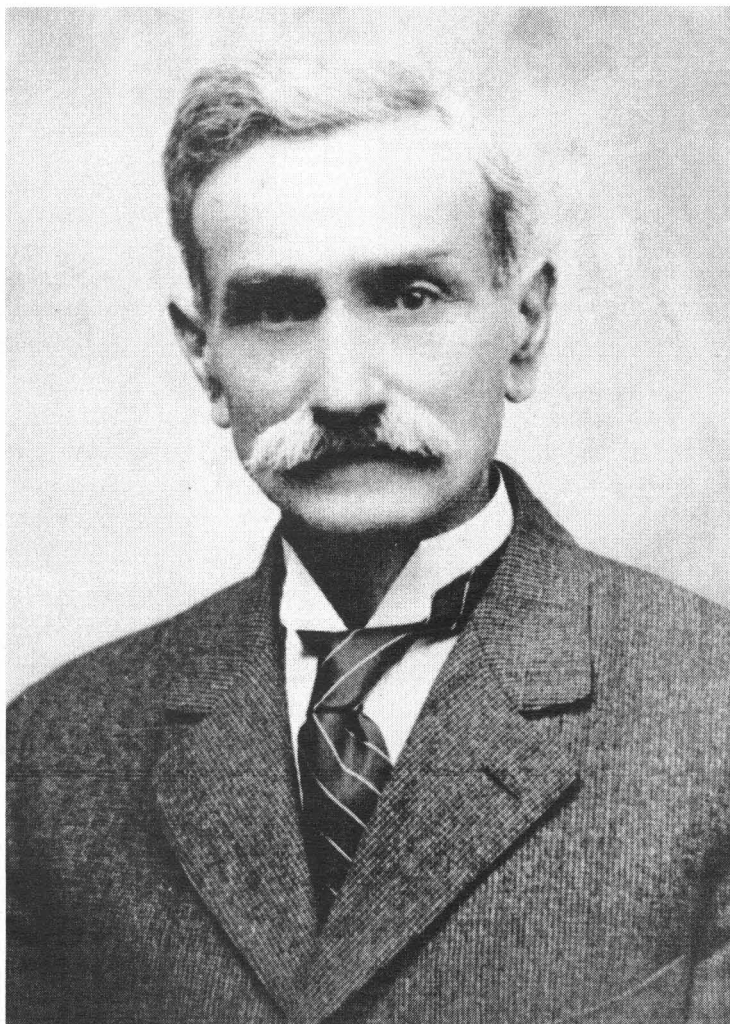
How does one piece together a life? It is harder than it sounds, but people do leave a long paper trail that is easy to follow if one knows where to look. What about a man who died at the age of eighty-two more than sixty-seven years ago, in 1931?

Lewis Noe is that man. A fascinating figure, Noe (pronounced "No-ee") is at once Everyman and that bread and butter of biographies, the Extraordinary Man. For the first twenty-five years of his life, Noe was a sailor, soldier, explorer, and household name, living a life of incredible adventure punctuated by pain, fame, and, at the pinnacle of his notoriety, shame. Noe's early life connects him with some of the great events and phenomena of the period: the Civil War, European Expansion, and the rise of the popular press.

After 1872, however, his life settled into a series of picayune adventures, interesting but nowhere near as riveting as his youth. He became a village character, always with a story to tell but with a somewhat checkered past that prevented him from becoming a local luminary. What Noe lacked in influence he gained in sheer curiosity. A look into his later life is a look into the dynamics of a small town that was growing rapidly during his lifetime. Noe's fifty-year relationship with area newspapers also touches a vastly under-researched area, the realm of the local newspaper in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Thanks to voluminous amounts of material from gossip sections of the local newspapers—the *Suffolk County News*, the *Suffolk Citizen*, and the *Advance*—as well as older Long Island papers and the *Brooklyn Daily Times*, the minutiae of Noe's life are revealed. His grandson remembers that since Noe wrote a daily dispatch to the *Times*, nothing in Sayville was safe from publication, not even family matters. Noe also wrote opinion pieces on topics ranging from capital punishment to temperance that allow the researcher to piece together a rough sketch of Noe's personal convictions.

The story behind the research is nearly as interesting as the story itself. As a graduate student at the State University of New York at Stony Brook, I had been researching an academic article about that flamboyant explorer of Africa, Sir Henry Morton Stanley. Stanley was the founder of the Congo Free State, finder of the source of the Congo River, a member of Parliament, and the speaker of the famous "Dr. Livingstone, I presume" greeting in Africa during autumn 1871.



Lewis Noe at the age of seventy-three. Photo, 1922, taken for the *Brooklyn Times* for use with an article about his "Adventures in a "Turkish Dungeon," courtesy of Charles Webber..

In my research, I noticed one of Stanley's early travel companions, a Lewis Noe from Sayville, Long Island. This naturally piqued my interest because at the time I lived next door in Bayport. More strangely, I later discovered that Noe wrote for both the *Suffolk County News* and the *Long Island Advance*, then the *Patchogue Advance*. At the time, I wrote for these papers, have edited one and worked on the other as a reporter.

When I discovered that no one had written anything about Noe, I resolved to do it myself. Asking around Sayville for old-timers who might have known him, one of the first people I approached was the local historian, Chuck Webber. Chuck sounded surprised on the phone and said of course he knew who Noe was, since he was Noe's grandson! My spirits fell a bit when Chuck told me all he had on Noe was a thin dossier. But another local historian, Connie Curry, had kept a haphazard but large file on him. With a fistful of documents from both Webber and Curry, I started my own work, which continues as you read this.

The question I began this piece with was not rhetorical, for I am trying to answer it daily, and every so often am rewarded with a choice piece of new information. Someday, perhaps, I will have a clearer picture of the life of what seems to be a most interesting man.

Why all the trouble? Apart from the sheer fun of it all, researching a long-dead local journalist-soldier-explorer will provide me with several "firsts" to call my own. I will be the first to write any serious work on a man important to Henry Morton Stanley, who is himself the subject of a cottage industry of scholars. I will be the first to analyze the histories of both the *Advance* and the *Suffolk County News*, and the first to get a clear, panoramic picture of Sayville during an important, eighty-year span of this village's history.

The following is my first attempt to lend shape and form to Noe's life and the environment in which he lived.

Part One: Early Life to Navy Life

U.S.S. Minnesota,
Off Wilmington, N.C.
December 17, 1864
Dear Father,

I am in a great hurry, as the mail closes at 4 p.m. and it wants but 5 minutes of that time. We are down here now and before 24 hours is over our heads we will have attacked Fort Fisher and Fort Caswell and I hope we shall have taken it. I have no doubt we will take it. We have got 64 ships to attack the Rebels mounting over 500 guns, and we have 12,000 soldiers under General Butler to help us, and God willing we shall conquer them. Should anything happen to me my friend the clerk will let you know about it. Good bye. Love to all inquiring friends. Kiss mother for me. I have no more to add except that I am your very affectionate son,

Lewis H. Noe¹

Six months after he had lied about his age, traveled to Jersey City, and joined the Navy as a cabin boy, Lewis Noe was about to face combat for the first time, at the tender age of fifteen. For the man who would someday taste the exquisite flavor of international fame and later its sour aftertaste, the Battle of Fort Fisher served as a fitting initiation to a wild youth, a youth that, in turn, laid a foundation for the fascinating adult Noe would become. Little is known about his childhood, but it is clear that the wanderlust that drove thousands of young Easterners like him into the Far West struck Lewis Noe square on the head. Even though mid-nineteenth century Sayville was rapidly becoming a bustling center of commerce and the hub of the world's largest oyster manufacturer, it must have still seemed too small for a teenager with adventure fever.

Before the war: early Sayville

Born in a white clapboard house on Main Street on 8 February 1849, Lewis Noe grew up in a strict Methodist household. The fifth of Thomas Jefferson and Louisa Noe's nine children, Lewis was raised in what once was Sayville's first schoolhouse, which his father bought in 1859 and moved across the street to the spot where a supermarket parking lot now stands.²

Fewer than 850 people called Sayville home even as late as 1860, so the Noes were a part of a small group of farmers, baymen and shopkeepers who had settled in a quiet town and seemed to like it that way. Lewis's father, Thomas, one of the town's best blacksmiths, was the "iron horse" of the Suffolk Temperance Society, and often hosted the organization's meetings in his home.³

Lewis remembered one of "Uncle Noe's," as his father was known throughout Sayville, temperance sermons in the *Patchogue Advance*. His father found an iron lightning rod that had stood immersed in the rum slops of the bar of a nearby hotel for years, and which had subsequently rotted away. The prop served as the temperance minister's scepter. "This piece of iron had withstood many hail storms and tornadoes, and had defied thunder and lightning for nearly 30 years, but it could not stand rum slops," Lewis remembers his father saying. "Now then, if rum will eat up iron like that what destruction it must work when poured down alongside of a man's liver!" Noe would always be a staunchly religious man, and despite the reputation for stretching the truth he received in later life, it is important to note that nearly every detail of his major stories can be proven correct by independent sources. Nonetheless, Noe's undeserved reputation as a liar would dog him all his days.⁴

According to H. C. Dare, who wrote a history of Sayville that appeared in the *Advance* during August 1891, Sayville in 1838 had only four houses between where the Noe homestead stood and Green's Brook. In 1844 the railroad came to Lakeland, on what is now the Ronkonkoma Branch of the Long Island Rail Road, five years before Lewis Noe's birth; the Methodists built their church, now a Masonic Temple, just across the way from the Noes in 1847.⁵

None of the present-day newspapers existed then. According to Dare, everyone read either the *South Side Signal* from Babylon or the *Republican Watchman*, the predecessor of today's *Long Island Traveler-Watchman*, in Southold. The Civil

War broke out while Lewis was still a boy of eleven, and soon after its start the 12th New York Infantry marched past his house on Main Street, in early 1861. Noe vividly recalled the scene. Thirty-two years later, he waxed poetic about the soldiers' appearance with an enthusiasm that still conveys the effect the parade had on him as a young man:

Men, women and children assembled on the village square to give the 'boys in blue' a grand reception. Our most enthusiastic citizens had prepared refreshments for the marching boys, and we distinctly remember that our patriotic district school teacher, H.F. Candee, was foremost in preparing the repast.

Look! They come! Yes, the column of blue with fixed bayonets glittering in the sunlight from the muzzles of fifty or more Springfield muskets carried at a 'right shoulder shift,' has appeared on the brow of Westbrook Hill!⁶

Off to war, off to sea

Noe must have followed the war closely in his early teen years, probably gobbling up the newspaper stories from papers like the *New York Times*, *Sun* or the most flamboyant of papers, the *New York Herald*, the most controversial paper of its day. When he finally convinced his parents he was old enough, Noe took the railroad to Jersey City and enlisted in the Navy, on 9 July 1864, as a First Class [Cabin] Boy, and was immediately assigned to the training ship, the U.S.S. *North Carolina*. Of course, at only fifteen he was far too young to enlist, so he told the recruiters he was nineteen, Irish, and from New York City. The fact that Noe was only five feet tall at the time apparently did not give him away.⁷

After a few weeks' training aboard the *North Carolina*, Noe was transferred on 30 July to the flagship of the North Atlantic Blockading Squadron, the U.S.S. *Minnesota*, a ship that until that point was best known for escaping the Confederate ironclad *Virginia*, also known as the *Merrimack*. The *Brooklyn Eagle* picks up the story:

While aboard the *Minnesota*, young Noe gained the position as first boy through good behavior and his agility as a climber. Upon one occasion young Noe climbed to the top of the main topmast of the lofty rigged *Minnesota* and stood up straight on top of the topmast truck, waving his hat to the several foreign man-of-war vessels anchored in Fortress Monroe Harbor. One of the most hazardous feats he ever performed was that of walking across one of the stays leading from the ship's mainmast to the foremast.⁸

Incidentally, it is highly unlikely that Noe wrote this himself, even though he was a newspaper correspondent for many city papers during his lifetime. Noe

wrote for the *Eagle's* competition, the *Brooklyn Times*, in 1912, and it is doubtful that the editors would have let him write for both papers.

Noe's best friend aboard first the *North Carolina* and then the *Minnesota* was a twenty-three-year-old clerk named Henry Stanley, the same Stanley who later would "discover" the "lost" Dr. David Livingstone in the wilds of East Africa and become one of the most eminent Victorians. (Dr. Livingstone was lost only to the Royal Geographic Society: he knew exactly where he was.) It was Stanley who actually wrote Noe's Christmas letter; his handwriting was impeccable. Noe would also meet the famous Admiral (then Lieutenant) George Dewey at Fort Fisher. This meeting would cause Noe great grief nearly fifty years later.⁹

As summer shifted to autumn, and autumn to winter, the Union preparations for the taking of Fort Fisher intensified. Fort Fisher protected Wilmington, North Carolina, and was the guardian of the Confederacy's last surviving port capable of receiving supplies from Europe. By the end of 1864, the Union forces had decided to take it. Noe wrote his letter home days before the first battle began, on Christmas Eve. The Union forces got the worse end of the bargain through its typically poor leadership, and the Confederates fought them off. Two weeks later, however, they would return and the second Battle of Fort Fisher, from 13 to 15 January 1865, resulted in Union victory.

During this fight, the Confederates managed to damage the *Minnesota* enough to force her back to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, for repairs. En route to port, Stanley convinced Noe to quit the Navy and travel with him on a world tour starting in Asia Minor, now Turkey. Whether the pair decided this before or after they learned the *Minnesota* was to be decommissioned at Portsmouth is a mystery, but what is certain is that once the *Minnesota* arrived in port in February 1865, Stanley and Noe left the service, disguised as civilians wearing clothes Stanley bought from two carpenters. Later in his life, many would say Noe deserted from the Navy, but this was not technically correct. The *Minnesota* was decommissioned on 16 February 1865, and Stanley and Noe left on 10 February, two days after Noe's sixteenth birthday. Under Navy rules at the time, sailors were only attached to a ship. When that ship was out of service, they did not get paid and many simply returned home. A Navy Department document from March 1966 that researched Noe's military service indicated that "the termination of his service was of an honorable nature."¹⁰

Like his reputation for hyperbole, these false accusations of desertion would shadow Noe for the rest of his life. In the meantime, however, he and Stanley returned to Sayville to get the blessing of Noe's parents for their proposed world tour.

Part Two: Appomattox to Asia Minor

After Lewis Noe and Henry Stanley left Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and the U.S. Navy behind, Stanley continued to regale Noe with promises of excitement and glory overseas. "He was full of aspirations for adventure," Noe wrote in summer 1872 what would become a famous letter published in the *New York Sun*. "He told marvelous tales of foreign countries and he urged that when we should leave the service that I should accompany him on a proposed tour in Southern Europe. Being of a romantic turn of mind, I was pleased at the suggestion." Now, en route to Sayville to seek the permission of Noe's parents and, possibly, their help in financing the trip, Stanley told Noe of his plan to get enough money to travel. "He then unfolded to me a plan for taking the means necessary for us to proceed on our travels," Noe wrote. "It was for him to enlist me in the Army, he taking the bounty money; then through his aid and connivance for me to desert, to reenlist and to secure another bounty, to again desert and so repeat this process until he had the money secured to enable us to go in search of adventure."¹¹

Even without this knowledge, Noe's parents and sister Freelove nearly reached apoplexy when they heard that he had "deserted" from the Navy when the train arrived the next day. They urged him to return to the *Minnesota*, not knowing that had he done so, Noe would have moldered in New Hampshire for weeks or months waiting to be assigned to another ship without pay.

According to Noe's tale seven years later, Stanley continued to urge him to become a bounty jumper, but Noe wrote that he "was too strongly burdened by a sense of guilt for my own desertion to desire to add to it a repetition to the offense, and I declined to acquiesce in his plan."¹² The statement casts doubt on whether Noe knew he was not deserting. Navy rules were different from Army enlistments, making his departure from the *Minnesota* six days before its decommissioning a non-offense, but it is possible that the fifteen-year-old Noe did not know that.

Stanley convinced the Noe family that to return to the Navy was folly, but failed to persuade it to allow Noe to travel to Europe with him. Apparently, Stanley attracted the attention of Noe's sister Freelove, with whom he corresponded for some time afterwards. Not relishing the thought of returning to military life, Noe went with Stanley to New York City in search of a job. After looking for four days to no avail, he parted company with Stanley, and took a job with Joshua Hubbs, a farmer in Hicksville. For whatever reason, a week later Noe left Hubbs and returned to the city to enlist in the 8th New York Volunteer Cavalry, as a private. Having figured that the Army would discover his Navy service, he enlisted under the assumed name of Lewis Morton, suggested to him earlier by Stanley. This is, Stanley's biographers believe, the origin of Stanley's own middle name, for only later does the man born as John Rowlands in Wales become known as Henry Morton Stanley, from Missouri.¹³

In the Army now

At any rate, by early March 1865, Noe was in Virginia with the 8th New York,

fighting the final battles of the Appomattox Campaign, the series of engagements that led to General Robert E. Lee's surrender at Appomattox Courthouse on 9 April 1865.

Little is known about Noe's activities during the last days of the war, although his unit, the Second Brigade of the 8th New York, known as the "Rochester Regiment," participated in a number of notable battles under General Philip Sheridan, including the battle of Dinwiddie Court House on 30-31 March, the battle of Five Forks on 1 April, the fall of Petersburg, the battles of Namozine Church, Jetersville and Saylor's Creek on successive days, followed by the battles at Appomattox Station and Court House. This record puts Noe in the possibly unique position of having been present at both a major naval battle, Fort Fisher, and several major land battles. Few other veterans of the Civil War could say the same.¹⁴

Thus far, only one episode of Noe's Army service remains. Years later, in the *Patchogue Advance*, possibly as a twenty-fifth anniversary of the end of the Civil War retrospective, he wrote of a chance meeting with another local veteran, John Strickland of Bayport. Noe described a rest period between battles when he was in City Point, Virginia, to procure more horses for his regiment:

One day while strolling through the camp my progress was arrested by some one calling me by name. Turning in the direction from which the sound came I caught sight of a man who was gazing at me with a smile on his handsome face which seemed sorter [*sic*] familiar. "Halloo Long Island," said the man. "Do you know me?" "I reckon not," said I.

The man wore a long, handsome brown beard and I recognized a familiar look but could not call him by name. "Don't you," said he, "recollect the man by the name of Strickland who painted Jacob Smith's house at Sayville before the war?" And then I did begin to remember such a man who went by that name away out on Long Island. And after a little chat about matters and things we parted and never met again during the war.

Noe's story checks out. According to *Dyer's Compendium*, which states where every unit was during each day of the war, John Strickland of Bayport fought with the 2nd New York Volunteer Cavalry, the "Harris Lights." Both Noe's and Strickland's units were under Sheridan and both fought in the same battles during late March and early April 1865.¹⁵

According to a letter from Noe's direct commander, Major James Bliss, to his superior, Captain J. J. McVean, the 8th New York's Second Brigade had just finished the fight at Namozine Church and ridden all night to join Sheridan's forces. Bliss states that they "halted at 8 a.m. and formed a line of battle on left of Fifth Corps; at 2 o'clock were relieved by Second Corps and moved two miles to the right and encamped for the night."¹⁶ The 8th New York stayed there for little more than a day, and this is probably when Noe went to nearby City Point to gather more horses for the coming battle of Saylor's Creek.

Noe remained with the unit for the rest of the war, and was in Appomattox

when Lee surrendered. After the Grand Parade through Washington, D.C., Noe—or, rather, Lewis Morton—was mustered out with an honorable discharge in Alexandria, Virginia, in June 1865.

