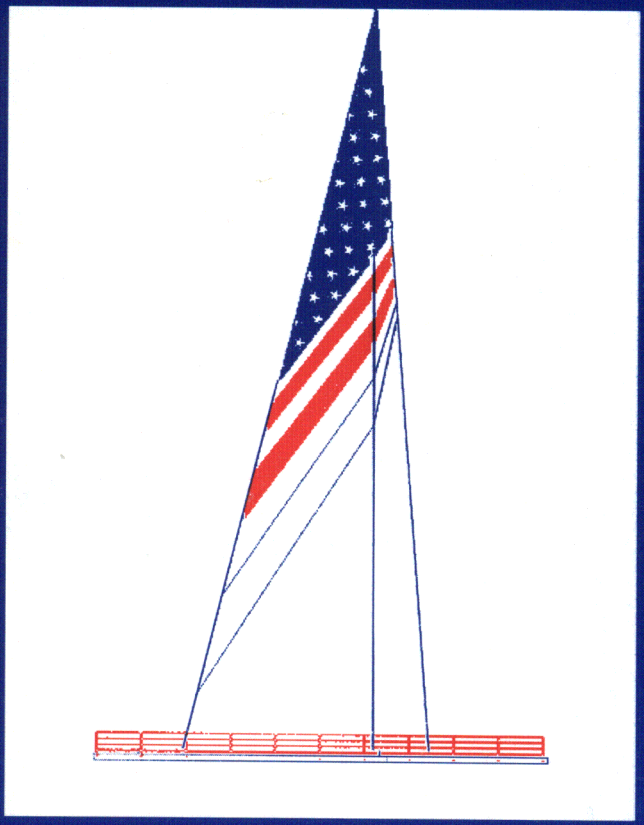
THE LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL JOURNAL



Suffolk County Vietnam Veterans' Memorial

Spring 2000
Volume 12 • Number 2

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

Spring 2000
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THE LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL JOURNAL

Cover: The Suffolk County Vietnam Veterans' Memorial, Farmingville, N.Y. Photograph by Christopher A. Gennari, 1999.

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CONTRIBUTORS

Sherrill Foster has written extensively on the history of the East End, including her essay "By Choice or by Chance: Single Women's Lives in Nineteenth-Century Suffolk County," in *Awakening the Past: The East Hampton 350th Anniversary Lecture Series* (East Hampton, 1999), 221-40.

Christopher A. Gennari, a recent SUNY at Stony graduate, is a former assistant editor of the *Long Island Historical Journal.*

Anna Lanahan, who grew up in Brooklyn, has taught in the New York City public schools, the University of Missouri-St. Louis, several air bases in Germany, and West Los Angeles College.

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

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

John A. Strong, professor emeritus at the Southampton Campus of L.I.U. and a prolific analyst of Long Island's Indian peoples, is the author of *The Algonquian Peoples of Long Island from Earliest Times to 1700* (Interlaken, N.Y., 1997).

Zsuzsana Török, a fifth-year student in the Department of Cultural and Visual Anthropology at the University of Miskolc, Hungary, is presently an exchange student at the University of Calgary, Canada.

Secondary school essay contest winners

At the time of submission,

Raphael Rabin-Havt was a junior at Paul D. Schreiber High School, Port Washington.

Reggie Shore was a junior at Amityville Memorial High School.

Amanda Stone and **Vincent Taurassi** were juniors at Smithtown High School.

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

For information, contact either of our two co-presidents:

Natalie A. Naylor
Long Island Studies Council
Hofstra University — West Campus
619 Fulton Avenue
Hempstead, NY 11549
(516) 463-6413: fax, (516) 463-6441

or

Richard Stewart
16 Barteau Avenue
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The *Long Island Historical Journal* regretfully presents the Huntington Historical Society's obituary of its late beloved curator, who was also a learned and helpful member of our advisory board..