Return to Sayville and off to Smyrna

Shortly after Noe enlisted in the cavalry, Henry Stanley visited Sayville looking for him. When Noe's parents told Stanley about their son's new circumstances, Stanley "at once commenced a correspondence with me," Noe wrote in his letter to the *Sun*. Stanley again asked Noe to become a bounty jumper, and even planned to meet him with an extra set of civilian clothes, according to Noe. For his part, Stanley never responded directly to Noe's allegations in public, and his wife later sent an agent to Sayville in 1907 to buy everything Noe owned that remotely connected him with Stanley—those documents remain in the Stanley family archive in England.¹⁷

At home, Noe began to learn the family trade as a blacksmith at his father's forge on Main Street. Stanley continued to write to him from the Rocky Mountains and other parts of the Far West. Finally, in early June 1866, Stanley, who had become a newspaper reporter in the interim, along with a fellow journalist, Harlow Cook, told Noe they were at the Richmond Hotel in Manhattan. Stanley took the train from Manhattan four days later and arrived via stagecoach at the Noe homestead, in order to persuade his family to allow the seventeen-year-old Noe to join him and Cook in an overseas journey. "His winning manners, gentlemanly bearing, and his seeming attachment for me impressed [my parents] so favorably that they were inclined to look upon his previous conduct in deserting as an indiscretion for which there were palliating circumstances," Noe wrote in his letter to the *Sun*. "My admiration for Stanley amounted to a youthful enthusiasm, and I longed to go with him in search of romance and adventure."¹⁸

Stanley convinced Noe's parents that the trip, which would begin in Smyrna, in what is now Turkey, and meander through Asia, would complete their son's education and return him a gentleman of some means. The plan was to buy Oriental valuables cheaply and sell them at a profit back in New York. Both Noe and his parents were captivated by the story, especially when Stanley said he had "acquired abundant means" in Colorado and offered to pay Noe's expenses for the trip. As an aside, many of Stanley letters while Noe was away fighting the Confederates were addressed to his sister Freelove, whom Stanley described as "full in person, with voluptuous lips, dark glittering eyes and very black hair, falling loosely to her waist."¹⁹

Stanley, who had a notoriously unsuccessful love life, had been spurned by several beautiful women before Freelove dismissed him in 1866.²⁰ His anger over this unrequited crush would have serious repercussions in the months ahead. After a few days in Sayville, Stanley and Noe returned to the Richmond Hotel, where Noe met Cook for the first time. Noe claims Stanley introduced him to Cook as his step-brother, which Cook later denied. "The two did not get on," wrote Frank McLynn in *Stanley: The Making of an African Explorer*, "Cook had been Stanley's *fidus Achates* (faithful companion) in Colorado, but he immediately

sensed that Noe was more important to Stanley. From that moment Cook's antipathy to Noe was to be marked." The trio boarded a train for Boston in mid-June, and left for Turkey on a fruit ship, the *E. H. Yarrington*, on 10 July 1866.²¹

Part Three: Turkish Nightmare

Just hours after embarking with Cook and Stanley on their journey to Smyrna, Noe discovered that Stanley had misled him and his parents about Noe's position in the party—he was not to be a companion, but a servant. While Cook and Stanley paid their way as passengers, Stanley told the penniless Noe that he must work his passage across the Atlantic. There is considerable debate over this and other points, but the evidence favors Noe's account, printed for the first time in his letter to the *Sun* in August 1872. Stanley never publicly refuted any of Noe's specific claims, although he and his friends did try to assassinate Noe's character later, as we shall see.

Back aboard ship, Cook and Noe's stories agree that Stanley spent much of his time reading and trying to improve his poor marksmanship by shooting at (and missing) sea gulls from the rear of the ship. He also apparently had time for poetry, which Cook said "did not reveal poetic genius, [but] it showed at any rate that he had read history to some advantage."²²

As for the ex-Navy sailor, Noe, "with my previous experience at sea, I was enabled to make myself serviceable on the voyage."²³ Just over fifty days later, the *E. H. Yarrington* reached the bustling city of Smyrna (now Izmir), on the Mediterranean coast of Turkey, then the Ottoman Empire. The party waited for a week while Stanley read maps and pored over phrase book Turkish. On 3 September 1866, having bought a pair of worn-out horses and no more than \$100 worth of supplies, the trio started trekking inland on a trip planned to lead from Turkey to Armenia, Georgia, Kashmir, China, across the Pacific Ocean, and, ultimately, to California. However, they would never complete even a tenth of that journey.

Where there's smoke there's fire

Troubles began almost immediately, and the animus between Noe and Cook sparked the first confrontation. Noe picks up the story: "On our second day from Smyrna, while we were at rest, and Mr. Cook was seated by a bunch of bushes, half-asleep, in boyish sport I set fire to the bushes to give him a scare. He was scared, and Stanley and I had our laugh at him, but the flames went further than I had intended." When the fire spread to a nearby hedgerow, alarmed Turkish villagers called the police; Stanley and Cook were arrested, but Noe escaped and returned to Smyrna, twelve miles distant. Always good with words, Stanley persuaded the local officials to free Cook and himself, and the irate pair doubled back to Smyrna to find Noe. Once they did and were back on the road to China, Noe's romantic views of adventure—and travel with Stanley—dissolved rapidly. "Soon I learned what I had dimly suspected before leaving Smyrna—the real

character of the man I had confided in," Noe wrote. "Instead of being a traveling companion I found that I was to be a slave and a beggar, and a slave too of a remorseless master."²⁴

Still angry at Noe's desertion at the Turkish village, Stanley seethed for a day until his scheme bore fruit. While Cook was riding ahead, Stanley led Noe into a pomegranate forest, tied him to a tree, "peeled my clothing from my back and on my bare skin scourged me with a whip which he cut from the trees and on which he left the sharp knots until the blood ran from my wounds," Noe wrote. He said Stanley whipped him for all the petty annoyances Noe apparently had caused him through the years, and was especially angry at Noe's refusal to become an Army bounty jumper the year before. "Remember you are here to do my bidding," Noe said Stanley told him. "If I tell you to cut a man's throat, you do it!" Stanley later told his paper, the *New York Herald*, that Noe deserved "a few strokes of the switch," and never really denied Noe's story.²⁵

After five days, Noe was able to put his shirt on again, and the expedition continued eastward for two weeks until the trio neared the village of Chi-Hissar, about three hundred miles from Smyrna. At that point, on 18 September, Stanley's scheming nearly got them all killed, and led to a horrible experience Noe would neither forget nor forgive.

Attempted murder and trial by pain

The horses Stanley had bought were literally on their last legs, and they needed new ones. Problem was, they had no money. Stanley devised a plan to acquire new horses when the party saw a lone Turk riding a horse while leading another down the road. According to both Noe's story and an unpublished manuscript by Stanley—Cook was riding about a mile to the rear and was not present—Stanley approached the Turk, who introduced himself as Achmet, and said something to him that Noe could not understand, though Stanley told him afterwards:

As he had related it to me he had asked the Turk if he didn't want to buy a girl, and presented to him that I, though dressed in boy's clothing, was really a girl. The Turk was incredulous, but Stanley insisted upon it, and finally said that the Turk could inspect my person and satisfy himself.

Both then dismounted and the Turk approached me with smiles, apparently with the hope of finding a girl in breeches, and Stanley following him, seized a favorable opportunity, raised his sabre, and with all the force he could muster, struck the Turk a blow on the head which I thought would kill him.²⁶

But it did not, thanks to a stiff pasteboard holding up Achmet's fez. Achmet began fighting back, and was getting the better of Stanley, who, according to Noe, was bleating, "Shoot him, Lewis, shoot him or he'll kill me!" Noe did shoot at the Turk, but because Stanley had been target shooting earlier that day the gun was not loaded.

Achmet fled on foot amidst a volley of pistol fire from Stanley, and at just that moment Cook rode up. Stanley, realizing that his ruse had failed utterly, led the party on a wild chase through the mountainous landscape in a vain effort to escape a posse of angry Turks on horseback, led by Achmet himself. With the advantage of fresh horses and knowledge of terrain, the Turks caught the trio and dragged them in irons back to the village. For four or five days, the three men were tortured and interrogated as to the whereabouts of their money, since the Turks suspected that foreign travelers ought to be well-off. "Each day we were drawn up over the limbs of trees by ropes and lariats around our necks to compel us to give them money," wrote Noe. Only after Cook and Noe swore to Allah that they were destitute did the brigands decide to take the three men to trial.²⁷

But before that, a horrid fate befell Noe, whose letter to the *Sun* recalled that, "the first night of our imprisonment I was taken out and treated in a shocking manner," a Victorian euphemism for homosexual rape. Stanley's unpublished manuscript states outright that Noe had been raped, calling it "a crime common in Turkey but not fit to be mentioned to polite ears...which is, I think, or I hope, unknown to civilized nations, especially in Christian America."²⁸ After this sort of treatment, which was in some ways initiated by Stanley's false offer to Achmet, it is no wonder that Noe developed a vitriolic hatred for Stanley that would last for another sixty-five years.

An "honest" trial and escape

Several days later the Turks dragged the trio to a local magistrate for trial, which proved to be the Turks' undoing. Stanley again used his wiles to persuade the officials that it was the Turks and not they who committed the robbery, "proving" it by showing the magistrate that several of the Turks had Stanley's possessions on their persons. At this point, the local judge sent the lot off to the provincial city of Broussa, where the trial would be held. Stanley, Cook, and Noe spent a night in the dungeon before they were released, and, after giving their depositions, Stanley and Noe traveled to the capital of Constantinople to see the U.S. Ambassador, E. Joy Morris.

Upon observing their piteous appearance, Morris acceded to Stanley's request for a \$600 loan, which Stanley "guaranteed" with a mythical father back in New York City. Decker out in a fake naval uniform, Stanley returned to Broussa with Noe, who was still in tattered clothing and, though he had received no money from the loan, was forced by Stanley to sign a note stating he had received one-third of it.²⁹

Thanks to support from Morris, their depositions, and the Turkish government's desire to avoid an international incident, three Turks were convicted of robbery and sodomy and thrown in prison. Stanley, Noe, and Cook had asked for \$2,000, far less than the sum that Stanley originally claimed they had lost, and eventually accepted \$1,200, of which Morris kept his \$600. Even before the magistrate had determined the amount of the cash award, Stanley and Noe left Cook in Broussa to collect it, and embarked on a steamer for the French port of Marseilles on 14 November 1866.

Part Four: Lewis's Day in the Sun

Still simmering from his abominable treatment at the hands of both Henry Stanley and the Turks, Noe arrived with Stanley in Marseilles on 23 November 1866. Reaching London on 27 November, Noe and Stanley immediately boarded a train for Liverpool and arrived at the house of Stanley's uncle, Tom Morris, on Davies Street, the next morning. Stanley, cutting a dashing figure in his faux naval uniform, set off at once for his native village of Denbigh, Wales, while Noe stayed with Morris. "I remained for some weeks with his uncle and aunt, and was most kindly treated by them, though they were illy [*sic*] able to bear the burden of my support," Noe wrote. "I frequently urged Stanley by letter to send me means to reach my home, but without success."³⁰

As Stanley had made off with the \$600 lent them by the American Ambassador in Turkey, leaving Noe destitute, it is not certain how Noe returned to Long Island in early 1867. Either he received money from his parents or worked his passage, or a combination of both, but return he did, finally rid of Henry Morton Stanley, whom he never would see again. He did hear from him for more than a year afterwards, however, and Noe and his sister Freelove continued to receive cheery letters from Stanley, who had picked up his journalism career again in the West. Noe did not respond to any of them. In the last letter he received, on New Year's Day 1868, Stanley galled Noe by calling him the "prince of boys and best of companions," ending the letter with "in your rejoicings forget not your exiled friend and brother. Henry."³¹

Back to normal for a while

As his anger toward Stanley cooled to slow smolder, Noe restarted his life in Sayville after essentially a four-year absence. He apprenticed himself to his father's blacksmith shop, and began a local painting business that would support him for the next forty-five years. And, according to records from the Sayville United Methodist Church, Noe married Mary Baker of Moriches, on 18 March 1869, at the church on Main Street. He was twenty and she not yet sixteen, which was not uncommon back then.

Noe probably read about Stanley's blooming career in the flamboyant *New York Herald*, a sensational newspaper that day after day enthralled New York City readers with lurid tales of bloodshed and scandal. Stanley cut his eye teeth with the *Herald*, breaking a story in Abyssinia (now Ethiopia), in 1869 that made him a minor celebrity.³²

By 1872, however, Noe would have begun hearing about the exploit that made Stanley a world-wide icon, recognizable even today. The *Herald* began inundating its readers with stories of the lost Dr. David Livingstone, a Scottish missionary-explorer in search of whom Stanley and more than two hundred porters were trekking into the center of Africa. When Stanley finally found him on the shores of Lake Tanganyika in November 1871 (the difficulties in transmitting news delayed widespread knowledge of the story until May 1872), he uttered what

became one of the most hackneyed phrases of all time: "Dr. Livingstone, I presume?"³³

At first, Noe must have enjoyed reading the sweeping condemnation the expedition received from much of the world's press, many editors of which took one look at the *Herald's* sensational style of journalism and concluded that Stanley must have invented the story. The English press was hottest of all, especially since the *Herald* had trumpeted the discovery of the Scottish Livingstone as a purely American triumph. But later, as the summer of 1872 wore on, evidence proving Stanley's feat poured in, and more and more editors swung over to the *Herald* and Stanley's side. While there is no way of knowing what Noe was doing in Sayville at the time, he must have spoken of his travels with Stanley repeatedly, until finally the Islip Town supervisor, John Wood, and a former supervisor-turned-postmaster, Charles Gillette, both Sayville residents, convinced Noe to write a letter. Everyone in New York knew that Charles Dana's *Sun* hated James Gordon Bennett's *Herald* with a passion, so it was a natural choice for Noe to write to Dana's scandal sheet to attack Bennett's man.

The letter

On 24 August 1872, Lewis H. Noe of Sayville became world famous. His letter, headlined "A Remarkable Story" and which he had written with his older sister Freelove, occupied nearly half the *Sun's* front page. It is this document that revealed for the first time Noe's adventures in Turkey with Stanley and Harlow Cook, showing the world what sort of man Henry Stanley was and casting serious doubt upon the veracity of Stanley's Livingstone triumph. From the day that letter appeared until the first snows fell in November, the name Lewis Noe would be on every American's lips, as nearly every newspaper in the nation picked up at least part of the story through the Associated Press. Reporters from the *London Telegraph* came to the Bay View House on Main Street to see Noe, as did a *Herald* reporter who disguised himself as the *Telegraph* man's stenographer to write a hatchet piece on both the Noe family and Sayville in general.³⁴ The Stanley-Noe-Livingstone Controversy, as it came to be called, became so famous that ignorance of it became a joke. It would be akin to a modern American professing no knowledge of a former football player named O. J. Simpson.

No newspaper served Sayville at the time (the *Patchogue Advance* began later that year), but the Babylon-based *South Side Signal*, edited by a John Livingston (no relation), quipped on 21 September 1872:

Conductor Lynch recently dined at the Eagle Hotel, Patchogue, and while conversing with a friend in relation to the Stanley-Noe-Livingstone controversy, allusion was made to the fact of the latter being lost. Opposite them sat a mild-looking person from Coram, who seemed much interested. Finally he interrupted the conversation by remarking: "Did you say Livingston was lost? That accounts, then, for my not getting the *Signal* last week. It never missed before!" For the first time in his life, Lynch had nothing to say.

Stanley exposed

For both Stanley and his employers at the *Herald*, Noe's revelations about Stanley's Welsh background were the worst of his allegations. That Stanley was a beastly scoundrel had rather backfired on Noe's initial calculations. Even Supervisor Wood changed his mind, according to a subsequent *Herald* article. The knowledge of Stanley's character "has had a different effect from what was first anticipated," Wood said. "A great many who did not believe in the truth of Stanley's story believe it now, from the fact that the character of him given by Noe proclaims him to be the very man who would be equal to any enterprise."

It is important to note that Noe never claimed that Stanley never saw Livingstone, only that if anyone could pull off as colossal a hoax, it would be Stanley. Everyone else missed this point and assumed that Noe had accused Stanley of inventing the entire expedition in search of Livingstone. Feeling as he did about Stanley, Noe probably intended his fine point to be missed in hopes of further tarnishing the explorer's reputation. On the other hand, Noe did expose Stanley as a Welshman, which was later confirmed by *Y Drych*, the leading Welsh newspaper in America, which had interviewed Stanley's mother and noted that Stanley's first language was Welsh, not English. This presented problems for both Stanley and his newspaper, as one of his biographers states: "This question of nationality mattered to the *Herald*, which, in the brashly chauvinistic spirit of the age, had been parading Stanley's discovery of Livingstone...as an All-American triumph."³⁶

The *Herald* vilified Noe, emphasizing his treatment in Turkey and the timing of his revelations, and branding him a mercenary out to make a quick heap of coin at Stanley's expense. A class element wormed its way into the controversy as well, as Stanley's wealthy friends' stories were taken much more seriously than the tales of a small-town blacksmith from Long Island.

As for Stanley, his only direct response to Noe's exposé of his Welsh background was a letter to Charles Olivant that found its way into the *London News*. Responding to a report that an old Welsh friend of his had exposed him, Stanley wrote the outrageously false lines:

I say I am an American, and can prove it by over ten thousand friends in the United States. The letter in *Rhyl Journal* is all bosh. I never knew a man named Davies, nor have I ever sang a Welsh song not knowing anything of the language. My name is neither Thomas, nor Rowlands, Smith, Jones, nor Robinson, but plain Henry M. Stanley. At 16 I was in Missouri, at 17 in Arkansas, at 18 in New Orleans...and so on.³⁷

Fact is, Stanley exclusively spoke Welsh until he was about ten years old, was really John Rowlands, and was never in Missouri.

Noe, who had nearly all of the Long Island and most of the New York papers behind him, responded in the *Sun* of 9 October with a 13-point list of accusations against Stanley, all of which have since been proven. Stanley never responded to

any of them. On the wider scene, however, Noe's allegations would not be taken seriously. His social status, strength of his claims, and timing of his letter just three days before Queen Victoria gave Stanley a jeweled snuff box, all served to rapidly turn Noe's fame into infamy. In an 1872 entry in her diary the Queen described Stanley "dismissively," as a "determined, ugly, little man—with a strong American twang." However, according to John Biermann, a Stanley biographer, she awarded him the Grand Cross of the Bath on her 1899 Honors List, "not the highest degree of knighthood," but one that "confirmed [his acceptance] into British society."³⁸

This, plus Noe's misfortunes in Turkey, combined to cement his utter hatred of Stanley, which surfaced later when Noe himself turned towards journalism. In the meantime, though, by late autumn the reporters had gone, Stanley had figuratively shot himself in the foot with a dreadful series of lectures at Steinway Hall in New York City, and life was returning to normal. On 11 November 1872, Mary Baker Noe gave birth to the couple's first child, Gracie.

Country correspondent

The birth of Gracie marked the beginning of the longest and last period of Noe's life, in which he settled down at his homestead on Foster Avenue, raised a family, and started a fifty-five-year journalism career that cemented his reputation as one of the most colorful characters ever to live in Sayville. Detailed evidence of Noe's life settles into the "Neighborhood News" sections of local newspapers after the national press had extracted as much as possible from both Noe and his erstwhile companion, Henry Morton Stanley, by the winter of 1872. Once they shifted to the next scandal, Noe was left with little more than a shattered reputation.

The influential daily newspapers of the nation and the world had treated Noe as a curiosity at best, and a malignant zephyr and liar at worst. Back home in Sayville, Noe had inadvertently brought a stream of bad press to the town, as the hacks from papers like the *New York Herald* who had skulked into Sayville under cover of darkness in order to defame Noe had included disparaging descriptions of his village, as well. Needless to say this did not help his standing with the neighbors. Nevertheless, Noe survived the episode and set to work, both at his father's blacksmithy and as a house and sign painter, a job he held until he retired well into the twentieth century.

Sometime after his proverbial fifteen minutes of press fame as Stanley's nemesis, Noe himself became interested in journalism, which, ironically, was Stanley's profession as well. Aside from his first writings in the press in summer and fall 1872, which were letters to the editor, Noe's first article appears in the *South Side Signal* on 23 August 1873. The twenty-four-year-old Noe wrote about two of his wife's brothers who had gone missing aboard their clam sloop bound for Newark, New Jersey, and were found when someone discovered their sloop stranded in Jones Inlet because of bad weather.

Noe wrote frequently in the *Signal*, the *Suffolk Citizen*, and the *Patchogue Advance* for the rest of his life, becoming the *Advance's* official Sayville

correspondent from the late 1880s to summer 1892. Shortly after his departure from the *Advance*, he somehow became the Sayville correspondent for the daily *Brooklyn Times*. It is possible his involvement with the Grand Army of the Republic, a Civil War veteran's organization that exerted significant influence for forty years after the end of the war, had something to do with his appointment.

Because he never closed his painting business, and fought bitterly to have his veteran's pension reinstated in the early 1900s, it is apparent that Noe never earned a living solely as a writer. Despite this, writing surely supplemented his income and gave him some faint taste of the adventure he longed for but could no longer experience, especially after the birth of his second daughter, Winnifred, in November 1879.

Noe's grandson, Charles "Chuck" Webber, who still lives in Sayville on Westgate Drive, remembers that Noe was a storyteller of the first magnitude, able to spin yarns and tell a once-true tale as "it ought to have been"—in other words, exaggerated. Pointedly, however, Webber said that during the last years of his life Noe never mentioned his travels with Stanley. But for both the *Advance* and the *Brooklyn Times*, Noe could milk a commonplace story for its most dramatic effect. For example, in the *Times* of 10 June 1898, Noe wrote about the local fruit dealer's encounter with a scorpion: "Mrs. DeBarbieri was waiting on a customer and was in the act of cutting a cluster of bananas from the large bunch that hung suspended from the ceiling, when with a scream she let go everything, crying, 'I am bitten.' Upon examination of the bunch of bananas a large scorpion was found nesting amidst the fruit." The story continues for several more paragraphs, describing every moment of the action and finishing with speculation about the possibility of a scorpion's living in Sayville. The scorpion story is all the more intriguing when one considers that the weekly *Suffolk County News*, Sayville's dominant paper, never printed a word on the matter. Noe and the *News* never liked each other; even when A. L. Cheney owned the paper, back in the 1880s, Noe's Sayville column in the *Advance* started a miniature press war. Later, when the Hoag family bought the *News* late in the 1800s, Noe's checkered past and probably some unknown slight led to a hatred that abated only a few times in the ensuing thirty years.

By the turn of the century, Noe had become quite the town eccentric. Nearly everyone in town knew about his adventures, both in the Civil War and in Turkey, and his writings in the *Advance* and the *Times* left no event in Sayville unrecorded. Noe's sense of humor certainly made his articles easier to read. Take the 26 July 1888 issue of the *Advance*: "I say! You *Advance* man can make an item out of nothing. Say that again. What for? I want to make an item out of it."

Noe and his family did leave Sayville once, from March 1881 to May 1882, moving to Arkansas to live with his brother William. Apparently life in the South did not work out, because the Noes returned to Sayville with little fanfare and settled right back into the old routine. He did add another piece to the colorful Noe puzzle, however, by lecturing about his "Arkansas Adventures" upon his return.

According to the *Advance*, Noe dubbed himself the "Arkansas and Asiatic Traveler" and lectured to a standing-room only crowd at the Oddfellows Hall in

February 1883. It is comforting to note that he did not suffer from the hubris of Henry Stanley, as he called his lecture, "Clippings from here and there, or out of the frying pan and into the fire." The *Advance's* Sayville correspondent noted that the evening was very funny. In the twilight of Noe's life during the 1920s, his grandson Webber, the son of Noe's third daughter Mary Lois (who was born in May 1898), remembers that Noe rode his bicycle all over town—he never learned to drive a car. Noe also had a fascination for fountain pens, buying new ones almost daily.⁴⁰

Noe continued to write articles from time to time well into the last years of his life, but his health deteriorated and he had to give up his painting business. Always religious, he became an active member of the Methodist Church as was his father, Thomas Jefferson Noe, until the latter's death in 1894. Many of Noe's articles describe Methodist functions or speeches, and his devotion to his parents was obvious by the number of items he wrote about them.

All things have an end, however, and just before Christmas 1930, Mary, Noe's wife of sixty-two years, died at the age of seventy-six. The shock felled an already ailing Noe, who declared to his family that he no longer wished to live. True to his word, Noe died shortly after his eighty-third birthday, fewer than three months after Mary's death, on 17 March 1931.

Noe wrote the following elegy for the death of a dear friend, but it applies equally to his own passing:

With silence as their only benediction,
God's angels come.
When in the shadow of a great affliction,
The soul sits dumb.
Still we would say, what every heart approveth,
Our Father's will
Calling to him the dear ones whom he loveth,
Is mercy still.
Not upon us or ours the solemn angel
Hath evil wrought;
The farewell anthem is a glad evangel,
The good die not!
God calls our loved ones, but we lose not wholly
What he has given;
They live on earth in thought and deed as truly
as in Heaven.⁴¹

In one lifetime, Lewis Noe threaded his way through so many of the nation's dramas that his life cannot be called ordinary. Even after his wild youth, he chronicled Sayville's comings and goings for various newspapers for forty-five years. Yet much of his day-to-day existence was indeed ordinary. He earned his living as a painter, lived his entire adult life in Sayville, married, raised three girls, and attended church every Sunday. A historian can recreate his humdrum existence with great detail, thanks to the local press, which are themselves integral

to a study of his life.

Noe's story is one of high adventure, fame, infamy, and danger. It is also that of a man who turned off the limelight and retired to at least a semi-normal existence. Why did this happen? What clues remain hidden that might reveal the change of heart Noe must have underwent? The answers touch larger issues that make his biography more than a simple narrative. As a country correspondent in a town where such luminaries as the Roosevelts and Vanderbilts vacationed, Noe had a unique vantage point from which to watch one of the most turbulent periods in American history. What is more, he wrote about what he saw day in and day out. The paradoxes and possibilities in such a life cry out for further study.

NOTES

1. Letter, *Patchogue Advance*, 22 March 1889.
2. Charles Dickerson, *A History of the Sayville Community* (East Patchogue: Searles Graphics, 1975), 32.
3. *Ibid.*, 21.
4. *Patchogue Advance*, 4 June 1892.
5. *Ibid.*, 22 August 1891.
6. *Ibid.*, 25 March 1893.
7. Much of Noe's military information can be found in both his pension files and in U.S. Navy records. His presence on the *North Carolina* is confirmed in a letter to the author from the National Archives and Records Administration, September 1997, providing specifics about his Navy service.
8. For the Battle of Fort Fisher, see Ivan Musicant, *Divided Waters* (New York: Harper-Collins, 1995) 414-29; *Brooklyn Eagle*, 10 October 1912.
9. When Dewey died in 1917, Noe wrote a little piece on a celebration for the admiral held in Sayville in 1900, at which Noe met Dewey again and probably had a short conversation with him. Noe wrote in the 17 January 1917 *Brooklyn Times* that he had "presided" over the ceremony, which he later corrected to "was present at," but the *Suffolk County News* editor, Francis Hoag (who hated Noe) took nearly half his front page to attack Noe several days later.
10. Much of the trip to Turkey was revealed in Noe, letter to the editor, *New York Sun*, 24 August 1872; Cmdr. M. C. Houck, Department of the Navy, Bureau of Personnel, to Radford Sprague, 23 March 1966. Sprague was a friend of Noe's grandson Chuck Webber and did some preliminary research on Noe.
11. *New York Sun*, 24 August 1872.
12. *Ibid.*
13. All of Stanley's biographers agree on this point. For a deeper look at Stanley's life see,

Richard Hall, *Stanley* (London: Collins 1974); Frank McLynn, *Stanley: The Making of an African Explorer* (London: Constable 1989); and John Biermann, *Dark Safari* (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press 1990).

14. This information comes from the online version of Frederick Dyer, *Compendium of the War of Rebellion* (Des Moines, Iowa: Dyer Publishing Company, 1908), which reports where every Union unit was on each day of the war. .

15. *Patchogue Advance*, 11 April 1890; Frederick Phisterer, *New York in the War of the Rebellion* (Albany, N. Y: State Publishing House, 1909), 279-81.

16. Lt. Col. Robert Scott, ed., *The War of Rebellion: A Compilation of Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office 1894), 1137-38.

17. *New York Sun*, 24 August 1872.

18. *Ibid.*.

19. Hall, 141

20. Again, all of Stanley's biographers agree on his disastrous love life, described in detail in McLynn, 22

21. McLynn, 52.

22 After his abandonment by Stanley and Noe in Turkey, Cook eventually took his \$600 court judgment and returned to Illinois, where he found work as the editor of a local newspaper (interview with Harlow Cook, *Chicago Times*, 31 August 1872)

23. *New York Sun*, 24 August 1872.

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*; H. M. Stanley, letter in *New York Herald*, 26 September 1872.

26. *New York Sun*, 24 August 1872.

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*; McLynn, 58.

29. Interviews with Joy Morris, *New York Herald* and *New York Sun*, early September 1872.

30. *New York Sun*, 24 August 1872.

31. Stanley to Noe, reprinted, *New York Sun*, 1 September 1872.

32. Stanley returned to the American West after the Turkish expedition, having built a reputation as an audacious journalist. In 1869 he convinced James Gordon Bennett of the *New York Herald* to buy dispatches he intended to write about a rebellion in Abyssinia, which the British were about to crush with a punitive expedition. By bribing the telegraph operator in Suez to send his dispatches before those of the English correspondents, plus the fact that the telegraph cable broke shortly after his articles were sent, Stanley ensured himself a scoop. Consequently, the *Herald* had the first dispatches in the world reporting the success of the

British expedition. In gratitude, Bennett immediately hired Stanley as a full-time foreign correspondent.

33. The greeting can be found either in Stanley's *How I Found Livingstone* (New York: Scribner's, 1872), or the *Herald*, 15 July 1872.

34. *New York Sun*, 24 August 1872; *New York Herald*, 29 August 1872.

35. *New York Herald*, 29 August 1872.

36. Biermann, 134.

37. Stanley's letter of 27 August 1872, reprinted, *New York Herald*, 29 August 1872.

38. *New York Sun*, 9 October 1872; McLynn, 219-20; Biernann, 132, 350.

39. *South Side Signal*, 23 August 1873. Unfortunately, the *Advance's* files from its inception in 1872 to 1877 are largely missing, making Noe's first appearance in the local press somewhat difficult to ascertain.

40. Author's interview with Chuck Webber, 1 August 1997.

41. *Patchogue Advance*, 15 May 1880.

“BARREN AND WASTE LAND”: LONG ISLANDERS AND THE PINE BARRENS

By Marsha L. Hamilton

We set out from this desolate place [Middle Island] at six o'clock and rid sixteen miles thro very barren and waste land. Here we passed thro a plain of six or eight miles long, where there was nothing but oak bushes two feet high, and thinly scattered over the plain were several old naked pines at about two or three hundred feet distance from one another....Some of the inhabitants here call this place the Desert of Arabia. It is very much infected with mosquitoes.¹

— Alexander Hamilton, 1744

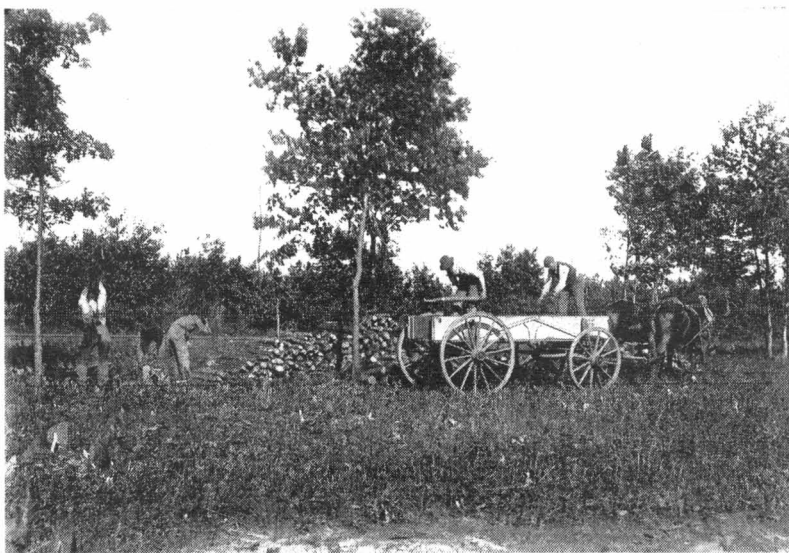
Alexander Hamilton's description of the Long Island pine barrens neatly describes the common view of the region in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Although the resources of the pine barrens had been used extensively for centuries by Native Americans and Europeans alike, the land was believed to be unproductive. This perception of the land was based on European cultural concepts that favored farm fields and pastures. The acidic, nutrient-poor soils of the pine barrens, however, produced a wealth of trees for construction and firewood, an abundance of wild berries harvested for the market, and in some areas, European agricultural crops.

This article discusses the pine barrens, the wooded portion of central and eastern Long Island, mostly in Suffolk County. The region contains many ecological communities, several of which can be considered “pine barrens” habitats based on the dominant plants and animals. These habitats can be an oak-dominated oak-pitch pine forest, a pine-dominated pitch pine-oak forest, pitch pine-oak heath woodlands, dwarf pine plains, or pitch pine-scrub oak barrens, differing from each other according to the proportions of trees, shrubs and other vegetation.² The plant communities within this ecosystem thrive on sandy, dry, acidic, nutrient-poor soils, and typically can withstand drought and frequent fires.

The constant interaction between humans and the environment shapes the natural community as well as human society, and so the pine barrens has played a major role in the social and economic development of Long Island.³ Human settlements form around the resources that nature provides. The availability of food, fuel, and shelter influences the ways that a society can develop. In turn, the presence of humans, notorious for altering their environment, changes the balance of species within an ecosystem. Therefore, as the ecological communities change,

so do the human communities dependent upon them. As economic and social needs change, different resources are extracted from nature, and the cycle continues. To complicate matters, earlier uses of the land continue to influence the composition of ecological communities, and thus the resources available, for as much as a century after land use has changed.⁴

A scientific debate over the ecological origins of the pine barrens rages which



Stacking a cord of wood, ca. 1890. Photograph, Fullerton Collection, Suffolk County Historical Society.

may affect future conservation efforts, as well as the way we view the history of the region. The two main arguments differ about the extent of human intervention in the formation of the pine barrens and the time frame for the expansion of this region. One argument contends that the pine barrens is an ancient, fire-dependent ecosystem that developed five thousand to eight thousand years ago in conjunction with frequent fires and poor soils. Proponents of this view hold that the geology of Long Island, along with fires caused by a relatively dense Native American population, created the pine barrens. Pollen studies have been used to document the presence of pitch pine-oak forests for many thousands of years in what are even today pine barrens habitats. In addition, analysis of the amount of charcoal present in core samples taken from southern New England and Long Island demonstrate the wide-spread use of fire before European settlement.⁵

Proponents of the alternative view believe that the pine barrens was largely created by the waste and mismanagement of the forests after European settlement. This argument holds that although pitch pine established itself on Long Island four thousand to eight thousand years ago when the climate was warmer than it is today, these trees were gradually replaced by hardwoods (oak, hickory, and chestnut) as the climate cooled to approximately its present temperature after 4,000 YBP ("years before present"). Pitch pine remained dominant in areas with poor soils and frequent disturbances, but the extent of the pine barrens could only have been maintained by fire. Based on certain anthropological studies which estimate a Native American population on Long Island of less than four thousand in the late sixteenth century (about three people per square mile), adherents of this view argue that pre-Contact Indians could not have caused the massive fires and other disturbances necessary to maintain a large pine barrens ecosystem. Only the increase in population after European settlement, the establishment of large-scale agriculture, the development of new technologies (such as railroads), and the perception of forest products as commodities could have created the disturbances that would allow the pitch pine-scrub oak forest to re-establish its dominance.⁶

This debate affects the conservation strategies advocated by scientists, particularly the use of fire as a management tool. Many ecologists believe that prescribed burns will help maintain a globally unique ecosystem, by clearing away the underbrush to allow shade-intolerant species such as pitch pine and scrub oak to propagate. Certain types of pine trees also need the heat of a fire to open their cones and release their seeds. Prescribed fires, in addition, reduce the amount of leaf litter and other debris on the forest floor. This fuel load contributes to the intensity and severity of wildland fires. A low/fuel load thus decreases the chance that a destructive fire will burn uncontrollably. Other ecologists argue that such fires demand too much human interference in the natural process of forest succession. Although agreeing with the need to reduce the fuel load to protect homes and human lives, they believe that if left alone, the pine barrens will become again a hardwood forest. Some areas will remain predominantly pitch pine and scrub oak because of the soils, but, proponents argue, natural processes should be allowed to occur with minimal human interference.

The debate over the origin of the pine barrens also affects the way we view the history of Long Island, and how we understand the relationship between Long

Islanders and the environment. By recognizing the cyclical nature of this relationship, we can understand not only how the pine barrens developed, but why earlier societies used and perceived the region as they did. If, for example, in the early 1600s Long Island was covered with a forest of hardwood trees, the perception of the area as an almost unlimited source of firewood is clear. This would explain the uninhibited extraction of cordwood. On the other hand, if the vegetation was composed of low, scrubby trees not valuable for firewood or construction, then the impulse to clear the area and make it productive (according to the standards of the time) is also understandable. The landscape encountered by early Europeans, of course, had already been altered by Native Americans. Historians must rely on anthropologists and ecologists to understand what Europeans found, and as we have seen, no definitive answer exists.

The growth of ecological (or environmental) history in the past two decades has influenced the way that historians have analyzed social and economic development. As one historian notes, "An ecological approach to history reasserts the idea of nature as historical actor." When development is seen as bounded by the environment, or in other words, as being limited by the geography, climate, and natural communities, the process becomes local, tied to the needs of a region and a population rather than governed by imperial or political concerns. Although the social and economic changes need to be placed in these larger contexts, the natural as well as the human environment are the driving forces behind economic development. Understanding the way that a society perceives, values, and uses non-human nature is the foundation for understanding development.⁷

The historian William Cronon makes a distinction between first nature, before humans, and second nature, the nature created by humans on top of first nature.⁸ The debate about the origin of the pine barrens is about first nature, the nature that existed before humans altered the environment, and the processes by which second nature developed. The historical narrative begins with second nature and the human activities that continue to affect the environment. But yet, the products (commodities) of second nature depend on first nature: the market for a product will only last as long as the resources exist. Second nature, then, is what is being conserved today. We cannot return to first nature, even by allowing natural processes to occur without interference. But, by exploring first nature, we can better understand the extent and effects of human activity.

These perceptions of nature and the uses of resources change over time, and this change is not always incremental. Carolyn Merchant calls these abrupt disruptions ecological revolutions, and defines them as, "major transformations in human relations with non-human nature." She discusses two such transformations in New England between 1600 and 1860, the first, a colonial revolution which occurred when Europeans settled in the region, and the second, a capitalist revolution, which occurred in the first half of the nineteenth century.⁹

The colonial transformation occurred because of the difference between the relationships Native American and European societies had with nature. Indian societies saw themselves on an equal footing with non-human nature. "Animals, plants, rocks were alive and could be communicated with directly." Christian Europeans took the Biblical injunction of dominion over the Earth literally, and

saw natural resources as objects that existed for human use. et even for Christians, nature still was a force with which to contend; nature was tied closely to human activity.¹⁰

Different concepts of property also influenced Native American and European relationships to the land. For Indians, private ownership was vested in usufruct rights—not in the land itself, but in the products harvested from the land for subsistence. Although kin groups had territorial rights over parcels of land, this lasted only as long as they used the territory. When depleted agricultural fields were abandoned, for example, the group did not retain exclusive rights to return to that piece of land. European property rights generally belonged to individuals in perpetuity for exclusive use and could be passed on to descendants. Thus Europeans bounded the land more rigidly than Native Americans, which led to the commodification of the land and its products.¹¹

The capitalist ecological transformation occurred when nature became mechanistic. After the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century, people began to understand natural processes as being governed by immutable laws. Nature lost its animate power and became a commodity. Natural resources were to be used, harvested or extracted for profit. This dissociation of human society from the natural world led to the increasing exploitation of the environment during the nineteenth century.¹²

The exclusive view of property developed along with a market economy in the early modern period, and led to a more intensive use of non-human nature. Communal control over woodlands and meadows declined, and common lands were increasingly sold or granted to inhabitants. In the Long Island pine barrens, the first and most important commodity of the capitalist ecological revolution was cordwood. In the seventeenth century, local governments seemed far more concerned with controlling the use of the fisheries and meadows rather than the forests. Although the towns of Oyster Bay and Huntington began regulating their woodlands in 1660 and 1668 respectively, the town of Brookhaven declared in 1684 that, in a recent division of land, "all timber and fire wood is free for any inhabitant until it be fenced in...." In the early eighteenth century, however, even Brookhaven Town had passed statutes restricting the use and sale of forest products.¹³

The cordwood trade became established in the eighteenth century, and by the early nineteenth century, it provided a ready source of income for farmers and laborers in Suffolk County. Landowners and merchants contracted individually with woodcutters, who were paid by the cord. Much of the wood was cut in the winter, when farmers and laborers had little other work and when the timber could be moved to Long Island Sound over the snow on sleds. The merchants would then contract with boat captains to take the wood to the best market they could find, usually New York City or the brick kilns of Connecticut or Haverstraw, New York. The sloops would be grounded on the shore when the tide ebbed and loaded quickly with wood (many boats carried only thirty to forty cords, while others could carry as much as 240 cords) to be ready to sail when the tide came in and floated the sloop again.¹⁴

The documentation for the industry remains scattered in account books and

informal notes in archives throughout Suffolk County, and so statistics on the cordwood trade are difficult to compile and verify.¹⁵ One figure that is frequently used to illustrate the extent of the trade claims that, in the 1810s, one hundred thousand cords of wood were exported from Brookhaven Town yearly. Yet the figure reported in the 1840 census for all of Suffolk County was just over sixty-six thousand. Even a cursory examination of local account books, however, will show that cordwood was an extremely active and important industry on Long Island in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries¹⁶

For example, a deed dated 28 October 1782 records the efforts of John Jackson, Matthias Nicoll, and Henry Nicoll to purchase a hundred-ton sloop to load with lumber and take to Jamaica Island to sell. Although the deed does not indicate where they obtained the wood, it probably came from Brookhaven Town.¹⁷ William Jayne of Setauket received a receipt on 24 January 1817 for the sale of sixty-four loads of wood in New York. Apparently this refers to boat loads, not cords. At fifteen cords per boat (the lowest estimate of carrying capacity found for a sloop), Jayne sold 960 cords in this transaction.¹⁸ In 1854, James Weeks sold 1,300 cords of wood from his land near Yaphank to the Long Island Railroad, while in 1857 his son William cut 1,043 cords from his north and south tracts (near Yaphank). On 24 December 1857, William Weeks recorded the sale of 1,318 cords of wood to the Long Island Rail Road alone.¹⁹

William Jayne was also involved in another practice common on Long Island, which was the sale of standing timber. Landowners sold the right to cut wood on certain tracts of land for specified periods of time. Whether the purchaser bought the timber rights for personal use or for the cordwood trade is rarely stated, but both purposes seem to have existed. Jayne sold timber rights on tracts ranging from two acres up to twenty-one acres in 1824.²⁰ The time allowed for removing the timber also varied from contract to contract, and may be indicative of the purpose of the purchase. In 1824, Bryant Davis bought timber rights from Samuel Bailey in northern Brookhaven Town and had six years to cut the wood. Yet in November 1829, the estate of Merritt Hawkins sold the rights to several woodlots, but placed a condition on the sale that purchasers had only until January 1831 to remove the wood.²¹