MITZI CAPUTO 1937-1999

By Robert Hughes
Huntington Historical Society

Huntington lost a great friend 20 December 1999 when Historical Society Curator Mitzi Caputo passed away after an almost year long struggle with pancreatic cancer. As a part of the historical society for thirty years and a member of the Huntington Historic Preservation Commission for ten, Mitzi did as much as anyone has ever done to preserve the history of our town.

Mitzi was born in Winnsboro, Texas, on 26 October 1937. Growing up on a farm in Texas, she was a tomboy learning things that would serve her well later when she became the unofficial chief mechanic for the Society. Shortly after graduating from high school, Mitzi went to a party where she met a young radio announcer from New York named Joseph Caputo, who's radio name is Joe Roberts. "When I went to that party and saw her, it was probably love at first sight," Joe recalled recently. "She was a strikingly beautiful woman. She had blue eyes, blond hair and a sweet personality."

Mitzi and Joe married the next year and moved to Dallas after the birth of their son Joe in 1956. Their second son, Philip, was born in Dallas. In 1959, the family moved to Huntington Village and their daughter Cindy was born soon thereafter. As her children grew, Mitzi became involved with the local PTA and also politics, as an active member of the Conservative Party.

By the early 1970s, Mitzi starting getting involved with the Historical Society, first as a volunteer and then as an employee. Her initial assignment was with education programs, after which she went on to become the society's registrar and then its curator.

Although her contributions were numerous, perhaps Mitzi's most important work was in organizing and identifying thousands of images in the society's photograph collection. Her husband describes her as a photo detective able to identify buildings and sites in old photographs. That ability stemmed in large part from her many hours of driving around town with unidentified photographs on her lap as she looked for the same bend in the road, the same natural features, or the same shape of an old building hidden under later alterations.

Her diligence has yielded tremendous dividends for us. The society's collection now includes over 250,000 photographic images—many with Mitzi's handwritten notations on the back. In October, the society's board of trustees voted to honor Mitzi's work with the photo collection by officially naming it in her honor. As the society grew, Mitzi was one constant. When financial difficulties led to a staff reduction in the mid-1990s, she was the only one left to hold everything together until better days returned. Mitzi worked incredibly long hours for little pay but never complained. She would turn down job offers in order to remain at the society, where she could continue to preserve Huntington's history.

"One of the best things about going to the historical society was the chance to hear Mitzi tell stories of Huntington's past," said society president Robert Hughes. "She always loved sharing her knowledge of history."

"She was tirelessly graceful, patient, and informative," wrote Al Walker, a fellow member of the preservation commission. At a party given in her honor last fall, Mitzi said regretfully, "There was so much I wanted to do, but it was not meant to be." She did so much, we couldn't have asked for anything more and we are forever grateful to her." In her memory, the society will continue her work.

At her family's request, donations are being accepted for the Mitzi L. Caputo Photograph Collection c/o The Huntington Historical Society, 209 Main Street, Huntington, NY 11743.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

Updating the primaries has stolen the drama from presidential nominations. Conventions once took at least several ballots to choose a party's candidate. Now we know the names by the middle of March, and political junkies like us face a long hot summer of same old same old, night after night on the talk shows. À propos presidential elections, do you know the three exceptions to both Nassau and Suffolk counties' voting for the Republican nominee? No, they involved neither FDR nor JFK. The final answer won't make you a millionaire, but here it is: 1912, when Teddy Roosevelt's Bull Moose ticket reduced the Republican vote for Taft and allowed the Democrat, Woodrow Wilson, to carry both of the counties; 1964, when dissatisfaction with the views of Barry Goldwater led many GOPsters to pull down the lever for Lyndon B. Johnson; and 1996, when a similar dearth of support for Bob Dole caused Bill Clinton's bicounty victory. As for the 2000 campaign, your nonpartisan *LIHJ* takes no stand: we look forward to the coming election, which, whatever the outcome, we will examine within the framework of Long Island as America. We also will watch what happens when, and for the first time, the town of Hempstead elects its council by districts instead of the at-large method.

This issue of *LIHJ* presents a wide-ranging assortment of articles and reviews. Christopher Gennari's account of the building of the Suffolk County Vietnam Veterans' Memorial and John Strong and Zsuzsanna Török's analysis of the Indian response to the Rev. Azariah Horton's seventeenth-century mission epitomize our premise of Long Island as America. Anna Lanahan's eloquent *cri de couer*, "Brooklyn's Consolidation: A Point of View," contends that the 1898 amalgamation of Greater New York was a Manhattan-based project imposed upon Kings, a position coolly challenged by Donald Simon's "Brooklyn's Consolidation: A Different Point of View." In their searching studies of colonial times, Sherrill Foster examines East Hampton's "Clinton Academy: Its History and Architecture," and, Elizabeth Shepherd contributes a penetrating description of "Land, Livestock, and Liberty: Richard Smith of Smithtown." Winning essays in our contest for secondary school students include "Book

Banning in Long Island School Libraries: A Reexamination of *Island Trees School District V. Pico et al.* (1982)," by Raphael Rabin-Havt, Schreiber Port Washington High School; "Mitchel Field and the History of Aviation on Long Island," by Reggie Shore, Amityville Memorial High School; and "Brookhaven National Laboratory and "Big Science," by Amanda Stone and Vincent Taurassi, Smithtown High School. A variety of reviews of recent works on Long Island, concerning such major subjects as William Sidney Mount, Walt Whitman, Nassau and Kings counties, East Hampton, Blue Point, and Shelter Island, as well as a book about privateering on the high seas, and several interesting letters complete this well-rounded edition.

The journal needs your renewals together with new subscriptions, especially those solicited by our loyal and learned readers. The low cost remains $15, for which we furnish a two-issue annual volume of future high collector-value. Please respond to the notice you soon will receive, and do your best to sign up a friend: in addition, feel free to send us your articles and reviews, submitted to *LIHJ*, Department of History, SUNY at Stony Brook, Stony Brook, NY 11794-4348.

THE BUILDING OF THE SUFFOLK COUNTY VIETNAM VETERANS' MEMORIAL

By Christopher A. Gennari

The longer the war in Vietnam dragged on, the more divisive it became. As protest polarized the country, violence broke out on campuses, young men fled to Canada to avoid the draft, and more young men fought and died in jungle battles against a determined and elusive opponent. Opposition became so vehement and pervasive that returning soldiers found themselves trapped between the administration conducting the war and the large number of civilians trying to end it. Unlike the joyful celebrations for World War II troops, the return of Vietnam soldiers received little fanfare; many were shunned or openly harassed. They were perceived as tools of a misguided government pursuing a misguided war in Southeast Asia from which the U.S. emerged in far from victorious fashion. Not until the 1980s, more than ten years after the soldiers came home, did the country reintegrate Vietnam veterans into society. Whatever they felt about the war, people no longer blamed government policy on the men and women in uniform who had performed what they perceived as their patriotic duty.

Activist Vietnam veterans encouraged this reintegration. Its most prominent symbol, the Vietnam Memorial Wall in Washington, D.C., encouraged the nation to come to terms with its recent past. Before the wall, Vietnam was all but excluded from popular culture, with a few exceptions such as the movies *Deer Hunter* and *Apocalypse Now*. Since the building of the wall, Vietnam has become an acceptable topic. Movies, including the critically acclaimed *Platoon* and *Full Metal Jacket*, were produced by important directors (*Platoon* won the Academy Award for best picture of 1986); *Marvel Comics* created a Vietnam War-based comic book, *The 'Nam*; and a prime-time television series, *China Beach*, focused on female nurses in Vietnam. Veterans' organizations, inspired by the wall, began to build smaller memorials throughout the country. One such group, with the support of the community, built a Vietnam Veterans' Memorial in Suffolk County, the subject of this article. Located on Bald Hill, on the eastern edge of Farmingville on County Route 83, the structure represents the Vietnam veterans' reintegration into Long Island's society, as well as localization of the symbolic Vietnam Wall.[1]