This emphasis on timber as a commodity changed not only the ecology of the pine barrens but also perceptions of the region. Trees became a more important commodity than the land itself, which led to the deforestation of huge tracts of woodland. The valuable oaks, chestnuts, pine, and locust quickly disappeared, which encouraged the shade-intolerant pitch pine and scrub oak to grow. The spread of these species, associated with xeric, nutrient-poor soil, led to the perception that the land was not suitable for agriculture. As Richard M. Bayles wrote in 1873:

Vast quantities of wood were converted into charcoal or sent to market as cordwood, and in this way the stately forest was mown down, and the same causes operating ever since have prevented it from rising again to its former magnitude and vigorous luxuriance. The timber-growth, its only valuable

product being thus destroyed or stunted, the land soon became overgrown with the native scrub-growth, and was abandoned to neglect and disrepute.²²

Although the cordwood industry decimated the hardwood forests, fire also played an important role in altering the pine barrens. Fire had long been used by Native Americans to clear agricultural land and to create different habitats within the forest to attract animals and facilitate hunting. The extent to which Long Island Indians used fire is still debated, but historians have documented this activity in southern New England extensively. The earliest European settlements in New England were located near agricultural fields abandoned by Native Americans whose villages had been destroyed by the introduction of European diseases. In addition, many early explorers and settlers commented on the abundance of cleared land and the forests free from underbrush, and described the methods Native Americans used to set the fires. Given the ties between the two regions, it seems likely that early Long Islanders also used fire to alter and control their environment.²³

As Native Americans became horticulturists around 1,000 to 3,000 YBP, they needed to clear small patches of land of one-half an acre to two acres. Burning the trees and underbrush was a labor-saving, convenient method of clearing the land which removed unwanted vegetation and killed destructive insects. The ashes also returned nutrients such as potassium to the soil. The young vegetation the following spring attracted deer and other game animals, making hunting easier and more efficient by concentrating the animals in one area.²⁴

Many scientists, however, do not believe that the Native American population on Long Island was large enough to create the massive disturbances that would radically alter the environment. Pre-Contact Native American use of fire seems to be an open question, but the fires documented after European settlement did cause great changes in the pine barrens. European-Americans also deliberately set fires to clear agricultural land, some of which burned out of control, but a major source for the worst fires was the Long Island Railroad.²⁵

Chartered in 1834, the railroad began as an express line connecting New York City to Boston. The Long Island Railroad ran to Greenport, where passengers boarded a ferry to Stonington, Connecticut. There they met another train bound for Boston. The railroad ran down the center of the island, away from population centers, since it was not intended to be a local link. In Suffolk County, the trains went through the heart of the pine barrens. Railroad officials saw this as a favorable route because the flat ground made construction easier and cheaper, and allowed the use of high-speed trains which ran up to thirty miles per hour. The fact that the scenery was "uninteresting" in the pine barrens was not a concern, since officials believed that travelers would not be able to see much of it at those speeds anyway.²⁶

By the time that the Brooklyn-to-Greenport route was completed in 1844, fires caused by sparks from the wood- and coal-burning locomotives had decimated woodlots, cordwood piles, and agricultural fields, all of which enraged the local population. Two fires, for example, on 29 April and 2 May 1845, caused

extensive damage in Moriches and St. George's Manor. Local farmers made claims against the railroad for damages, the settlement of which lasted at least into August 1846. In April 1846, farmer Ebenezer Dayton wrote to James H. Weeks, a railroad official, stating that he did not want the trains to run across his land that year because he had not been compensated for the damage caused previously. Dayton claimed that the dryness of the season left both his crops and his cordwood vulnerable to fire.²⁷

Problems like these led railroad officials to try a number of different methods to reduce the threat of fire and to speed up the arbitration of claims. As early as 1841, in an attempt to pacify residents, George B. Fisk, the president of the railroad, wrote letters to landowners about devices placed on smokestacks to catch sparks. Either the devices did not work as well as hoped, or the railroad decided not to install them after all. By November 1845, railroad officials had circulated a petition to create a firebreak to reduce the chance that trees and underbrush would spread a fire. Subscribers gave permission to the railroad to plow and clear up to twenty rods of land on either side of the tracks, and the agreement was to be maintained until April 1848. At the same time, in an effort to appease claimants, the railroad began appointing local landowners to special commissions to appraise fire damage and to decide on compensation for livestock killed on the tracks.²⁸

The fires caused extensive ecological damage to the pine barrens as well as financial problems for landowners. Pitch pines and scrub oaks grew quickly after a fire, crowding out the more economically-valuable trees. The destruction of the trees and ground cover resulted in the loss of many animals dependent on them for food and shelter. Although other species replaced those lost to the fires, the overall biological diversity may have been reduced. The combination of fires and over-cutting in the nineteenth century possibly increased the extent of the pine barrens, thus enhancing the perception of the region a wasteland, not capable of bearing agricultural products.

Much of Suffolk County, particularly along the shore, consists of soils suited for agriculture, and these areas have been extensively cultivated since the mid-seventeenth century. In fact, by the nineteenth century, Suffolk County had become one of the leading agricultural counties in New York State, as well as the primary exporter of cordwood. Soils in various parts of the Pine Barrens Preservation Area differ, with the best agricultural region concentrated in central Brookhaven Town, roughly west of a line from Wading River to the Brookhaven National Laboratory. A large patch of prime soils also exists in the Westhampton area.²⁹ Much of the land, therefore, in what is now the Pine Barrens Preservation Area and what was then considered scrub plains or pine plains, can be productively farmed. Throughout the nineteenth century, however, the perception of the pine barrens as "barren and waste" grew, even though parts of the region had been farmed for over one hundred years. Yet the label of wasteland tainted the entire region.

Many nineteenth-century developers, along with the Long Island Railroad, tried (and failed) to counter this view. One early attempt came from a physician in Smithtown. After moving from Brooklyn in 1841, Dr. Edgar Fenn Peck began examining the soils of the region and claimed that they were just as suitable for

cultivation as those along the shore. A few years later, Peck purchased land in the pine barrens near Brentwood for private investment, with the encouragement of George B. Fisk. Although this private venture failed, in 1848 Peck again tried to develop an agricultural settlement on a tract of land along the railroad near Lake Ronkonkoma. The Long Island Railroad agreed to support the settlement by carrying passengers and freight, and Peck began to work a small section of the land to offer proof of its agricultural potential.³⁰

The opening of the New York and New Haven Railroad in 1848 changed these plans, however. A railroad along coastal Connecticut had been thought impossible because of the many rivers, bays, and hills. However, this route was constructed only four years after the completion of the Long Island Railroad, and made the connection between New York and Boston far more convenient. By 1850 the railroad had been forced into receivership. The company refused to honor its agreement with Peck, and his Lakeland settlement also failed.³¹

Along with the railroad failure, Peck blamed local inhabitants for the difficulties he encountered in selling the land. Peck claimed that although "agricultural men" had examined the soil and found it arable, when prospective purchasers came to Lakeland, local residents, "swore it down, and insisted on and persisted in its utter worthlessness." This, he said, was a perception that still existed at the time of his letter (1873). The debate over the value of the pine barrens for agriculture continued throughout the mid-nineteenth century.³²

Peck's agricultural settlement was not the last attempt to stimulate agriculture in the pine barrens. Probably the best-known promotion was the Long Island Railroad's Experimental Stations at Wading River and Medford, run by Hal B. and Edith Loring Fullerton. The railroad needed to increase freight and passenger service in the 1910s and 1920s, and thus wanted to advertise both the agricultural productivity of Long Island and its recreational potential. The Fullertons passionately believed in the value of the land, and extolled its virtues by publishing books, photographs, magazine articles, and a journal, *The Long Island Agronomist*. Although an increase in railroad traffic cannot be correlated to the activities of the Fullertons, they left an invaluable photographic and documentary record of early twentieth-century Long Island.³³

Another interesting settlement was attempted in 1927, when developer Louis Fife bought a tract of land south of Coram. He marketed the land to black buyers from Harlem, the southern states, and the West Indies as a way to "return to the rural life they had known." Purchasers acquired enough land for a house and garden, and raised vegetables, chickens and larger stock. The inhabitants originally expected to raise enough produce to support themselves, but, after World War II, factory work began to replace market gardening.³⁴

These agricultural promotions attempted to stimulate market gardening rather than the extensive farming of the colonial period. Plots of five to ten acres generally were envisioned, enough land to raise vegetables and dairy products for the New York market. The Long Island Railroad ran special trains that left the east end of the island after midnight, made several stops to load freight, and arrived in the city in the early morning. Farmers could thus produce food for a wider market (intensive agriculture), and accumulate cash to purchase manufac-

tured goods. A significant part of this market came from wild berry harvesting. Like cordwood, berries provided extra income for farm families. Women and children picked berries under contract to local entrepreneurs. These men then collected the berries and shipped them to food wholesalers in New York City.³⁵

Berry harvesting also illustrated the incredible productivity of the pine barrens. Wild fruits and berries were widely dispersed—several bushes were required to produce what one cultivated bush can today. Yet in late July 1856, thirty to forty crates of blueberries left Port Jefferson each day (a crate contained twenty-four quarts). The trade in wild blackberries alone, which began in Selden in 1856, produced more than one hundred thousand quarts in 1858. The local trade in wild berries apparently declined in the late nineteenth century, possibly due to over-picking or the availability of larger, more flavorful berries from the Pennsylvania mountains.³⁶

Despite the proven productivity of the pine barrens, the perception of it as a waste land continued, leaving large tracts of undeveloped land still available in the early twentieth century. This land attracted companies that needed open space, such as the Radio Corporation of America, which purchased a large tract of land between Rocky Point and Quogue. The sandy soils enhanced radio reception and made an international communication system practical. Likewise, the Grumman Corporation came to Calverton to build its hangars and runways where few people would be disturbed. After World War II, when Suffolk County experienced explosive growth, suburban development rapidly encroached on these largely rural areas.³⁷

These undeveloped tracts also attracted the United States military. During the Spanish-American War, camps had been established on the Hempstead Plains (Camp Black) for convenient access to New York City, and Montauk (Camp Wikoff) as a quarantine center for troops returning from Cuba. When the United States entered World War I, however, the Army purchased nineteen thousand acres in central Brookhaven Town (near Yaphank) to build a camp that would house 40,000 men. A pamphlet published by Brookhaven National Lab claims that, "The completed camp doubled the population of Suffolk County." Interestingly, the construction report for the camp notes that crews uncovered the remains of a hardwood forest, where the stumps measured up to six feet in diameter and grew together so closely that a man could walk long distances stepping from stump to stump. The trees apparently had been harvested as cordwood during the previous century. This area is now predominantly an oak-pitch pine-hickory forest.³⁸

The region also grew as a resort area in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Contrary to the perception of the pine barrens land as unproductive, the air was believed to be extraordinarily healthful. Medical opinion in this period held that good air was conducive to good health. This was part of a trend in health care which emphasized the restorative effect of nature on both mind and body. Resorts took advantage of this to advertise not only the ocean breezes, but the fresh pine air. Sanatoriums also began to appear in the pine barrens, where it was believed that the combination of fresh pine air and farm work would facilitate the recovery of patients.³⁹

Development increased dramatically in the years after World War II. Improved

transportation on the Long Island Railroad and the construction of the Long Island Expressway between 1955 and 1972 extended suburbia into central Suffolk County. A market for pine barrens land did not exist until the 1960s, when housing developments began to appear. In fact, property in the Smithtown pine barrens sold for only twenty-five to fifty dollars per acre in the late 1950s.⁴⁰

In the last twenty to thirty years, Americans have begun to realize that as we shape the natural world, it shapes us. We must live within certain boundaries set by the environment or risk destroying our society. Water and air cannot be polluted endlessly with industrial and agricultural wastes without impairing the health of human and natural communities alike. As part of this trend, Long Islanders have supported the conservation of the remaining portions of the pine barrens in an effort to maintain the balance between economic development and the natural environment.

In July 1993, the New York State Legislature approved the Long Island Pine Barrens Protection Act. This act set aside almost one hundred thousand acres of pine barrens land, and created the third- largest forest preserve in the state, after parks in the Adirodacks and Catskills. Of this land, almost fifty-five thousand acres contain watersheds and fragile habitats, and is designated as the Core Preservation Area. Most of this land is under public ownership. Development in the remaining forty-five thousand acres will be managed by the Central Pine Barrens Joint Planning and Policy Commission. Much of this area is privately-owned, and so the Commission has developed a comprehensive land use plan which was accepted by all parties in 1995.⁴¹

And so our perception of the pine barrens has changed once again. Its valuable resources have narrowed to one—water. The protection of the aquifers has become a primary concern. Thus, although most residents no longer depend on the pine barrens economically, the area is seen as necessary to maintain a certain quality of life. This perceptual shift can be seen in new products on the market, such as bottled water, where the exploitation of the pine barrens plays upon the idea of a pristine wilderness. Yet this wilderness has been extensively changed by humans. Whether the pine barrens developed as a result of Native American fires or by European-American mismanagement, humans have shaped the pine barrens. The pine barrens, in turn, by setting boundaries on human activity, have shaped the Long Island community.

NOTES

The research for this article was completed for an exhibit of the same title, at the Suffolk County Historical Society, which will remain open through 31 December 1998. The Historical Society is located at 300 West Main Street, Riverhead; hours are 12:30 to 4:30, Tuesday through Saturday.

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I thank the Suffolk County Historical Society for permission to use the research material for this article, and also acknowledge Margery Oldfield, John Black, Marilyn Jordan, and Ray Welch for their help in clarifying the ecological issues raised. Any errors, of course, remain my own.

1. Alexander Hamilton, *Gentleman's Progress: The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton*, ed. Carl Bridenbaugh (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1948).

2. Carol Reschke, *Ecological Communities of New York State*, New York Natural Heritage Program (Latham, NY: Department of Environmental Conservation, 1990).

3. For example, see Carolyn Merchant, *Ecological Revolutions: Nature, Gender and Science in New England* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1989), 8; William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983): 13.

4. Glenn Motzkin et al., "Controlling Site to Evaluate History: Vegetation Patterns of a New England Sand Plain," *Ecological Monographs* 66 (3, 1996): 345-65, discusses the relationship between previous land use and modern ecosystems.

5. Ray Welch, "'Ancient Flame': Fire, History, and the Long Island Pine Barrens," *Long Island Botanical Society Newsletter*, July-Aug. 1996, 25-28.

6. John Black, "Origin of the Long Island Pine Barrens: An Alternative View," *ibid.*, 23-25.

7. Merchant, 7.

8. William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991), xvii.

9. Merchant, 2-3 (quotation 2).

10. *Ibid.*, 23.

11. John A. Strong, *Algonquian Peoples of Long Island from Earliest Times to 1700* (Interlaken, NY: Empire State Books, 1997, prepared under the auspices of Hofstra University), 153; see also Cronon, *Changes*, 20-23.

12. Merchant, 23.

13. Harriet G. Valentine and Andrus T. Valentine, *An Island's People: "One Foot In the Sea, One on Shore"* (Huntington: the authors, 1976), 107; Town of Brookhaven, *Records of the Town of Brookhaven*, 3 vols. (New York: Town of Brookhaven, 1932) *passim.*, quotation 1:6.

14. For the cordwood trade see articles by Thomas R. Bayles: "The Old Cordwood Industry," *Long Island Forum* 9 (July 1946): 129-39; "Cordwood Industry Once Flourished Here," *Patchogue Advance*, 8 Jan. 1948; and "Timber Made Big Industry," *Patchogue Advance*, 8 May 1954. For an example of a contract between a landowner and a sloop captain, see Weeks Family Papers, Queens Borough Public Library, Jamaica, New York (contract between James H. Weeks and the *Rumsey Rose*, 29 Mar. 1830).

15. For examples, see Account Books Collection and Weeks Collection, Suffolk County Historical Society, and Lawrence Collection, Strong Collection, and Account Books Collection, Three Village Historical Society, Setauket.

16. A cord is four feet high by four feet wide by eight feet long. On Long Island, individual logs generally measured three feet long. The earliest source for my 100,000-cord figure is Edwin Adkins, *Setauket: The First Three Hundred Years* (New York: David McKay, 1955): 77; according to a footnote on 102, "Much of the data on industry and commerce in Setauket during the nineteenth century is based on research completed by Daniel J. Kelly, graduate student in history, New York State College for Teachers, Albany, New York." I have not been able to find the original research, for the 1840 census figure, see Nathaniel S. Prime, *A History of Long Island from Its First Settlement by Europeans to the Year 1845* (New York: Robert Carter, 1845): 1:123.

17. Deed, John Jackson, Henry Nicoll, and Matthias Nicoll, 28 Oct. 1782, Lawrence Collection, Three Village Historical Society; most papers in this collection are associated with land in Brookhaven Town.

18. Receipt, 24 Jan. 1817, "William Jaynes, Wood sold in N. York," Jayne Family Papers, Queens Borough Public Library.

19. Contract, James H. Weeks with the Long Island Railroad, 7 July 1854, and William Weeks's notebook, "Measurement of Cord Wood Sold to the Long Island Railroad Company," Weeks Family Papers, Queens Borough Public Library; these account books rarely record the number of acres in each tract where wood was cut, but Carolyn Merchant estimates twenty-five cords per acre for New England (157).

20. William Jayne, "Accounts of the Sales on Halsey's Manor," 27 May 1824, Jayne Family Papers, Queens Borough Public Library. Historians estimate household wood use at thirty to forty cords per year; if one can cut twenty-five cords per acre, a two-acre tract would be suitable for household use for one year; for wood estimates, see Merchant, 157, and Cronon, *Changes*, 120.

21. Deed, 20 Mar. 1824, Samuel Bailey to Bryant Davis, and Estate of Merritt Hawkins 11 Nov. 1829, John Mowbray Williamson Collection, Queens Borough Public Library.

22. Richard M. Bayles, *Historical and Descriptive Sketches of Suffolk County, with a Historical Outline of Long Island* (Port Jefferson: Richard M. Bayles, 1874), 202.

23. Cronon, *Changes*, 49-50; for first-hand accounts see Thomas Morton, *New English Canaan*, ed. Charles Francis Adams, Jr. (Boston: Prince Society, 1883), and William Wood, *New England's Prospect* (Boston: Prince Society, 1865).

24. Merchant, 155.

25. For burning by settlers to clear land, see *Historical Report of the Class of 1844, from 1844-1864*, Second Decennial Reunion at Yale College, 1864, William J. Weeks biography, copy on file at Yaphank Historical Society, Yaphank, and "The Fire in the Woods," *Sag Harbor Express*, 11 Aug. 1870.

26. George B. Fisk to Selah B. Strong, 16 Feb. 1841, Strong Collection, Three Village Historical Society; for a brief description of the early years of the railroad, see Roger Wunderlich, *Low Living and High Thinking at Modern Times, New York* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse Univ. Press, 1992), 12-15.

27. Meeting notices to discuss claims, 17 Mar. and 8 Aug. 1846, and Ebenezer Dayton to James H. Weeks, 24 April 1846, Weeks Papers, Suffolk County Historical Society.

28. George B. Fisk to Selah B. Strong, 16 Feb. 1841, Strong Collection, Three Village

Historical Society, and petition for firebreak, 1 Nov. 1845, Weeks Family Papers, Queens Borough Public Library; James H. Weeks to James Nostrand, 1 Sept. 1846 and Resolution, n.d., Weeks Collection, Suffolk County Historical Society.

29. "Long Island Pine Barrens Prime Farm Soils," draft map on file, Suffolk County Planning Department, Hauppauge.

30. Edgar F. Peck to R. M. Bayles, "A Short History of Lakeland," 8 Oct. 1873, Bayles, i-ix.

31. Peck, "Short History of Lakeland"; see also Wunderlich, 6-15, and Zachary N. Studenroth, "Lake Ronkonkoma Farms and the Taming of Long Island's 'Wild Lands,'" in Joann P. Krieg, ed., *Long Island Architecture*, Long Island Studies Institute (Interlaken, NY: Heart of the Lake Publishing, 1991), 81-87.

32. Peck, "Short History of Lakeland," quotation vii; for dismissive accounts see Prime, 18-20, Benjamin F. Thompson, *History of Long Island from Its Discovery and Settlement to the Present Time* (New York: E. French, 1839), 29, and Timothy Dwight, *Travels In New-England and New-York*, 4 vols. (New Haven, Conn.: the author [posthumous] 1822) 3: 302, 320-21. For a more positive view, see Richard M. Bayles, 202-3, 206-7, and John A. Dix, "Agriculture of New York," in *Speeches and Occasional Addresses by John A. Dix* (New York: D. Appleton, 1864), 360-82.

33. Charles L. Sachs, *The Blessed Isle: Hal B. Fullerton and His Image of Long Island, 1897-1927*, Long Island Studies Institute (Interlaken, NY: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1991); and Eleanor F. Ferguson, *As I Remember It* (privately printed, 1978); see also Natalie A. Naylor, review of Anne Nauman, *The Junior Partner: Edith Loring Fullerton, Long Island Pioneer*, in this issue of the *LHJ*...

34. For Louis Fife, see Gordon Heights file, Bayles Collection, Longwood Public Library, Middle Island; quotation from "Gordon Heights At 60," *Mid-Island News* (Centereach), 26 Feb. 1987.

35. Railroad circulars (advertising new train schedules for farmers), berry contracts (outlining the responsibilities of pickers), and correspondence (between entrepreneurs and wholesalers), Jacob Longbothom Collection, Queens Borough Public Library. Extensive farming refers to the production of many crops for local needs, intensive farming to production of a few crops for the market (see Merchant).

36. Accounts for berry sales, 26 July 1856, and railroad circulars, Jacob Longbothom Collection, Queens Borough Public Library.

37. Clarence Weston Hansell Collection, Special Collections, Frank Melville Jr. Memorial Library, USB; author's interview with Patricia Sisler and Robert Sisler, Port Jefferson, 17 Jan. 1997, and telephone interviews with Grumman History Center, Bethpage, 15 Nov. 1997, and Ralph Williams, Orient, 5 Dec. 1997.

38. "Camp Upton," Brookhaven National Laboratory; Albert Coyne, "Magic City For 40,000 Went Up In Five Months," *Trench and Camp*, Camp Upton, August 1919; O'K. Meyers, "Report on the Construction of Camp Upton," 15 Jan. 1918, typescript on file (Camp Upton), Suffolk County Historical Society; for Camp Wikoff, see the first three articles in this issue of the *LHJ*..

39. Kenneth Hawkins, "The Therapeutic Landscape: Nature, Architecture, and Mind in Nineteenth-Century America" (Ph. D. diss., University of Rochester, 1991); *Ross Health Sanatorium*, n.d., William R. Ross file, Brentwood Public Library, Brentwood; Verne Dyson,

A Century of Brentwood (Brentwood: Brentwood Village Press, 1950); Dyson, *The History of Central Islip* (Brentwood: Brentwood Village Press, 1954).

40. Author's interview (telephone) with Lee E. Koppelman, 25 Aug. 1997.

41. Fact Sheet prepared by Long Island Pine Barrens Society, c. 1994, and "Comprehensive Management Plan" approved Apr. 1995 by Central Pine Barrens Joint Planning and Policy Commission, copies on file at Suffolk County Historical Society.

SECONDARY SCHOOL ESSAY CONTEST

Last fall we published three of the five winning essays in the contest for high school students we sponsor together with the SUNY at Stony Brook Center for Excellence and Innovation in Education, Dr. Eli Seifman, director. We are pleased to present the two remaining papers, each an outstanding study of "Long Island as America," indicative of the high quality of scholarship fostered by the Island's Social Studies Departments.

HOW SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE AFFECTS CHILDREN ON LONG ISLAND

By: Kimberly Horoski

Patchogue-Medford High School: faculty advisor Michael Pawluk:

I cannot help wondering if the founding fathers, authors of the Constitution of the United States, could ever have imagined the challenge, personal tumult, and controversy this document would create for "We the People." Given the content of the Constitution, conflict was inevitable, and although amended many times, it remains a steadfast blueprint. Although the framers created the Constitution and Bill of Rights to serve present and future generations of Americans, they were clear and unmovable on the issue of separation of church and state.

During the last hundred years, this principle has been tested in more than thirty cases heard by the United States Supreme Court. The majority of these cases did not originate in the state of New York, yet their outcomes strongly influence Long Island students and other school-age children throughout the country. An example is *Everson v. Board of Education* (1946-1947), a case contesting a New Jersey law that granted an allotment for children's school transportation by means of public transport, with reimbursement usually taking the form of bus or train passes. Because the same privilege was extended to students of Roman Catholic schools, the law was challenged on the grounds that free transportation to parochial schools violated the principle of separation of church and state. The divided Court ruled that as school transportation was a separate issue from religious-based education, the law did not violate the Constitution.¹

Soon after this decision, another challenge was posed in *McCollum v. Board of Education Dist. 71* (1947-1948), concerning religious instruction to Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant children in a public school building during school time. The practice was voluntary, with students not wishing to participate required to attend regular classes in another part of the building. The outcome in this case was

clear cut—the Supreme Court stated that this action of offering religious instruction in a public school was “beyond question a utilization of the tax-established and tax-supported public school system to aid religious groups and to spread the faith,” and thereby in direct opposition of the principle of separation of church and state.²

The next case, *Abington Township v. Schempp* (1963), deals with Bible study in public schools. Students of the Abington, Pennsylvania, district were required to read ten Bible verses and commit them to memory. The only way a student could be exempt from Bible study was to bring a note from his or her parents. When the law was challenged, the Supreme Court found the practice in violation of the free exercise clause of the First Amendment, and further ruled that, although parental involvement could excuse their child from religious study, the public school violated separation of church and state by conducting Bible study as part of its curriculum.³

Sometimes more than one state challenged the separation principle, with the cases heard concurrently. Three 1971 cases, *Lemon v. Kurtzman*, *Early v. DiCenso*, and *Robinson v. DiCenso* involved Rhode Island and Pennsylvania. Both of these states passed statutes offering financial support for teachers' salaries, textbooks, and any other classroom instructional materials both to secular and religious schools. As each of these statutes made funds available to religious educational institutions, the Supreme Court found them in violation of separation of church and state, thus finding this act unconstitutional. For statutes to retain their constitutionality, the monies provided must be used for secular education only.⁴

The next case, *Edwards v. Aguillard* (1986-1987), involved the same issue as the famous 1925 Scopes trial, in Tennessee, which concerned the teaching of evolution in public schools. A Louisiana law, the *Balanced Treatment for Creation-Science and Evolution-Science in Public School Instruction Act*, stated that teachers were not allowed to teach evolution-science unless they also taught the biblical belief (creation-science) afterward. The Supreme Court struck down this Louisiana law for containing three major violations of the Constitution. First, the law was not based in civil or public rights and reasoning; second, it gave credence to the belief that a supernatural being created humankind; and, finally, enforcement of the law was financially dependant upon the government of Louisiana to achieve its religious purpose.⁵ *Allegheny v. American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)* (1989) dealt with public displays of religious beliefs, with a nativity scene inside a courthouse and a menorah outside a county building. The Court ruled that the nativity scene went against the First Amendment because it contained the religious proclamation, “Glory to God for the birth of Jesus Christ.” On the other hand, the menorah was allowed to remain because it did not display, or make, a direct religious reference.⁶

In *Church of the Lukumi Babalu Aye v. Hialeah* (1992-1993), a case that had nothing to do with Christianity or Judaism, an African American church that performed animal slaughter and sacrifice challenged a Hialeah, Florida, ordinance that halted that church's exemptions for state-licensed activities. The Supreme

Court ruled against the state of Florida, declaring it had no right to pass an ordinance that cited this church exclusively, a procedure that violated the constitutional right of the members to worship. This case bears further witness to maintaining a balance between religious and secular constitutional rights.⁷

A Minnesota law regulating vendors at the annual state fair was the catalyst for *Heffron v. International Society for Krishna Consciousness* (1981). The law restricted vendors selling merchandise or dispensing literature to conduct business from an assigned area, forbidding them to walk through the fair to hawk or distribute their wares. The Society of Krishnas challenged this new rule, explaining that the actions of the state government denied its freedom of religious expression. The Supreme Court upheld the state law, pointing out that it singled out no particular group, religious or secular, and did not deter the society's religious freedom and beliefs.⁸

In an unusual case, which pitted a government organization against the Supreme Court, *Goldman v. Weinberger* (1986) involved an Orthodox rabbi who also was a commissioned officer in the United States Air Force. When in uniform or on duty, he was not permitted to wear his yarmulke; an Air Force rule prohibited wearing headgear indoors except by armed, security police. The Supreme Court disagreed with Rabbi Goldman, stating that the Air Force rule did not affront his religious constitutional right. In 1987, however, the law was reversed, allowing religious apparel to be worn in a conservative fashion.⁹

The following cases cited all were based in New York State. *Zorach v. Clauson* (1952), a New York City case, permitted public school students to leave class, if desired, to participate in religious instruction away from public school grounds. The Supreme Court agreed that willing students could participate in religious instruction if public places were not used.¹⁰

Engel v. Vitale (1962), one of the most significant Supreme Court cases involving religious freedom, and one that is linked to Long Island, involved the Herricks School District, in Nassau County. This landmark case challenged the voluntary prayer put into effect for daily recitation in public schools by the New York State Board of Regents: "Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee, and beg Thy blessings upon us, our teachers, and our country." The Supreme Court ruled that praying violated the Constitution, because by offering prayer in public schools, New York State appeared to approve religion. Public schools, maintained by public taxes and funding, could not take a religious stance, no matter how minimal. Justice Hugo Black sided with one of the plaintiffs, a parent named Steven Engel, his decision clearly based on the establishment clause of the First Amendment and an expression often used by the framers of the Constitution: "Religion is too personal, too sacred, too holy, to permit its 'unhallowed perversion' by a civil magistrate." *Engel v. Vitale*, which rendered it virtuously impossible for any public school to have prayers recited in school time, took the country by storm; soon enough, the whole public school system of the United States practiced separation of church and state.¹¹

Frederick Walz, of Richmond County, New York, filed a suit known as *Walz v. Tax Commission of the City of New York* (1969-1970). Walz, who owned real

estate in the county, challenged the Supreme Court regarding exempting churches from payment of property taxes. He felt he was being forced to pay real estate taxes and, thus, indirectly contributing to exempted churches. The Supreme Court, however, decided that no violation existed, as a real-estate tax exemption was open to all recognized religious groups. Further, the court noted that "benevolent neutrality" toward churches and religion was "deeply embedded in the fabric of our national life."¹²

The next case, *Aguilar v. Felton* (1984-1985), involved Title One funding, which generally is channeled to poor children with little or no educational background. New York State began giving some of these funds to teachers in parochial schools, which, however, did not allow public school teachers to teach in them. When the case reached the Supreme Court, it was decided that this disbursement of funds was unconstitutional. The Court, aware of good intentions, agreed that government money was marked for public use, but that New York had misdirected Title One funding within those guidelines. This decision recently was overturned by *Agostini v. Felton* (1997), which decided that there were no concrete findings that public school teachers' providing services to parochial schools would lead to state-sponsored religion. New-York-State-funded programs would not offer financial or other incentives to parochial schools to attract public school teachers.¹³

Another Long Island case, *Lamb's Chapel v. Center Moriches School District* (1993), challenged a New York State law that all schools had to regulate their property for after-school use. The Center Moriches School District would not allow a nearby chapel to host movies at the school during off hours, because the films had religious orientations. When this was taken to the Supreme Court, the Court unanimously held that the school district was wrong in not allowing the chapel to show religious-orientated movies *after* public school hours.¹⁴

In conclusion, all of these cases were argued and decisions were reached that best served the principle of separation of church and state. Now, as when the Constitution was introduced, this principle remains one that will inspire a plethora of cases in the coming millennium, testing the boundaries of religious rights and freedoms versus state involvement and responsibility. The circumstances and situations that give rise to issues of separation give ample reasons for the necessity to separate religion from government, whether local, state, or national.

NOTES

1. *Everson v. Board of Education* (New Jersey: U.S. Supreme Court, 1947, 330 U.S. 1, No.52).

2. *McCollum v. Board of Education Dist. 71* (Illinois: U.S. Supreme Court, 1948, 333 U.S. 203, No.90).

3. *Abington Township v. Schempp* (Pennsylvania: U.S. Supreme Court, 1963, 374 U.S. 203, No. 90).

4. *Lemon v. Kurtzman; Early v. DiCenso; Robinson v. DiCenso* (Pennsylvania/Rhode Island: U.S. Supreme Court, 1971, 403 U.S. 602, No. 89).
5. *Edwards v. Aguillard* (Louisiana: U.S. Supreme Court, 1987, 482 U.S. 578, No. 85-113).
6. *Allegheny v. ACLU* (Pennsylvania: U.S. Supreme Court, 1989, 492 U.S. 573, No. 87-2050).
7. *Church of the Lukumi Babalu Aye v. Hialeah* (Florida: U.S. Supreme Court, 1993, 508 U.S. 520, No. 91-948).
8. *Heffron v. Int. Society for Krishna Consciousness* (Minnesota: U.S. Supreme Court, 1981, 452 U.S. 640, No. 80-795).
9. *Goldman v. Weinberger* (U.S.: U.S. Supreme Court, 1986, 475 U.S. 503, No. 84-1097).
10. *Zorach v. Clauson* (New York: U.S. Supreme Court, 1952, 343 U.S. 306, No. 431).
11. Richard E. Morgan, *The Supreme Court and Religion* (1972), 131-36, quotation, 131; *Engel v. Vitale* (New York: U.S. Supreme Court, 1962, 370 U.S. 421, No. 468)
12. *Walz v. Tax Commission of the City of New York* (New York: U.S. Supreme Court, 1970, 397 U.S. 664, No. 135}.
13. *Aguilar v. Felton* (New York: U.S. Supreme Court, 1985, 473 U.S. 402, No. 84-237); *Agostini v. Felton* (New York: U.S. Supreme Court, 1997, No. 96-552).
14. *Lamb's Chapel v. Center Moriches School District* (New York: U.S. Supreme Court, 1993, 508 U.S. 385, No. 91-2024).

BLOCKER v. MANHASSET BOARD OF EDUCATION (1964): LONG ISLAND'S FIRST CHALLENGE TO PUBLIC SCHOOL SEGREGATION

By Kimberly Mockler

Paul D Schreiber High School: faculty advisor, John J. Cahill

With only one black member elected in its history, Hempstead Town has excluded African-Americans from its government. During February 1997 it was established that the town must come up with a plan to eliminate racial discrimination. It was suggested that six geographic voting districts be created so that Hempstead Town would no longer violate the Voting Rights Act. U. S. District Court Judge John Gleeson concluded that although African-Americans have no right to be protected from defeat at the polls, they do have a right to be given a fair chance. "We destroyed the myth that this was not racial discrimination," said the attorney for the plaintiffs, Fred Brewington.¹

Conflicts as a result of racial differences did not begin recently. One such conflict began in 1963 in a quiet town on Long Island, when the Valley Elementary School, in Manhasset, became the subject of court action in *Blocker vs. Board of Education of Manhasset, New York*. Ralph Blocker was a minor who attended the Valley School. With approximately a 94 percent black population (enrollment as of 1 October 1962 was 166 children, ten of which were white), the school was considered damaging to the education of the children who attended school there. Blocker's guardians, Mr. and Mrs Albert W. Knox, felt that Ralph and his classmates were receiving an inferior education.²

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which had been directing most of its efforts towards integrating northern schools, charged the Manhasset school system with de facto segregation. This type of segregation occurs when housing patterns establish black ghettos resulting in Jim Crow ("separate, but equal") schools.

All black children in Manhasset attended the Valley school, along with a small minority of white children, while the Plandome Road and Munsey Park schools were exclusively white (the 1 October 1962 enrollment was 600 at Plandome Road, 574 in Munsey Park).³ Integration began at the junior high level, which many people believed was too late.

The NAACP believed that the absence of white children actually hurt black children because of a dearth of ambitious, competitive students for them to compete with and copy. The New York State Board of Regents stated that by enrolling students of largely the same ethnic origin, schools might damage the personalities of minority children, decreasing their motivation and impairing their

ability to learn. In the Board of Regents' opinion, integration would be wasteful because the black students would feel inferior. This would result in a higher rate of high school drop-outs among black students. In January 1962, the NAACP petitioned the school board to integrate the school system and close the Valley School. It followed up the petition in March, filing suit against the school board on charges of de facto segregation.⁵

On 30 April 1963, the trial opened in Brooklyn, with the NAACP charging the Manhasset Public School System of "maintaining and operating a racially segregated school system in violation of the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution." It asked the court to demand that the district desegregate its elementary schools. School officials admitted that there was de facto segregation, but said that it came about as a result of housing patterns. Raymond L. Collins, superintendent of schools, stated that the educational level of Valley School students was two to three grades below that of students in the two other Manhasset elementary schools, and one grade below the national norm. Robert L. Carter, the NAACP's chief counsel, argued that "segregation in the school district is causing the Negro student to receive an inferior education." On Friday, 3 May 1963, Judge Joseph C. Zavatt visited all three elementary schools to examine their facilities and appraise the situation that led to the NAACP segregation suit.⁶

The principal of the Valley School, Oliver Ramsey, said that the students in his school "showed poor educational achievement because of lower intellectual level." A psychologist, Professor Edmund Gordon of Yeshiva University and Albert Einstein School of Medicine, told the court that Valley School students "were not measuring up to their abilities." Gordon measured both their IQ's and their achievements, and found that they were "lagging far behind what should be expected" and "were not achieving educational levels consistent with their intelligence." Results of identical testing at the other two schools and the Valley School indicated that Valley pupils were not working up to their full potential. Gordon's statements were directly opposite to those made by Collins.⁷

Taking students with IQ's ranging from ninety to 110, Gordon looked at their achievement tests to see if they were achieving at their intelligence level. On a test of word meaning, "91 percent of the Valley sixth graders failed to make scores consistent with their intelligence. Only 13 percent of the Munsey Park School and 17 percent of the Plandome Road School failed to make scores consistent with their intelligence." Mrs. Dan Brock, the school board president, stated that the facilities at the Valley School "were equal or better than those at the Munsey Park or Plandome Schools." The NAACP believed that the black student "needs the exposure and challenge of the white child who has the superior environmental background to perform up to his potential." The school stated that programs were the same at all of the three elementary schools.⁸

In the second week of the trial, Dr. Judson T. Shaplin, acting dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Education, testified that the Valley School should be "shut down" because it was segregated, administratively inefficient, and too costly to operate. He also would like to see the Princeton Plan be put into effect in the Manhasset elementary schools to solve the segregation situation. This plan would assign pupils to schools by grades rather than neighborhoods, dividing pupils of

the three elementary grades among the three elementary schools. He proposed that the Valley School be used for kindergarten through second grade, with the Munsey Park and Plandome Road schools handling the third to the sixth grades. Third and fourth grades would be in one, and fifth and sixth grade in the other.

Shaplin took the stand and stated that, in his opinion, the Valley School was a neighborhood school, but the other two elementary schools were not because students commuted by bus. He also stated that the phrase "neighborhood school" was "nothing more than a polite way of characterizing northern segregation." He suggested that the Valley School "could be shut down and no one would miss it," and that the black children "would realize enormous benefits if integrated into the two all-white Manhasset elementary schools." Shaplin argued that the black student, if placed in a white school "would bring home his experiences," and thus alter his home environment." Samuel Lane, the school board attorney, said that an inferior achievement level was not due to inferior schooling, but rather to a lower socio-economic background. In Lane's opinion, the Princeton Plan would not eliminate a division of children. A separation would still occur in graded classes as the natural result of the differences in their IQ's. Black children would still be together most of the time.⁹

Professor of Psychology at City College and Director of the North Side Center on Child Development, a psychological research center in New York City, Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, labeled Manhasset's Valley area "a virtual concentration camp where its people are not free." He declared that it was the responsibility of the board of education to integrate its elementary schools "to protect" all children, black and white." He said that black children "are harmed" by attending a predominantly black school, and the board should "break up" such a school even though black parents did not request such a change, or even opposed it. Clark said that the children of the Valley were "literally imprisoned [with] no upward mobility," and that neither the children nor the parents "have a choice." When Lane answered that the children do have a choice, "they could go to St Mary's," Clark said that "perhaps they are not of the Catholic faith."¹⁰

Judge Zavatt asked Clark if his opinions would apply to a school with a majority of Jews, Italians, or Poles. Dr. Clark answered "Yes," but mentioned that these groups have a greater opportunity to move out of their neighborhoods. He compared a black person's skin color to the Star of David, which forced a child to be "a captive of his community." Transferring black students to the Munsey Park and Plandome Road schools would "not be a magic wand," but would be a beginning of a change to solve racially problems."¹¹

Lane asked Clark what would occur if "Valley children of the lowest socio-economic level in Manhasset were placed in the Munsey Park School which has the highest socio-economic level. Wouldn't a conflict be created as the Negro would then expect more in his home?" Clark answered, "No, at the kindergarten age," and did not see much conflict at higher ages. He also pointed out that the chances of a black family "moving around Manhasset were less than one tenth of the chances by the white man." There would be "very little chance" for a black person to buy a house elsewhere in Manhasset, and therefore blacks were "compelled to live" in the Valley.¹²

In the third week, testimony came from four mothers of children attending the Valley school. They said that their children were being "harmed" by the segregated situation at their school. Edward Henderson, a professor of education at New York University, who lived in Manhasset, called for complete integration of the schools because he wanted "his youngster to learn what life is like in a modern urban society so he will be able to cope with the problems of tomorrow." David Livingston, who lived in Flower Hill, said that his child was "being hurt" by attending the "lily-white Munsey Park School."¹³

One hundred seventy-five students from Manhasset High School petitioned for an end to de facto segregation during the trial's fourth week. A spokesman for the group said, "We felt the students were not showing enough interest in the situation and there was a great deal of apathy. We wanted to state for the record how they feel."¹⁴

During the fifth week, Dr. Henry M. Brickell, assistant superintendent of schools, indicated that there was a relationship between student achievement levels and the social-economic backgrounds of the student's father. Fathers of Munsey Park students were in the "highest" socio-economic level, with Plandome Road "slightly lower" and the Valley "far behind." In Munsey Park, 40 percent of fathers were in the managerial or proprietary category, and in Plandome 26 percent: the Valley had zero parent, not one father in this category.¹⁵

Under cross-examination by the NAACP attorney, Jason Sandifer, Collins revealed that Manhasset's faculty council had recommended integration of the elementary schools in 1956. The superintendent's testimony, during the trial's seventh week, reversed his former testimony which had stated that the school first knew of the situation when the NAACP petitioned the school board in January 1962. Before starting his cross-examination, Sandifer asked Collins if he wished to change any previous testimony, and was told "no."