Unlike the glorious homecoming of warriors from Germany and Japan, Vietnam veterans returned alone, without acclaim. Most of them found that the public's distaste for the war was projected to its soldiers. In his book, *Born on the Fourth of July*, Ron Kovic, a native Long Islander, describes a Memorial Day parade in which no one cheered, waved, or shook his hand, causing him to feel

like an "animal in the zoo." Stephen Hayduk, a primary figure in building the Suffolk County Memorial, remembers that when he told a cab driver at the airport that he was just back from Vietnam, the man insulted him. Ken Mitchko recalls with disappointment how the government let the Vietnam veteran down. The new G.I. Bill was small and not readily accessible, jobs for veterans were hard to come by, and bills passed in Congress gave amnesty to draft evaders before giving compensation to soldiers who, while serving their country, were sickened by Agent Orange.[2]

For a decade after it ended, the Vietnam War and its consequences weighed heavily on the collective memory. Not until 1982, with the dedication of the Vietnam Veteran's Wall in Washington, D.C., did the nation begin to confront itself. As the attitude toward soldiers of the war changed, the Suffolk County Memorial found a fertile field in which to grow. The goal of the Suffolk County Vietnam Veteran's Memorial Commission was to create a monument that would help all veterans of Vietnam take pride in themselves, their service, and their country. As John Behan, a Republican assemblyman who lost both legs in the war, declared at the land dedication ceremony in 1986: "It is only a short walk to the top of this hill but its been a long time coming home from Vietnam." Hayduk's speech, at the memorial's dedication five years later, reflected the same sentiment as he called to the veterans, "Welcome home at last!" The hope had been to create a place in Suffolk County where veterans could go and feel welcome, and, from marble and steel, the members of the commission felt that it had accomplished that goal.[3]

The Suffolk project continued the Washington Wall's purpose of creating a place where Americans could begin to resolve their feelings toward the war. The smaller-scale Suffolk Memorial is meant to be a place where individuals, especially former soldiers, can take pride for having served their country. Each memorial provides a full circle of emotional services.

The wall in Washington, dedicated in 1982, has a black marble facade that lists the names of the 58,000 American casualties. Visiting this powerfully emotive structure inspired some to get more involved in veterans' affairs. One such veteran was Bill Beastlier, one-time head of the Suffolk chapter of Vietnam Veterans of America, for whom the wall symbolized a change in society's view of the Vietnam veteran, and also a change in veterans' feelings towards themselves.[4]

Several others interviewed agreed that the "mood of the country had changed." There was a unanimous opinion that the Suffolk County Memorial could not have been built before the Washington Wall, because of the mood of the country. The wall, which had an important, if unquantifiable, effect on the country, was also the yardstick by which the Suffolk County Memorial would be judged. Aware from the beginning that their memorial would be compared to the Washington Wall, the committee decided to make it architecturally different. On a local cable television show, William Stilwagen said that it would not duplicate the Washington Wall. Consciously and unconsciously, the process of building integrated the lessons learned from building the wall.[5]

At a 1985 Welcome Home Parade for Vietnam Veterans in New York City, John Behan was pushed at the head of the parade by Mayor Edward I. Koch. This caught the attention of Suffolk County Executive Peter Cohalan, who called Behan the next day to ask, "if it was the right time for Suffolk to do something" for the veterans. Suffolk County has one of the highest per capita concentrations of Vietnam veterans in the country. Cohalan also contacted James Larocca, a prominent Democrat involved in the cabinet of Governor Mario M. Cuomo and a representative of the Long Island Association. Cohalan gave Larocca and Behan the mission to put together a non- partisan organization to create a memorial to the Vietnam veterans of Suffolk.[6]

Behan and Larocca advertised in local newspapers for volunteers. The commission eventually formed contained nearly sixty people, mostly male veterans with a significant minority of women and non veterans. The commission was headed by Behan and Larocca, with William Stilwagen as the executive director and liaison between Behan and Larocca and the committees for site and design, finance, and fund raising into which the rest of the commission members were divided.