Council minutes of March 1956 revealed, "The faculty is in favor of heterogeneous grouping of students." Council minutes of 7 March 1957 said, "The representatives discussed at some length proposals for the immediate or the eventual integration of children now attending the Valley School with children attending other elementary schools in the district...Feeling was strong that integration of the elementary school population was highly desirable." In January 1958, the council minutes read, "Some of the members felt we should make a statement as a professional group that would essentially put us on record as being dissatisfied with the present educational opportunities for the Valley School students."¹⁶ The All-School Council was composed of Collins, Brickell, and two members from each of the three elementary schools, the junior high, and the senior high.

Collins also revealed that in 1948, plans had been made eventually to abandon the Valley School. The district was looking at the Whitney property as a possible building site. If a new school were built, Valley School would be closed or used only for administrative purposes. Dr. Walter Jeffers, a school board member, stated that the board had not considered the issue since he had become a member in July 1958.

School board members, administrators, and other witnesses for the district

have maintained that educational standards are the same in all of the elementary schools, so that nothing would be gained by integration. Lane placed the blame for low achievement grades by Valley children on low socio-economic background, rather than on the school system.

On 18 June 1963, New York State Commissioner of Education James E Allen Jr. ruled that all districts must correct racial imbalances. He ordered all school boards to submit detailed plans by 1 September, indicating what steps they taking to do so. Allen defined a segregated school as one with a black population of 50 percent or more.

Judge Zavatt asked to confer with the counsels to consider immediate dismissal of the case, in view of Commissioner Allen's ruling. Lane said he "hoped" the case would not be dismissed, but would continue all the way to the Supreme Court; he deemed the Commissioner's ruling and letter nothing more than "propaganda." Sandifer stated that he was amenable to dismissal because of the ruling.

Allen's order to desegregate accompanied his decision to outlaw de facto segregation in the Malvern School District. Zavatt suggested that the Princeton Plan be put into effect as a means of ending segregation and avoiding allowing housing patterns to set racial patterns. In response, the NAACP suggested that the Valley School be closed and the children bussed to Munsey and Plandome, rather than using the Princeton Plan.

Lane wrote to Commissioner Allen, urging him not to make any decision until the Manhasset case had ended. Allen "would be well advised" to wait until the court issued its decision on the constitutional issues. He wrote, "Manhasset is a perfect case to test whether the rights guaranteed by Negroes by the 14th Amendment are violated by failure of a Board of Education to assign children to elementary schools on a basis which distributes them among all schools in accordance with racial ratios."¹⁷

John P. Jehu, attorney for the State Education Department, stated that Commissioner Allen's letter did not approach the issue of whether de facto segregation were an infringement of constitutional rights under the 14th Amendment, but rather discussed the problem that segregated schools were educationally damaging. On 13 June 1963, Zavatt toured all three schools for a total of nine hours, accompanied by attorneys for both sides, school officials, federal court attendants, and a local realtor, Robert Beirmann (asked to inform the judge of property values in the various neighborhoods).

Dr. Eugene Reed, the state NAACP president, telegraphed the Manhasset School Board, on 19 June 1963, to demand that the district "cease to waste the taxpayer's money, paying lawyers to fight the NAACP suit now pending in federal court," and "proceed immediately to desegregate the school system." In response, Ms. Brock said, "We did not file the suit. The Board is only defending itself."¹⁸ Lane, Brock, Ramsey, and Collins all refused to comment on Commissioner Allen's edict.

The NAACP urged that all plans to desegregate be completed before the end of July so that they could be put into effect for the fall term. If the school board did not comply with Allen's ruling, the NAACP would suggest direct action and

protests in the forms of marching and picketing.

June Shagaloff, NAACP Special Assistant for Education, said,

We believe that Commissioner Allen's far-reaching decision will be extremely significant in reaching the objective of eliminating segregation. In fact it brings into focus the fact that schools are segregated, in fact, are harmful, and that schools must take the appropriate steps to eliminate this segregation. The problem of segregation, in fact, creates tension for an entire community.¹⁹

During the trial's eighth week, residents urged the board to reinstate its citizens committee, formed to study the school segregation situation, which disbanded after only one meeting when the NAACP filed suit in spring 1962. The case was expected to continue through the appellate court and go on to the United States Supreme Court for a nationwide decision on de facto segregation.

One of the NAACP's witnesses was Jacob Cohen, a professor of clinical psychology at New York University, called to rebut testimony by previous defense witnesses on the socio-economic-versus-achievement factors pertaining to the Valley children. He stated that there was a "definite correlation" between achievement levels and socio-economic backgrounds, but maintained that these factors "do not mean a child is ineducatable." Cohen did not agree with Frederick Matthews, an independent statistician, and Julia Vane, a psychology professor at Hofstra University, who testified that achievement levels depended on factors outside of the school, and not on a school's racial ratio. Matthews believed that low reading achievement levels were due to background, while Vane held that achievement levels would not rise if black and white children were integrated in the same school because their home environments would not change. Cohen pointed out that Matthews's methods were "better suited" to the physical and engineering sciences than to the social sciences. He concluded that socio-economic backgrounds make "only a small difference" in educational achievement levels. Commissioner Allen pointed out that "if local school boards don't solve the problem, somebody else will." The trial ended 27 June 1963 after a term of eight weeks. According to Theron Johnson, administrator of the division of intercultural relations,

Manhasset will have to submit a plan [to end racial imbalances] regardless of the outcome of the court decision since the request for a plan is based on educational grounds and is in no way concerned with the constitutionality or unconstitutionality of de facto segregation.²⁰

The NAACP education chairman, Edward Reecks, announced on 22 August that the NAACP planned to demonstrate at the Plandome Road and Munsey Park Schools on 4 September, the first day of the new school year. The majority of the Valley School student body was to start its march in front of the school, accompanied by adults carrying signs against de facto segregation. The march would proceed up Northern Boulevard, where half of the group would turn left

toward the Plandome Road School, while the remainder continued to the Munsey Park School. Reecks went on to say that,

At both schools we will attempt to enroll Valley students, although the Manhasset school system does not have an open enrollment policy...One of the purposes of the demonstration will be to show the school board that the distance is not so great from the Valley to Plandome or Munsey and that even small youngsters can walk...Although plans are completed, we are hopeful that negotiations may avert what Mr. Patterson of the Board said might well be a 'tragedy for Manhasset.' Open discussions can still put a halt to the scheduled demonstrations.

Dr. Paul Spear, of Munsey Park and the Reverend James Brown, pastor of Mount Olive Baptist Church, led the march. The board labeled the demonstration "an attempt to bring pressure to bear upon the Board of Education and to arouse an emotional response from the public." It felt that the demonstration was "contrary to the best interests of the children and the community."²¹

At Plandome Road School, the Rev. Brown and Viron Jones, a Valley resident and an attorney, attempted to enroll thirty-six children. Enrollment was denied by Arthur Hamalainen, the principal of Plandome Road School, Owen Hill, assistant superintendent of Manhasset schools, and superintendent Raymond Collins on the grounds that the children lived "out of district." Brown told Collins that they were "left with no choice but to picket," which Collins permitted them to do outside the school. Reecks led the group to Munsey Park School, where their request to register was turned down by Mary Ann Wilson, the school secretary. They were told that there was no room, but that there were seats in the auditorium. Twenty-six children entered classrooms, in groups of from two to four, to "sit-in." Some were ejected and other were permitted to remain. Some teachers provided them with a seat, a pencil, and paper, but most children were forced to stand against the wall or the blackboard. At recess, some white and black children played together, and young people picketed outside until noon, when school closed. They carried signs that said: "Equal Education Now," and "We demand First Class Education for Our Children." The children returned to both schools the next day, but again were turned down. They set up picket lines until school closed at noon.

At the Valley School, nine white children and one black child showed up for classes on the first day of school, thirteen came on the second day, and only eight on the third day, out of an enrollment of 125. According to Reecks,

the boycott of the Valley School is a 100 percent success. The fact that the children stayed away from the Valley clearly indicates the feeling of all the parents whose children are forced to attend a segregated and inferior school. We further feel the picketing of the three elementary schools is bringing the message to the citizens of Manhasset of the strong feeling against the apathetic reasoning of the Board of Education.²²

The boycott and picket lines were expected to continue until 17 September,

when the board of education would meet. Reecks said, "if the school board will meet with the parents of the Valley prior to this date and reach some mutually satisfactory solution, the demonstrations may be canceled." Collins said that sit-ins would not be permitted in any classroom, and that the children would be asked to leave. "They may use the corridors, bathrooms, gymnasium, and school grounds. Just like any other visitors." Should a sit-inner not leave when asked, the child will be taken to the Children's Shelter, in East Meadow, and the parents taken to the Sixth Precinct. No arrests were made. "The children who are not attending classes at the Valley School will be marked absent, but not penalized," announced Collins. One of the school board members, Walter W. Jeffers, commented that the board was considering going to court to stop the boycott of the Valley School: "After all," Jeffers said, "it is illegal to keep children out of school."²³

Parents of Valley School children agreed to halt both the boycott and the picket lines when members of the Manhasset Minister's Association pledged "immediate support for integration once the court decision has been handed down" on 12 September 1963. The demonstrators agreed to stop the picket lines and await the decision. The Rev. Brown announced that Mount Olive Baptist Church would be used as a special school for students boycotting the Valley School. The Valley School was closed down.

On Friday, 24 January 1964, Judge Zavatt ruled that the Manhasset Board of Education was maintaining a segregated school system in violation of the 14th Amendment. He equated it to de jure (by law) segregation, ruled illegal by the Supreme Court in 1954. He stated that,

the fact that 100 percent of the Negro children are not separated from 8/10th of one percent of the white children does not divest it of its segregated character...The separation of the Negro elementary school children is segregation. It is segregation by law—law of the school board.²⁴

Judge Zavatt also ordered a plan for integration by 6 April, to be put into effect by September 1964. Discussions were held concerning closing the Plandome Road School, as a result of its being outdated, and building a new school to be ready by September 1965. This new elementary school, the Shelter Rock School, opened in September 1968.

Thus ended Manhasset's highly controversial situation. As the first post-*Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) Long Island segregation case heard by a federal court, *Blocker v. Manhasset Board of Education* (1964) was a landmark challenge to de facto segregation.

NOTES

1. Issac German. "Judge Rules in Suit Against Hempstead: Town Violates Voting Rights." *Newsday*, 21 Feb. 1997, A5.

2. "Board Policy Stands; NAACP Affirms Walk," *Manhasset Press*, 29 Aug. 1963, 1, 7.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Carol Hauptman, "School Segregation: Issue at Our Doorstep." *Manhasset Press*, 11 Apr. 1963, 2.
5. *Ibid.*, 4.
6. "'De facto' Suit Opens; Judge Visits Schools," *Manhasset Press*, 2 May 1963, 1, 16.
7. *Ibid.*, 16.
8. *Ibid.*
9. "Bias Trial Testimony in Second Week," *Manhasset Press*, 9 May 1963, 1, 19.
10. *Ibid.*, 19; "Psychologist Charges Board Is Duty Bound to Integrate Schools," *Manhasset Press*, 16 May 1963, 1, 15.
11. *Manhasset Press*, 16 May 1963, 15.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. "Student Petitioners Seek End to School Segregation." *Manhasset Press*, 23 May 1963, 1.
15. "Testimony Calls On in Bias Trial," *Manhasset Press*, 30 May 1963, 12.
16. "Testimony Reveals Faculty Suggested Integration in '56," *Manhasset Press*, 13 June 1963, 1, 20.
17. "School Silent over Ruling; Trial Still on," *Manhasset Press*, 20 June 1963, 12.
18. *Ibid.*
19. "Commissioner's Edict Draws Mixed Reaction," *Manhasset Press*, 30 June 1963, 12.
20. "State Official Eventually Must Submit Plans," *Manhasset Press*, 22 Aug. 1963, 1.
21. "Picket Lines Mark Schools' Opening," *Manhasset Press*, 5 Sept. 1963, 1, 7.
22. "Minister's Statement Halts Demonstration." *Manhasset Press*, 12 Sept. 1963, 1.
23. *Ibid.*, 1, 15.
24. *Ibid.* 1.

BOOK REVIEW ESSAY

By Floris Barnett Cash

Lynda R. Day. *Making a Way to Freedom: A History of African Americans on Long Island*. Interlaken, NY: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, under the auspices of the Long Island Institute, Hofstra University, 1998. Illustrations, bibliography, notes, index. Pp. 160. \$15.00 (paper).

Grania Bolton Marcus. *A Forgotten People: Discovering the Black Experience In Suffolk County*. Setauket: Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities, 1988. Illustrations, bibliography, glossary. Pp. 152. \$13 (paper).

Natalie A. Naylor, ed. *Exploring African American History on Long Island and Beyond*. Hempstead: Long Island Studies Institute, Hofstra University, 1991, 1995. Illustrations, bibliographies, notes. Pp. 70. \$6.00 (paper).

In the past three decades historians have begun to revise long standing interpretations of race and gender. *Making a Way to Freedom: A History of African Americans on Long Island*, by Lynda R. Day, is a key contribution in that direction. In her exploration of a subject that has suffered from neglect and omission. Day chronicles the black experience from the African background and slave trade in the colonial era to the civil rights struggle of the 1960s and the 1970s. The scope of the book extends from Brooklyn and Queens to the tip of eastern Long Island. Rather than attempting a chronological history, Day groups her material thematically. The primary focus of her research stretches from 1827, when New York State abolished slavery, to the World War II era in which when the character of Long Island changed from agrarian to suburban. She identifies such diverse personalities as Jupiter Hammon, the Rev. Paul Cuffee, Sojourner Truth, Pyrrhus Concer, Samuel Ballton, Lewis Howard Latimer, Dr. Susan Smith McKinney-Stewart, Booker T. Washington, Father Divine, and Shirley Chisholm.

This new study draws on prior research of Long Island's African Americans from several sources, including *A Forgotten People: Discovering The Black Experience In Suffolk County* (1988), by Grania Bolton Marcus, and *Exploring African-American History on Long Island and Beyond*, edited by Natalie A. Naylor (1991, 1995). Like Day, these writers examine broad issues concerning the social, economic, and political life of African Americans on Long Island, including slavery and servitude, abolition and nominal freedom, the black family and community, and the labor of slave and free Blacks.

Lynda Day addresses the connections between African Americans and Native Americans, with the folk culture of both groups perhaps reinforced through interaction and intermarriage. She concentrates on Blacks and the military services, population growth and suburbanization, political activism, and civil rights.

Day's knowledge of African history enables her to make a valuable contribu-

tion to the black experience on Long Island, showing how African cultural patterns were transplanted and transformed in the New World environment. Some of the religious transformations continued in New York under the guise of secular festivals, such as one known as the "Pinkster" (2) and other celebratory occasions.

Day's emphasis on the use and meaning of African names and naming patterns among Blacks on Long Island is particularly revealing. She concurs with the scholar Lawrence Levine that African cultural traits and transformations in music, language, food, and material culture, such as quilts, adopted by white settlers and Native Americans helped shape a unique American cultural heritage.

Grania Marcus's ground-breaking text on the black experience concentrates on Suffolk County. Although her book, which contains primary documents and study guides, is designed for use in the classroom, it is comprehensive and scholarly written. New York had the largest number of slaves of all northern states. Marcus defines slavery and what it meant, and shows how slavery in the South differed from involuntary servitude in the North. Slavery was never as widespread on Long Island as on southern plantations. nor is there evidence that slave trading was done in quantity on Long Island. There were no slave markets, with most sales between individuals or on a personal basis.

However, it was not unusual for a prosperous farmer to purchase a slave to ease his work load. Richard Smythe, the founder of Smithtown, owned at least two slaves before 1692, whom he willed to his sons in that year. William Floyd, of Mastic, with fourteen slaves, had the largest number in the county. In the town of Huntington, Marcus found that fifty-three masters owned eighty-one slaves.

Slaves and free Blacks were involved in building Long Island's agricultural and maritime economy, with female slaves performing both heavy field work and domestic chores. As Marcus notes, the historians Herbert Gutman and John Blassingame examined the structure of the African American family and community life and concluded that slaves formed strong familial ties. The daily lives and actions of enslaved Blacks were not simply a reaction to their treatment and condition. Marcus presents evidence showing that in the North, as in the South, Blacks attempted to keep their marriages and families together, to resist sale, and to maintain contact with their family of origin. Slaves who purchased themselves and their loved ones demonstrate how African Americans struggled to hold onto family life and dignity.

The American Revolution inspired the cause of black liberation and freedom at a time when most African Americans on Long Island were slaves. Blacks, in general, recognized the implications of the revolutionary struggle by petitioning their legislatures and increasing their demand for freedom. Marcus asserts that manumissions in the North increased during and after the Revolution, as owners and slaves began to see a conflict between the ideas for which they had fought and the reality of holding human beings in bondage. She also acknowledges that slavery was less profitable than it had been.

Marcus does not ignore the conflict and resistance of African Americans on Long Island, expressed in numerous ways. Arson and flight were the most common forms of resistance. Marcus discovered some instances of "day-to-day resistance such as sabotage of tools, stubborn behavior, and absence from labor"

(6) However, she found no evidence of slave resistance comparable to the conspiracy and revolts in New York City in 1712 and 1741: "It appears that violent resistance was uncommon in Suffolk where slaves were generally dispersed in rural areas" (6) Although she uncovered no slave uprisings in Suffolk County, this may not pertain to other areas of Long Island.

Religious life was important to most slaves, who attended services and became members of traditional Long Island churches. Marcus found records that show that at the beginning of the eighteenth century, slaves regularly attended services with white people in some Long Island churches, including those in Huntington, Smittown, Mattituck, Southold, and Setauket. Moreover, religion provided one way for slaves to acquire literacy skills, which were not prohibited in the North.

The books by Marcus and Day converge on a number of topics, including analysis of Jupiter Hammon and his work. A slave poet, Hammon was the first widely read black writer in America. His last work, "An Address to the Negroes of the State of New York," published in 1787, discussed the evils of slavery and expressed hope for the manumission of young slaves:

[F]or my part I do not wish to be free, yet I should be glad if others, especially the young Negroes, were to be free; for many of us who are grown up slaves, and have always had masters to take of us, should hardly know how to take care of ourselves, and it may be more for our own comfort to remain as we are (Marcus, 66-68).

Current scholars are examining the issue and raising questions regarding the slave poet's seemingly subservient demeanor. Was Hammon actually a forerunner of the militant David Walker and Henry Highland Garnet? Or was his poetry addressed more to his white masters than to his black "brethren"? Both Marcus and Day believe that Hammon's religious poetry was a coded protest against slavery. Marcus concludes that Hammon's views were influenced by his experience as a slave of the Lloyd family. Day contends that, given the religious tenor of the times, he could protest against slavery only in biblical terms. Further research, I believe, may reveal that because Jupiter Hammon referred to himself as a "servant" of the Lloyd family, it is possible that near the end of his life he no longer was a slave but had become an indentured servant.

Day's thoughtful account of Quaker activity in the antislavery movement is one of the most promising parts of her book. That segment, especially, would benefit from broader examination and development. Some Long Island members of the Society of Friends, led by Elias Hicks, of Jericho, were the most vocal opponents of holding humans in bondage. As early as 1776, the New York Yearly Meeting denied membership to any slave-owning Friends. Quakers, therefore, were in the forefront of manumission. However, like other well-to-do farmers in the area, some Quakers owned slaves. After manumission became their official recommendation, the Quakers began to feel a sense of obligation to assist in the former slaves' well being and repair the injustice of servitude. Quakers from Jericho and Westbury assisted in founding Guinea Town, a settlement for freed people. The activist Quaker Elias Hicks led members of the Jericho and Westbury Meetings

in organizing a charitable society to provide educational assistance. However, Day questions whether the Quakers exhausted all available resources in providing economic aid and other services for former slaves and their descendants.

Day declares that Quaker involvement in the abolitionist movement in other parts of the country is a matter of public record. However, the participation of the Society of Friends on Long Island in the Underground Railroad has not fully been documented. A similar conclusion is made concerning participation of Blacks in the Underground Railroad on Long Island. Some homes in Brooklyn's Weeksville community, and churches established there before the Civil War, such as Bridge Street A. W. M. E. Church and Concord Baptist Church, were stations on the Underground Railroad. Further east, St. David's A. M. E. Zion Church, in the Eastville community of Sag Harbor, appears to have been used to hide runaway slaves. It is possible, given the fact that the first minister of St. David's, the Rev. John Thompson, was an ardent abolitionist. Moreover, most northern church denominations opposed slavery. Thus, additional research is needed on this significant aspect of African American history, to confirm the involvement of Long Island Blacks in antislavery activities as fact or mere conjecture based on oral history.