The first chore was selection of a site. The H. Lee Dennison Plaza was the assumed place for the memorial. Cohalan had offered the land to the commission upon its formation. Dennison Plaza had several advantages: it was open, flat land owned by the county, directly accessible to major roads (at the intersection of Routes 454 and 347) and highways (at the eastern end of the Northern State Parkway and a few miles north of the Long Island Expressway). Surprising Cohalan, the Site and Design Selection Committee rejected his offer, in what Larocca called an "act of independence." George Sullivan, who became the accountant for the commission after Behan asked him to join, said the plaza "was too busy and too crowded. The Commission wanted a place for contemplation." The plaza would have been inadequate for the design which was later built, as adjoining roads were too heavily trafficked. The site currently is home to several memorials, including one to Korean War veterans, but none as physically impressive as the Bald Hill Memorial. The selection of Bald Hill heavily influenced the type of design the commission selected.[7]

The Site and Design Committee looked at thirteen different sites in Suffolk County. "Most were flat," according to Stilwagen. Bald Hill had "unique features." According to the Site Design Packages sent to all prospective architects, the site was appropriate for the memorial for three reasons: it was highly visible, with an outstanding view; it was the geographic focal point of the immediate area; and it was conducive to reflection, meditation, and serenity. Stilwagen described the view as "stunning," with the symbolic benefit of being a high point. According to Behan, it reminded many commission members of the high ground of Vietnam, the only place where they felt safe.[8]

The site had several disadvantages. Bald Hill is actually two hills, comprising six and a half acres. At the time, it was an underdeveloped and heavily wooded area with a seedy reputation, an area Larocca described as "a neglected and undistinguished place by the road." However, the advantage of a magnificent view

in a non-heavily trafficked area allowed for the contemplation the commission sought. Bald Hill, its appearance and reputation, was going to have to be transformed.[9]

Because the county owned the land, a change of ownership was easily accomplished. Cohalan arranged for the Bald Hill site to be transferred to the ownership of the commission. At the site dedication ceremony, Stilwagen quoted Joel Meisner, owner of the Plainview foundry that made the statue of *Three Fighting Men* which stands with the wall in Washington, D.C., as saying, after looking at the Bald Hill site, "If you people do this right, this will be the finest memorial in the United States."[10]

The next step was to find a design that would complement the site. Planning a nationwide competition, the commission generated advertisements in veterans' magazines, art magazines, and architectural journals. For a fee of $25, applicants could receive the Site Design Packet. One advertisement proclaimed, "We'll give you six and a half acres"; another, directed at youngsters, said, "Ask your parents about Vietnam." The package included topographic maps, a blueprint showing the location of Bald Hill in relation to Long Island, and pamphlets relating a short history of Suffolk County, its demography, the weather and ecology of the Bald Hill area, and a description of the site. The commission received more than four thousand applications from every state in the union and thirty-eight foreign countries, resulting in 384 design submissions.[11]

The designs ran the gamut from statues and structures to landscape art. Deborah Mellon, a member of the Site and Design Committee, said that, "concepts of blood and death came up a lot." She cited examples of a memorial made of a series of gravestones; one with a red water pond as the centerpiece; a recreated firebase; a bronze helicopter; and a showcase of museum artifacts. Mellon "wanted something bright and alive." She, and most commission members, did not want another Vietnam Wall because of its grim though powerful emotional stimulation; instead, they wanted something to make veterans proud of their service in Vietnam. Larocca stated that the site helped influence the type of design that the committee picked. Given the high elevation and superior view, the committee wanted something bigger and taller.[12]

Bob Fox's design fit both the committee's desire for "bright and alive" and the site's emphasis on size and height. Mimicking the Vietnam Wall Design Competition, the commission coded and reviewed every entry without knowing the name or address of the designer so that their voting would not be influenced. Slowly they waded through the masses of submissions, and after months of heated debate agreed on Fox's design. The original design was a crude sketch of a concept submitted by a former Vietnam veteran who worked as a house painter in Massachusetts. The concept had a marble spire design, with the American flag painted on the facade, to stand on the south hill and be illuminated from within though a complement of stained glass and fiber-optics. The north hill had a platoon of bronze soldiers, at rest, drinking water, shoveling a foxhole, or lying on the hill contemplating the spire.

The concepts of the platoon and internal illumination were eliminated because of their cost, but the tall, marble, flag-painted structure, according to Stephen Hayduk, "Struck people—it complemented the site well." Fox explained, at the unveiling ceremony on Memorial Day 1989, that he wanted to "take advantage of the site by making a memorial that was highly visible [and] honor the veterans for their willingness to serve." The concept arose from the premise that the

> demanding existence in the boonies rapidly stripped away all the subterfuge and superficialities possible in normal life. A soldier's character was clear to himself and his fellows. He was called upon to demonstrate his loyalty, selflessness, endurance, and grace under stress in both large and small ways. All these thoughts and emotions are combined in the memorial design in its sharp angels, its clean lines and surfaces, its display of the colors, and its beacon like appearance.[13]

After the unveiling, *Newsday* commented that the "proposed memorial to Vietnam Veterans is just about everything that its Washington counterpart is not. The wall is dark, low and brooding. The Farmingville memorial will be red, white and blue, and patriotic."[14] This was not the last time the Suffolk County Memorial would be compared to the Vietnam Wall. Throughout the existence of the commission, the image of the Vietnam Wall in Washington, D.C., hung over the proceedings like a successful older brother; the Suffolk memorial had to find its own identity, while always in the shadow of (and being compared to) this highly successful, emotional, and important memorial in the nation's capital. In every interview, from the formation of the commission to the unveiling of the design, the inevitable question was, "Will this be like the wall in Washington?" to which the answer was "No." The commission wanted something different, something serving the purpose of creating a sense of pride and honor in those that served.

The Washington Wall is an imposing structure in the nation's psyche, its purpose to acknowledge the service of Vietnam War soldiers, both living and dead. One design criterion was that the names of the dead and missing be on the memorial. The aim was to "heal the nation's wounds from Vietnam by commemorating the soldiers rather than the war." In this manner, the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial Fund (VVMF), which financed the construction, hoped to avoid any controversy over the wall's political meaning. The wall was to have no political meaning. It would be a testament to people, not policy. But, from the beginning, the wall was shrouded in controversy.[15]

Much debate centered on the differences between the wall and various memorials in the surrounding area. Located on the Mall between the Lincoln Memorial and the Washington Monument, "the [wall] stands in opposition to the codes of remembrance... Virtually all of the national memorials and monuments in Washington are made of white stone and are constructed to be seen from a distance." The Washington Wall, made of polished black granite, is cut into the earth instead of rising above it, and, consequently, is not viewable from a distance. Moreover, it has no perceivable architectural history, as opposed to the

Washington Monument obelisk with its roots in Roman and Egyptian architecture, or the Lincoln and Jefferson Memorials modeled on the Greek temple. Unlike other military memorials and monuments, it does not invoke heroic images of soldiering in the manner of the Iwo Jima *Raising the Flag* memorial. For the wall even to be built, Congress insisted that the *Three Fighting Men* statue be added (later a bronze statue to women veterans of the war was added) because many people wanted a more traditional memorial design.[16]

The memorial generated debate concerning who should be remembered and who should do the remembering. The wall has the names of all those killed or missing in Vietnam, and so, in a manner of speaking, is intended to honor those who died or did not come back, not those who returned. The *Three Fighting Men* commemorates only men's role in the war, even though women served as well. Diane Evans and Donna Marie Boulay, who directed the funding for a women's Vietnam memorial, commented that it was the "depiction of the three men who make the absence of women so visible [and that they] would not have initiated the project had the memorial stood alone."[17] Despite all the controversy about the design, once the memorial was built it was accepted as a uniquely powerful symbol.