The development of black institutions in the nineteenth century, such as the church, expands the social history of black Long Islanders. Apparently, because they were not treated fairly and were segregated in separate pews, they formed their own churches. The black church emerged as the center of religion, education, and social activity, a subject to which Lynda Day devotes considerable attention. A list of early churches in Kings, Queens, Nassau, and Suffolk is provided in an appendix. However, an expanded discussion of these churches, their organizations and congregations, within the text would enhance the reader's understanding of the black churches' significant role in community life on Long Island.

Day discerns the pattern of black community life, which continued to shift in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in keeping with the changing character of life on Long Island. Migration to the North between 1900 and 1920 produced an explosion in the black population. It brought a daily influx of hundreds of southern African Americans seeking employment in northern urban centers. Many, while heading for New York City, settled on Long Island after they learned of its black communities. In the late twenties, Black people from the Bronx, Harlem, and Brooklyn migrated to Suffolk County, with many settling in Gordon Heights, in Coram.

Day notes that, although each wave of Blacks migrating to Long Island encountered discrimination, the progress continued. After World War II, large numbers moved from New York City to suburban areas on Long Island. Veterans used their GI Bill access to guaranteed, low-interest mortgages. Some the families settled in established black communities, while others purchased homes in new segregated developments springing up. Day follows other writers in stating that African Americans drawn to the Island for good jobs and other opportunities encountered rigidly institutionalized housing discrimination.

Day assesses the long connection of Long Island Blacks with the nation's armed forces: "Communities have commemorated the sacrifices of servicemen in

wars from the Revolution to Desert Storm with plaques, laying of wreaths, and in other ways" (105). With the outbreak of World War I, many black soldiers assigned to segregated units trained at Camp Upton, Yaphank. A photograph of Joe Louis, the popular heavyweight boxing champion inducted at the same Camp Upton in World War II, symbolized the long involvement of African Americans in the military service. Although Day cites examples from Nassau County, such as the Young-Simmons Post of the American Legion in Glen Cove, she does not mention similar institutions in Suffolk, such as the Hart American Legion Post in Setauket.

Although Day moves briskly through the conflicts and issues of the black experience on Long Island, she does pause to focus on black professional women. Two of these, Dr. Susan Smith McKinney-Stewart and her older sister Minsarah Smith Tompkins Garnet, are featured in the book, *Exploring African-American History: Long Island and Beyond*. This useful reference work grew out two of symposiums sponsored by Hofstra University's Long Island Studies Institute in 1990 and 1991. The essays include Grania Marcus's "Discovering the African-American Experience on Long Island"; "Weeksville," by Joan Maynard; "Lewis Latimer, African American Inventor, and the Growth of United States Industry," by Alan Singer; and my article, "Long Island's African-American Women."

Joan Maynard, the executive director of the Society for the Preservation of Weeksville and Bedford Stuyvesant History, is coauthor of *Weeksville: Then and Now* (1983). She has written and lectured extensively about this nineteenth-century African American community located in the Ninth Ward of Brooklyn. Dating back to 1838, the community was named for James Weeks, who purchased the property. Some black people migrated from rural communities further east to settle in this historic black community.

Alan Singer is a social studies specialist in Hofstra's Department of Curriculum and Teaching. His article on Latimer is excerpted from his symposium lecture, "Teaching African American History: Solomon Northup, Sojourner Truth, and Lewis Latimer." An adopted New Yorker and Long Islander, Latimer was born in Chelsea, Massachusetts. In the 1880s, after moving to Flushing, he patented a series of improvements for electric lights while working for the U.S. Electric Company, based in New York. Latimer was a pioneer with Thomas Edison in the infancy of electric lighting; his inventions contributed immensely to the development of this new technology. Singer believes that Latimer's experience as an inventor helps create a different picture of industrialization at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century than that usually conveyed in textbooks. Local history buffs and architects, including his granddaughter, championed the need to renovate the former Latimer home. In spite of his scientific contributions and creative work, the home did not become a New York City landmark until 1995.

Natalie A. Naylor's collection provides insight on manumissions, census data, and other historical information extracted from articles in newspapers and other sources, with several comprehensive bibliographies included at the end. Lynda Day provides works on African Americans on Long Island; Vivian Wood, a collection development librarian at Hofstra University, presents a bibliography

of general selections on African and African American Life; and Jeanne Murray, an experienced teacher in the Uniondale schools, offers extensive plans and activities for students from books both by Naylor and Marcus, accompanied by a bibliography on the black experience intended for young people.

My list of readings in Black women's history links the social and political actions of black female community leaders to those of professional and other working women, in various places, engaged in similar endeavors. As a historian concerned with race and gender issues, my essay is one of an increasing number of articles that take a woman-centered approach to Long Island history. No one previously had connected Long Island with the small but significant black women's club movement in Brooklyn and Manhattan. Both Minsarah (known as Sarah) Smith T. Garnet and her sister Susan were born in the Brooklyn community of Weeksville, with a heritage stemming from Long Island's Shinnecock and Montauk Indians and African Americans. Their paternal great-grandmother, Sylvia Hubbs (or Hobbs), was one of the earliest African Americans to purchase land in Hempstead. Sarah Garnet began teaching before the Civil War, and retired in 1900 as principal of a grammar school in Manhattan. She not only married the former militant abolitionist Henry Highland Garnet in 1879, but she was an activist in her own right. Sarah Garnet was the founder and president of the Equal Suffrage League, one of the earliest civil rights organizations in Brooklyn.

Black women who then and now involve themselves both in civil rights and social efforts, seldom receive recognition unless they incorporate the strategies of black males. Susan Smith McKinney-Stewart, the first black female physician in the state of New York, was active in women's church societies, temperance activities, and the suffrage movement. Outspoken on women's rights and racial issues, she presented a lecture at a conference called by W. E. B. Du Bois in London in 1911. Verina Morton-Jones, involved in political efforts and settlement house activities in New York City, left Brooklyn during the latter part of her life to become the first black woman to practice medicine in Nassau County, where she helped open and direct the village of Hempstead's Harriet Tubman Community Center, which at this time has only a limited function.

Churches, schools, settlement houses, and orphanages are often considered women centered institutions in black communities. Accordingly, my article emphasizes the importance of the Howard Colored Orphanage to Long Island after its relocation in 1910 to rural St. James from Brooklyn, where it had been supported by black women's efforts. The board of managers envisioned an institution modeled on Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute, with cottages for one thousand youngsters at a center offering industrial education and farming pursuits. This ambitious scheme, the "Tuskegee of the North," was possibly inspired by the fact that Booker T. Washington owned a summer home on Long Island, at Fort Salonga. However, as Day reveals, Washington could not escape the racist attitudes of the times. White residents formed a syndicate and offered to buy his property, which he refused, continuing to use the house as his summer home until his death in 1915.

In my judgment, Long Island's black professional women were role models for many women: Long Island's African American women were our foremothers as

much as were Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, and Mary McLeod Bethune. As community activists, civic leaders, teachers, social workers, and reformers, they are deeply rooted in the American experience. They have cultural and ancestral ties to Long Island and, yet, are a part of the larger historical perspective (Cash, in Naylor, ed., 29) Researchers begin with the materials that they find, but the future focus should move beyond professionals to women in all walks of life on Long Island.

Day's work mostly predates the civil rights movement: themes related to civil and human rights on Long Island beg for further examination and analysis. By 1960, consciousness of the great movement that began with the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955 had spread to black communities nationwide. The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. visited Hempstead, Long Beach, and West Hempstead in 1965, and spoke in Rockville Centre in 1968. Countless numbers of men and women on Long Island were involved in the struggle for black equality. Who organized the grassroots efforts, what were their motives, and what did they accomplish? This area of research deserves thorough exploration.

One of the strengths of Lynda Day's book is the quantity and quality of its illustrations. Among these are children playing baseball at the Howard Colored Orphanage; Bethel A. M. E. Church in Amityville; the Quaker Charity School in Wantagh; a youthful photograph of the inventor Lewis Howard Latimer; Vivian Schuyler, the Hempstead High School Salutatorian in 1923; Mary Shaw, principal of the black public school in Flushing between 1880 and 1990; Shinnecocks at the Long Island Railroad Semicentennial Celebration in 1884; the Tenth Cavalry watering horses, Lake Wyandanch, Montauk (1898); Girl Scout Troop 28 in Westbury (1935); and the Hempstead Baseball Team (1915).

Day's well-written account of Long Island history is suitable for use in the public schools. Students need work that raises questions, exposes them to issues related to cause and effect, and provokes critical thinking about the subject. Carter G. Woodson, who founded Black History Week in 1926, also organized the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History, which publishes materials for students and scholarly journals and many prominent black and white scholars have written articles for the *Journal of Negro History*. Despite the fact that the books by Marcus, Naylor, and Day are constructed for discussion, research, and innovative thinking, materials partially designed for or used by students are often considered tools for the use of public schools rather than colleges and universities.

If there is a criticism of Day's book, it is that many ideas, issues, institutions, and organizations considered important to Suffolk County residents from the late-nineteenth century to the present are either not included or not developed. Many individuals in Suffolk County who were significant in local and national history are missing; some of these omissions and oversights might have been included in the notes. Scholars considering research on Long Island after 1898, when Kings and Queens counties became boroughs of Greater New York and the formation of Nassau County in 1899, may decide to concentrate on Nassau and Suffolk counties, for which exhaustive community studies of Black people in isolated enclaves are needed. As Day uses the village of Hempstead to illustrate changing

pattern of racial demographics, a similar assessment can be made of certain areas of Suffolk County. It would be interesting to know why the black population declined in many Long Island villages. Smithtown, for example, which had about one hundred black residents in 1930, has almost none today. A thorough exploration of twentieth-century Long Island, with regard to black communities, human rights, black church development, employment, education, demographics, and other topics would not only enhance Day's book, but, more importantly, prepare the way for future scholarship by broadening our knowledge and understanding of how African American history and culture was made and survived on Long Island. Primary sources, including church records, organizational and institutional records, oral testimonies, and family reunions may be more useful than archival materials for researching African American history and culture. In the appendices, Day lists available resources for historical sites, houses, churches, cemeteries, and grave sites, along with extensive bibliographic and audio visual information.

Lynda Day, the former curator of the African American Museum in Hempstead, reminds us that, "More than three hundred and fifty years have passed since the first Africans were brought to Long Island. In these years, the struggle for freedom, economic opportunity, and political equality has been on-going" (121). Her book is rooted in the past but provides a vision for the future. Schools, church associations, clubs, and civic organizations will want to promote her exploration of the achievements of African Americans.

Day accomplishes the difficult task of synthesizing the broad, fragmented history of black people on Long Island. Her summary of the African American historical and cultural experience is a valuable addition to Long Island and New York State scholarship. I recommend *Making a Way to Freedom* to all who are concerned with African Americans and their historic quest for freedom.

REVIEWS

Robert Sisler and Patricia Sisler *Those Half Thousand Great Ships Built in Port Jefferson, with Research by and Materials from James R. McNamara*. Port Jefferson: the authors, 1997. Illustrations, bibliography, index. Pp. 55. \$9.70 (paper), tax included, plus \$1.47 postage and handling, from Robert Sisler, 105 Laurel Lane, Port Jefferson, NY 11777.

The millennia-old craft of building wooden ships reached its fullest development in the first three quarters of the nineteenth century before sinking into virtual extinction in the face of technological changes in the form of metal hulled vessels. Before iron- and steel-hulled ships could be produced efficiently and cheaply, the United States, with its vast supply of inexpensive woods and deeply indented coastline, dominated the market for wooden ships. While the major centers of wooden ship construction were located in the large cities of the northeast, the trade was actively pursued in a large number of villages along the east coast. Several of these became regionally important and contributed their share, and, sometimes better, to the nation's merchant fleet and that part of national prosperity which derived from shipbuilding.

Not surprisingly, considering its geographic characteristics, locally significant shipbuilding enterprises began to appear on Long Island in the 1830s. Aside from Brooklyn, which was organically a part of the New York harbor economic complex, several villages on the North Shore of Suffolk County shared in the national shipbuilding boom. While Northport, Setauket, and Greenport saw the establishment of long-lived shipyards which contributed materially to local prosperity, Port Jefferson outstripped them as the Island's most dynamic shipbuilding village. By the time the industry became extinct, Port Jefferson had launched more ships than any other Long Island shipbuilding village. A complete listing of the number of vessels constructed in Port Jefferson—and for that matter the other Suffolk villages—has yet to appear. Consulting the various shipping registers, the local historians Robert and Patricia Sisler undertook to identify as many Port Jefferson produced vessels as possible. They have included their findings in a fifty-five page presentation of the village's maritime enterprises entitled *Those Half Thousand Great Ships Built in Port Jefferson*.

The Sisler's book is an attractively produced soft-cover volume divided into three sections. The first is an overview of the shipbuilding industry beginning with the career of John Willisie, who was instrumental in establishing the trade in Drowned Meadow, later renamed Port Jefferson. The careers of the Darlings, Mathers, Joneses, and Bayleses, who later came to dominate shipbuilding in Port Jefferson, are succinctly described and less prominent builders are mentioned in passing. The coverage of the shipbuilding families is followed by a longer segment relating to the subsequent histories of Port Jefferson vessels and their crews. For example, a lengthy selection from an 1856 seaman's diary illustrates life aboard the Port Jefferson schooner *Corbulo*. Similarly, 1902-1903 log entries

from the hermaphrodite brig *John McDermott* provide a graphic account of the nature of freighting in the twilight of sail. If nothing else, the *McDermott* section should dispel any romanticized notions of the work of merchant seaman serving aboard wooden ships. The work was hard, often dangerous, and social relations among the crewmen were often tense and antagonistic.

The middle section consists of a well-chosen selection of illustrations of Port Jefferson built vessels, including ten in color. The last part of the book contains a listing of 520 Port Jefferson vessels, which include many previously unlisted that the Sislers identified in their researches in various ship registers. While this is the most complete account of ships constructed at any Long Island village, the authors explain that it is still probably incomplete.

While the ship lists and anecdotal accounts of life on board the vessels increase our understanding of the village's maritime experience, the book would have been helped by a greater attempt to place the Port Jefferson experience in a broader regional and economic context. The depiction of Port Jefferson shipbuilding is somewhat static, with no real attempt to explain how the trade changed throughout the nineteenth century. For example, the Sislers mention the 1850 Census, which was taken at a point when wooden shipbuilding in the United States reached its peak. However, no other Censuses are mentioned, nor is sufficient attention paid to identifying and explicating the forces which led to the rapid rise and precipitous decline of the industry, which occurred within a hundred-year time frame. In like manner, the survival of wooden shipbuilding in Port Jefferson, as in Northport, Setauket, and Greenport, after it had been virtually abandoned in the larger seaports, remains uninvestigated. While the authors make it clear that their interests are confined to Port Jefferson, their narrow focus prevents a more revealing examination of the dynamics of this locally important industry and the family based firms which dominated it.

With these reservations aside, this is a nicely designed, attractive little volume which provides a quick, accurate overview of shipbuilding in its most important local center of operations. For this reason, despite its limitations, it merits a place on the bookshelf of those pursuing Long Island's maritime history.

RICHARD F. WELCH
Long Island Forum

Ebenezer Miller. *Diary of Ebenezer Miller of Miller Place, Long Island, New York, 1762-1768*, transcription and footnotes by Margaret Davis Gass and Willis H. White. Miller Place, 1996. Notes, index. Pp. 43. \$6 (paper), plus \$1.75 postage and handling, from Margaret D. Gass, P. O. Box 524, 187 N. Country Rd., Miller Place, NY 11764, or Weather Vane Shop, Suffolk County Historical Society, 300 West Main St., Riverhead, NY 11901.

Ebenezer Miller (1733-1785) of Miller Place, Suffolk County, may have been politically active: family tradition was that he was member of the provincial

assembly. An ambiguous reference to assemblymen in his diary may support that claim. In their transcription of his diary, Margaret D. Gass and Willis H. White interpret it to mean that Ebenezer was a new assemblyman: it may also mean that previous legislators were reelected. Secondary sources maintain that the assemblyman during that period was Eleazer Miller, of East Hampton. A microfilm copy of the *Suffolk Book of Quotes* (minutes of the board of supervisors) seems clearly to show the assemblyman as Eleazer, even making allowances for the similarity of the names and the difficulty of reading handwritten records.

This diary gives no further evidence on the question. It is a record of the rhythm of life of a Long Island farmer and family man, with matters of larger concern beyond its scope. If the residents of Miller Place had a reaction to the Treaty of Paris (1763) that eliminated France as a colonial rival, it is not considered here, nor is any feeling they may have had concerning the Stamp Act. Except for one reference to the assemblyman, the closest the diary comes to any matter of public policy is the question of how to deal with a clergyman who seemed to have abandoned his responsibilities.

The diary contains twenty-seven pages of text, recording events the writer must have considered noteworthy. By no means is it a daily report; gaps of more than a month are common, and it is rare for two consecutive days to be noted. The writing style is compressed and spare. One can surmise that Ebenezer Miller did not hold with wasting ink, paper, or time.

The transcribers, Margaret Gass Davis and Willis H. White, have done a meticulous job of annotating the text to place the entries in context. Obscure agricultural terms are defined and the practices explained, relatives and neighbors (often the categories overlap) are identified, and the reader is able to see the web of relationships in which the writer carried on his life.

Ebenezer Miller was a fourth-generation descendant of Andrew Miller, the original settler of Miller Place. Andrew, in turn, was descended from the Millers of East Hampton. Ebenezer's roots were firmly embedded in Suffolk's soil, and his forebears' marriages with other local families meant that he and his neighbors existed in a world surrounded by kin.

It may surprise the reader to discover how closely in touch Long Island people stayed with relatives who had migrated west (New Jersey or the Hudson Valley, at that time). The stereotype of small isolated communities, cut off from wider contacts by the rigors of travel and primitive modes of transportation, may have some validity, but the ties of family motivated people to overcome the obstacles. The diary records many trips to visit relatives, and notes return visits by those who had left.

The cycle of eighteenth-century agricultural life is evident in the diary. Many of the entries note when a particular crop was sown or harvested, or when another task had been accomplished. Butchering animals, gathering wood, loading manure, and making cider were among the many activities Ebenezer Miller recorded.

In addition to the value this diary has for learning of eighteenth-century society, it is also a useful resource for those interested specifically in local genealogy. Vital records of that time are scarce for Suffolk County. Miller

recorded eighteen births, marriages or deaths among his neighbors.

Included with the text of the diary and the annotations are photographs of Ebenezer Miller's house and mill, a map of Miller Place showing the residences of persons named in the diary, and genealogical charts of the Miller and Strong families (his wife was Sarah Strong). An every-name index to the text and annotations is also included.

Gass and White's comprehensive and enlightening notes are a valuable aid to those who want to study this community. However, several of their comments should be revised. The plunderers who killed Ebenezer's son during the Revolution were unlikely to have been Tories if they came from Connecticut. The identification of the wife of Richard Woodhull III as Mary Homan is based on *The Woodhull Genealogy* (1904). That work was in error: his wife was Mary Fordham, daughter of Joseph and Mary (Maltby) Fordham, of Southampton.

The publication of this diary should be welcomed by those who wish to use primary source material in studying local history. By learning not only how our predecessors spent their time, but also what they considered the noteworthy features of their days, we gain a better appreciation of their lives.

EDWARD SMITH

Suffolk County Historical Society

Editor's note: We apologize to Edward Smith for stating his name incorrectly in our Fall 1997 issue, and are pleased to offer the above expanded version of his excellent review

Harry W. Havemeyer. *Along the Great South Bay*. Mattituck: Amereon House, 1997. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. Pp. 493. \$29.95.

While it clearly tells the tale of the town of Islip's moment as a resort during the Gilded Age and beyond, this book desperately needs an editor. At nearly five hundred pages, Harry W. Havemeyer could have said much of what he intended in far fewer pages; *Along the Great South Bay* would have immensely benefitted from such tightening. That said, however, it is a must read for Long Island historians as a source book for an elegant and extravagant period in Suffolk County's history.

No writer before Havemeyer, himself a descendent of the vacationing robber barons he chronicles, has attempted to write a history of the Islip-Babylon area as a summer spa during its heyday from 1870 to 1914. This is especially astonishing when one considers the voluminous material on Newport, Rhode Island, Islip's summer rival and eventual successor. Consequently, this book breaks ground in every chapter, and should be taken as a thorough first draft of the region's history. This makes the book exciting, for Havemeyer-- sometimes unwittingly --unearths more questions than he answers while perambulating through one hundred years of Islip's history. Why Islip and not Freeport, or Moriches? What ever happened to the old Nicoll family, who sold most of the land

on which the summer residents built their mansions beginning in the 1840s? How did New York Society--and Islip's--cope with its members leaping out of buildings and shooting themselves in times of financial turmoil, as Havemeyer alludes to throughout the book, yet never examines?

Havemeyer tells a fascinating story, nonetheless. Beginning with the earliest European inhabitants of the area, the Nicolls and the descendants of Lion Gardiner, then sweeping through history to the 1840s when the Johnsons and Bradishes moved to the area (the Bradishes are still there), Havemeyer tells the stories of the families that, in his opinion, created the Islip area.

Unfortunately, he also chronicles what seems like every picayune clothing merchant's arrival in an almost Genesis-like list of illuminati that is the reason *Along the Great South Bay* runs so long. After the first dozen or so families, all but the most stalwart reader glazes over, turns the page, or closes the book. Some people have fascinating histories, but many are less than riveting, and perhaps should have been cut from the final version. Havemeyer's emphasis on hundreds of families illuminates the trees of Islip's history rather than its forest, which is a sweeping tale of luxury, development, intrigue, and conflict that the author merely glimpses on his way toward his own time along the Great South Bay.

Conflict between the rich city folk and the year-'rounders is almost completely ignored, to the book's detriment. While their biographical material is more difficult to excavate, the men and women who served the families of the Great Estates, built the homes, ran the local government, and kept the stores open from East Islip to Bay Shore are utterly mute in this account. This leaves the reader with a sharp feeling of only one half the story.

At the other end of the spectrum, many readers will want to know about the true gluttons in that era of conspicuous consumption, the Belmonts, Bournes, Lorillards, South Side Sportsmen's Club, and, above all, the Vanderbilts. While Havemeyer spends considerable time on these families, more detail about their daily lives, their influence on the area, and why they chose Islip, in particular, would enhance the book's interest.

One aspect of spa life in Islip that the author describes extremely well, however, is yachting. His often grey prose bursts into delicious color when he recreates the grand yacht races held both on the Great South Bay and at the New York Yacht Club, the site of the America's Cup challenge races until they moved to Newport in the 1920s. No gentleman of leisure in the Gilded Age could be without his huge sailing yacht, often raced by paid captains against the yachts of fellow millionaires. Islip shone brightly in this arena. Sailboat racing of all kinds has been an integral part of summer on the bay for generations, and is still extremely popular today. During Havemeyer's study period, no fewer than three different America's Cup winners hailed from either Islip or Bay Shore: Hank Haff, who won the race three times, Nathaniel Clock, and Harold S. Vanderbilt.

The book also provides a thorough look at the architecture of the various periods discussed. Gilded Age Islip, as did Newport, revolved around entertainment, particularly house parties on a lavish scale. Several of Havemeyer's accounts of such affairs are gems, capturing the ambiance one might imagine would surround a hundred-room mansion. On a smaller scale, hundreds of

summer homes dotted Great South Bay, punctuated by grand mansions every few miles. Typically built of wood and thus susceptible to fire (most of Islip's old mansions suffered this fate), Islip's estates predated many of those in Newport. Those that remain, particularly Idle Hour and Indian Neck Hall in Oakdale, the Timber Point Country Club in Great River, and Brookwood Hall in East Islip, are every bit as grand as palaces like the Breakers in Rhode Island. Havemeyer describes the various styles and surrounding landscaping of homes, providing a glimpse of how the area appeared before the 1950s brought the post-Second World War building boom and its accompanying sprawl.

While overlong and heavy on chronicling at the expense of analysis, *Along the Great South Bay* unfolds more than one hundred years of a significant part of Islip and Babylon's history in solid prose and tremendous detail. A valuable addition to an ever-growing body of research on Long Island, the book is one of an increasing number of well-documented and literate histories of Long Island that will set the standard of local history higher in the future.

HANK SHAW
Long Island Journalist

Beverly Tyler. *Discover Setauket, Brookhaven's Original Settlement*. Lawrenceburg, IN: Three Village Historical Society and The Creative Company, 1994. Illustrations. Pp. 36. (8½" x 11" paperback). \$6.00 (nonmembers), \$5.10 (members) plus tax. Add \$2.00 shipping and handling.

Discover Setauket is about the history, the people, and important places of Setauket in history. It begins with a narrative about the Native Americans, their settlement of the area, and their trading with European settlers. For example, in exchange for the land, the Native Americans are offered: "10 Coats, 12 Hoes, 12 Hatchets, 50 Muxes [awls], 100 Needles, 6 Ketles, 10 Fadom of Wampum, 7 Chest of powder, 1 pare of child stokins, 10 pounds of lead, 1 dosen of knives." Students are then asked to explain how they might have used each of the items if they were a Native American at the time?

It is interesting for students to know the medium of exchange for the land. It allows for a discussion of primary sources. However, it is important to have activities that help children to analyze the source meaningfully and use their imagination. Students can explain what the items would be used for and then draw conclusions about whether the exchange was fair to the Native Americans? to the settlers? were they making a fair deal? why or why not?

The maps and pictures included in the book are an exciting use of sources. The *Diary of Henry Hudson*, the dinner menu at a tavern, an original settlement map, a Mount painting, epitaphs from tombstones, and pictures of churches and homes are some of the various items included for exploration and discovery.

Each page of the book includes a short story, an original source, whether it be a picture or a diary entry or a map, and an activity. The activities focus on the narrative and the sources. However, the activities generally focus on the what

rather than the why. For example, on the page about Setauket women and children at sea, the activities asks students, "What would you write in a letter to family and friends?" That is nice to do, and it should be part of the activity. However, there should be a part of the activity where students are asked to discuss why women went to sea and how much courage did it take for them to do so.

Then students could practice writing a letter about their imagined experiences. The activity on "A Grave Education" is interesting for students to do. Students are asked to draw conclusions about what the epitaph means. The function of an epitaph tells students about the society. All of the activities should have this component--going from the what to the why?

Discover Setauket is also about the stories of the area: The Setauket Spy Ring and the places associated with it are explained and narrated; the Tyler Brothers General Store; the captains and seamen; and the African Americans and their stories are identified, pictured, and presented in an engaging way. Young readers get to know American history a little better because they "know their local place."

GLORIA SESSO

Half Hollow Hills School District

Anne Nauman, *The Junior Partner: Edith Loring Fullerton, Long Island Pioneer*. Las Vegas, Nev: Scrub Oak Press, 1997. Illustrations, notes. Pp. xi, 206. \$24 paper. Available at the Suffolk County Historical Society, Riverhead, NY 11901, or P.O. Box 34691, Las Vegas, NV 89133 (add \$2.50 for shipping).

Hal B. Fullerton, special agent and director of agriculture for the Long Island Railroad (LIRR), and today best known for his photographs, called his wife Edith the "Junior Partner." Their marriage, development of the railroad's two experimental farms, and numerous publications indeed reflected a partnership. Anne Nauman, the Fullertons' granddaughter, edited and published her mother's memoirs in 1993, *My Long Island: Growing Up on Hal B. Fullerton's Blessed Isle, 1902-1942*, by Eleanor F. Ferguson. There, and in Charles L. Sachs, *The Blessed Isle: Hal B. Fullerton and His Image of Long Island, 1897-1927* (1991), Edith Fullerton remained decidedly in the shadow of her husband. Hal Fullerton had an effusive and flamboyant personality, whereas Edith was quiet, patient, and soft spoken. Nauman maintains, however, that Hal's success was "due in large part to the contribution of his extraordinary life partner" (ix).

Hal Fullerton's career with the LIRR was devoted to promoting Long Island and thus increase the railroad's business. One method was to expand freight traffic by developing agriculture. Fullerton had responsibility for two experimental farms to demonstrate the productivity of Long Island's "wastelands" of scrub oak and pine barrens for market gardening, dairying, and horticulture. The first farm, established at Wading River, operated from 1905 to 1914, and the second at Medford, 1907-1928; thus, for seven years, the Fullertons "gyrated" between the two farms.

Edith Loring Jones was born in Brooklyn in 1876. After her mother died when

she was four, she was raised by her maternal Quaker aunt and uncle in Bristol, Pennsylvania. She married Hal Fullerton in 1898. Edith's three children were born between 1899 and 1908, and thus, during the peak years of the demonstration farms, Edith was caring for her young children. She also managed the household (with domestic help), was extensively involved with the two farms (though not officially named assistant director of agriculture until 1915), preserved fruits and vegetables, hosted (and often fed) numerous visitors, and became a prolific writer on gardening and agriculture.

Even before starting the experimental farms, the Fullertons had collaborated on articles for newspapers and magazines on home gardening and horticulture, with Edith the writer and Hal the photographer and illustrator. They contributed to Doubleday's *How to Make a Flower Garden* (1904), which then published Edith's *How to Make a Vegetable Garden: A Practical and Suggestive Manual for the Home Garden* (1905). The Fullertons kept detailed diaries documenting work on the Wading River farm which were the basis for Edith's popular *Lure of the Land*, published by the LIRR in 1906. This very readable and personalized account went through four editions in the next six years, with information added about the Medford farm. Edith also edited the LIRR's *Long Island Agronomist* from 1907 to 1914. This began as a biweekly, four-page leaflet and grew into a monthly journal of up to sixteen pages, with a circulation reaching sixteen thousand. Other pamphlets and books Edith wrote were *Small Gardens for Small Folks* (1912), *The Book of the Home Garden* (1919), and *History of Long Island Agriculture* (1930), as well as numerous articles for newspapers and magazines.

Nauman quotes extensively from Edith's writings, unpublished lectures, and manuscripts, providing valuable information on agriculture, gardening, the responsibilities of a farmer's wife, and women's lives. Since her books are out-of-print and not widely available, having the information in this format, highlighting women's activities, is very useful.

In her lectures and Home Bureau activities, Edith Fullerton encouraged agriculture as an occupation for women. She felt that women were well suited to the "higher branches of agriculture"—they could hire someone to do the manual labor, but needed to "know how themselves" (132). She had that "deep love of growing and living things and cultivated observation" she thought essential for a successful "agriculturist" (139). Edith, herself, won many awards at county and state fairs for her butter and preserves. (In 1911, she put up nearly one hundred different varieties of fruit and preserves, filling more than 5,000 jars, glasses, and bottles!).

The biography is lavishly illustrated with black and white photographs or other illustrations on virtually every page. Indeed, at times it seems almost a family photo album. The photographs are excellent and well reproduced; most have not been previously published. They provide visual evidence not just of rural family life, but also of agriculture in the early decades of the twentieth century when Suffolk County was beginning to develop its important market gardening and horticultural activities. (Today it is the leading agricultural county in New York

State.)

The last decade of Edith's life receives less attention. Hal had to retire from the railroad in 1927, when he was seventy, and Edith was named director of agriculture. After she was transferred to the railroad's publicity department at Penn Station, she asserted her autonomy and moved to New York City in 1929. Nauman sensitively treats this estrangement from her rather domineering husband. Edith died in 1931, three months after undergoing a hysterectomy; she was only fifty-four years of age.

Although Hal used the phrase "junior partner" to refer to Edith, he acknowledged the "50-50 partnership." She, in turn, often referred to her husband, who was nineteen years older, as the "Senior Partner." Nauman rightly decries that Edith's life so often has been evaluated only in the context of her husband's career, documents how her contributions frequently were not acknowledged, and notes that her death certificate lists her occupation merely as "housewife" (192). Using "The Junior Partner" as a title for a book about Edith, however, demeans her and again puts her in the shadow of her husband.

Edith Fullerton's writings illumine the lives of farm women, and her own life, documented here, is an example of a married career woman working in the family business. As Nauman concludes, she "worked to improve the lot of rural women, giving them a new sense of worth and of possibility." She was "a woman ahead of her time" (196) who, in her own life, demonstrated equality in marriage and a model partnership in career. This biography of Edith Loring Fullerton enables the "Lady of the Garden" to take center stage, and finally recognizes her significant role.

NATALIE A. NAYLOR
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Horace Hallock, *The Orphan Path: Journals of Horace Hallock 1819-1834*. Compiled by Elizabeth M. Smith Doering. North Carolina: Delmar Publishing, 1988. Pp. 183. \$29.95 plus \$3.95 shipping and handling, from Eliz. Doering, 2167 Dart Ave., #5, Belleair Bluffs, FL 34640.

Peter Hallock arrived on Long Island in 1640. From its first lodgment in Southold, the family spread across the Island, and onto the mainland. Today there are Hallocks across the continent, using various spellings of the name. A writing streak runs through the family, and Hallocks have produced poetry, journals, biography, military and legal treatises, genealogies, satire, and diaries. Some of these writings have been published, but much more has been written for personal pleasure or to be shared within the family, and never intended for publication. Horace Hallock's journal falls within the personal category.

Horace Hallock was born in 1807 in New York City. Five years later his mother died, and he and his older brother Lewis were sent to live with their grandmother and an uncle in Southold. The following year their father died, leaving the boys orphaned. At the age of twelve, Horace began writing a journal, a practice he maintained intermittently until 1830. "I do it not to meet the eyes of a scrutinizing world," he wrote,

or I expect no one save myself, or some bosom friends with which I can safely confide, the secrets of my heart, will ever peruse it. Neither do I do it because I expect my life will be remarkable for any great deeds which I shall perform....No, far from it, nothing above the common sphere of private life do I ever expect to engage in, yet even in that I shall probably often mingle in scenes worthy of remembrance [sic] and which would afford me pleasure to review (45).

The published journals will primarily attract those interested in the history of Long Island and New York City. Horace spent most of his journal years in either the city or Suffolk County. He began the journal while attending school in East Hampton, and wrote his last entry in mid-1830, shortly after his wife died following childbirth. Interspersed throughout the volume are letters written to Horace, most of them from his brother.

Hallock's experiences on Long Island were varied. He mentions going on a community outing to gather cattle at Montauk (10); visiting a court session held in a tavern (12); attending the annual town meeting in a church (13); the moving of a barn from one man's property to another, with sixty men and nearly forty boys to help (16); getting "electrified" at the doctor's (22); going out with a group of men to fish, and catching a haul of about 25,000 (23-24); attending a court session in Riverhead (26); and he describes what appears to have been a hurricane—"It tore up the trees by the roots and blew over several barns and outhouses....Several sloops were blown ashore in the bay... [T]here were many people drowned" (31-32).

While in New York City, Hallock enjoyed a different existence. He wrote of a celebration on an anniversary of the British leaving the city, and a baptism in the East River (19); visiting a museum to see the "Esquimeaux Indians" brought there for display (20); leaving the city for about three months, along with many others, in fall 1822 because of "the dreadfully malignant fever which raged in New York" (46); and attending a widely-publicized murder trial and the resulting execution, where an "immense crowd of people... thronged the streets to catch a glimpse of the unhappy man"—a crowd so large that Hallock asserted it "surpassed all I ever witnessed" (49-50). Hallock also mentions General LaFayette's visit to America (53-55); the opening of the Erie Canal (59); and Moving Day in the city—in May 1827,

the bustle and confusion occasioned by it is at all times very disagreeable, but I think this season was more than usually so..In many places heaps of furniture, mingled with the rubbish of ancient times, was so piled along the walks that it was with difficulty they could be passed. The owners of them had doubtless neglected procuring a future residence, until the hour of departure arrived, and therefore those whose legal right it was to enter had unhoused and without ceremony hurled them in the street, leaving to the mercy of the passing travellers, the pitiless goods (59-60, 79-80).

Hallock usually takes the opportunity offered by the Fourth of July to write extensively of freedom, liberty, and patriotism. In 1826 he reported the deaths of both Thomas Jefferson and John Adams on the fiftieth anniversary of the signing

of the Declaration of Independence. "They were indeed stars of liberty to this western hemisphere," Hallock declared in typical rhetoric. "Their lights shone brilliant and have sat in glory. As long as freedom and the love of liberty dwells with us their memory will be fondly cherished" ((63-64).

The last twenty-three pages consists of a hodgepodge of letters written by and to various people. It appears that Hallock eventually married his sister-in-law sometime after the death of his first wife, but that is never made clear. The letters overall simply serve to confuse the reader.

This volume has many drawbacks. There has been no editing whatsoever; it is simply whatever was included in the journals and the letters that apparently were preserved along with them. Hallock frequently moved about on the Island, but there is no map to guide the reader as to where he is. There is no index. No one has been identified, so the reader is presented with a long list of people in a vacuum, and usually even family relationships are not clear. On page 92 a letter is included from William Hatch to Mary Ann Raymond, two people we have never heard of before, and with no explanation as to why it is there. On page 109 we discover that Hallock married Mary Ann Raymond, but Hatch is not mentioned again.

Events are not placed in context. For example, in Hallock's first reference to the Erie Canal he calls it "The Grand Canal," a reference many readers may not know means the Erie Canal (59); it would have been interesting to know more about the famous murder case (49-50); what was the "dreadfully malignant fever" that drove New Yorkers out of the city (46); what was Moving Day all about; how did live "Esquimeaux Indians" come to be on exhibit, and at what museum; and what happened to Hallock during the last sixty years of his life.

This volume will perhaps be of some interest to members of the Hallock family, and to those interested in, and already knowledgeable about, the social life of Long Island and New York City in the 1820s; because of its many weaknesses it will be of limited interest and use to others.

JUDITH LEE HALLOCK
Historian/Author

Thinking and Writing: A Guide for College Students. St. James: Brandywine Press, 1997. Pp. 159. \$6.50 (paper).

This brief handbook shows students with little formal training in grammar how they can recognize the ways that language works. It is a fresh supplement for members of any class in which the professor who assigns papers believes that content and writing are intertwined.

The purpose of the book is to explain how to write coherent and concise essays. Though aimed at first-year undergraduates, it is useful for anyone who wishes to improve his or her writing. Without attempting to replace traditional grammar textbooks, the book has an upbeat style of writing that makes it enjoyable and informative. Some review of grammar and punctuation is offered, but the focus of *Thinking and Writing* is on ways and means of improving a student's literary style.

One section compares a good essay to a good conversation: people who are able to speak coherently already possess the necessary grammatical and compositional skill to write correctly. Another key to better writing is listening to the written words, with rereading and editing crucial to the entire process. Using these techniques, the book explains how to construct and then improve an essay.

The book is directed at undergraduates, but I, as a graduate student, also find it extremely useful. I hope Brandywine Press will expand future editions to cover this crucial subject in greater depth.

CHRISTOPHER GENNARI
SUNY at Stony Brook

Book Notes

Celebrate East Hampton - 1998 Wall Engagement Calendar. East Hampton: East Hampton 350th Anniversary Society, 1998. \$10, from E.H. 350th Anniversary Society, East Hampton, NY 11793 - phone (516) 324-8200. This handsome wall calendar offers monthly pages for noting engagements, annotated with the dates of key events, including each lecture in the series that will last throughout the year, and topped by beautiful photographs of East Hampton landmarks and landscapes.

Paul Negri, ed. *Civil War Poetry: An Anthology*. New York: Dover Publications, 1997. Pp. 119. \$1.50 (paper). This remarkably low-priced collection includes classics by Bryant, Emerson, Lanier, Longfellow, Melville, Whittier, and Whitman, as well as memorable works by lesser-known poets.

Richard Henry Dana Jr. *The Seaman's Friend: A Treatise on Practical Seamanship*. 1879; reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1997. Illustrations, dictionary of sea terms. Pp. 225. \$7.95 (paper). An attractive reprint of a nautical classic detailing the day-to-day aspects of seamanship in the eighteenth century.

Lord Charnwood. *Abraham Lincoln*. 1917; reprint, Mineola: Dover Publications, 1997. Bibliography, index. Pp. xii, 482. \$11.95 (paper). This well-researched biography was among the first major works on Lincoln and affords unique perspective of his life and times.

Editor's note: The LIHJ commends Dover Publications for offering 248 complete and unabridged classics of fiction, poetry and drama for one to two dollars each. All books are 5" x 8", paperbound, newly typeset, sturdily bound and with handsome, laminated covers.

Books to be reviewed in Fall 1998.

David Yehling Allen. *Long Island Maps and Their Makers: Five Centuries of*

Cartographic History. Mattituck: Amereon House, 1998. Illustrations, bibliography, notes, index. Pp. xix, 153. \$23.95 plus 3.95 for shipping and handling for the first copy; \$1.10 for each additional copy, from Amereon House, P.O. Box 1200, Mattituck, NY 11952-9500. A comprehensive history of Long Island maps from the earliest explorers' charts to the most recent developments in digital cartography.

Natalie A. Naylor and Maureen O. Murphy, eds. *Long Island Women: Activists and Innovators*. Interlaken N.Y.: Empire State Books, under the auspices of the Long Island Studies Institute, Hofstra University, 1998. Illustrations, bibliography, notes, index. Pp. 368. \$38 (cloth), \$20 (paper). A comprehensive collection of essays focused on the expanding roles and significant contributions of Long Island women.

Jeffrey A. Kroessler. *Lighting the Way: The Centennial History of the Queens Borough Public Library, 1896-1996*. Virginia Beach, Va.: Donning Company, 1996. Illustrations, bibliography, index. 8½ x 11" hardback. Pp. ix, 138. \$29.95 plus \$4.95 shipping and handling, from Queens Library Foundation, 89-11 Merrick Blvd., Jamaica, N.Y. 11432.1 Paralleling the growth of Queens County, this handsomely illustrated volume chronicles the first hundred years of service of one of Long Island's major libraries.

Clarence Taylor. *Knocking at Our Own Door: Milton A. Galamison and the Struggle for School Integration in New York City*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997. Noyes, index. Pp. 261. \$29.50. The biography of a civil rights leader and champion of public school integration.

Shirley G. Hibbard. *Rock Hall: A Narrative History*. New York: Friends of Rock Hall in association with Dover Publications, 1997. Illustrations, index. Pp. 81. \$14.00 (paper). Available from Friends of Rock Hall, Rock Hall Museum, 199 Broadway, Lawrence, NY 11559. An account of one of Nassau County's historic landmarks.

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