The wall became the starting point for public debate concerning Vietnam. Since 1982, the wall has "spawned the design or construction of at least 150 other memorials," and it directly effected the building of the Suffolk County memorial. In 1988, George Cressy, cochair of the public relations committee, told the *Long Islander* that he hoped the memorial would have the same impact on veterans as did the wall—a cleansing and relief of burden. Bob Fox asserted that, "the Washington Wall is more for the dead than the living. It is a powerful image but not a happy one. I wanted to do something that was uplifting."[18]

There are many comparisons between the Washington Wall and the Suffolk County Memorial, from their designs to their symbolic meanings to their architects. The two were similar in that the building process, from conception to dedication, was run by a Vietnam veterans' group. Just as the VVMF took charge of building the wall, the Suffolk County Commission was made up mostly of veterans. Gerald Busic, co-chair of the public relations committee, said at the site dedication ceremony, "It is a shame the Vietnam veteran has to pitch in and build his own memorial but [the veterans' war-time service] is something that should be remembered." Jim Larocca agreed, with the sentiment that the Vietnam veterans felt that if a memorial were to be built. "they'd have to do it themselves." This is not to say that the public opposed a memorial; indeed, it could not have been built without the public's support. As with the wall, veterans provided the initiative to build the Suffolk memorial.[19]

The design the commission looked for was more attuned to traditional memorials and monuments. Unlike the wall, which was low to the ground, Fox's design rose one hundred feet tall above the hill; instead of being barely visible, it would dominate the surrounding area. The memorial would also be straight, with crisp, sharp lines and angles. In many ways, the Suffolk Memorial resembled the Washington Monument more than the Vietnam Wall Memorial. There was also

an unintended difference. Maya Lin, who designed the wall, was a young Asian American woman without military experience. Bob Fox, on the other hand, was a middle-aged Caucasian male and a veteran of Vietnam. Although both were picked for their merit in representing the emotions the respective commissions wanted to present, the designs and the designers were strikingly opposite.[20]

Commission members envisioned the memorial as a place of communion, a Mecca on Long Island where people could come and feel pride. On *Cable Forum*, a local television program, William Stilwagen explained the intended effect of the design: "Most memorials tend to sadden you. This memorial will not leave you sad. You will walk away with a good feeling." In this way, the memorial and the wall work together. The wall is a place for admittance of grief, pain, memories, and coming to terms with the past. The memorial is where someone can come and find those ideals of youth, pride in flag and country, and pride in oneself and one's actions. The two memorials work together to bring about a catharsis for anyone seeking one. This connectivity is an important result of the Suffolk County Memorial, because it helps facilitate stages of healing, from grief and anger to acceptance.[21]

In 1989, more than three years after creation of the commission, the project entered the pre-production phase of construction; blueprints were drawn, permits acquired, and drainage, electrical needs, and other requirements evaluated. During these years the finance and fund raising committees were hard at work finding the $1.5 million needed to build the memorial. The memorial was to be financed by donations, with the only public money the $70,000 seed money given by the Suffolk County Veterans Affairs Department. For donations, the commission went to the business community of Long Island. Jim Larocca and John Buran, a vice president of Citibank, helped to bring in nearly $300,000 from such large Long Island companies as Grumman, Entenmann's, Cablevision, and Newsday. The Long Island Association, the Island's equivalent of a chamber of commerce, provided a valuable forum. Also, there were large and small donations from private businesses and citizens. A deli donated a dollar for every hero sandwich it sold; the Birchwood School's third graders held a bake sale that raised nearly $300. However, after nearly four years the memorial fund did not have enough money to move the project from the drawing board.[22]

On the date planned for groundbreaking, 20 May 1990, News 12 Long Island reported that the commission had only $500,000 in donations. Money was not coming in fast enough. The finance committee figured that at this rate it would take an additional twelve years before the commission had enough money. Tension ran high. William Stilwagen left his position of executive director, and was replaced by Stephen Hayduk, former cochair of the site and design committee. As John Behan recalled, "Hayduk was a no-nonsense tireless worker and seemed to have the pulse of the [commission]." Hayduk, a professional engineer, donated his professional services and promised that he would have the memorial built within a year.[23]

Around the time of Hayduk's accession, the Long Island Nurseryman's Association gave a generous contribution. Tony Brand, owner of Brand's Field

Nursery and a commission member, helped convince the nurserymen to donate all the landscaping materials and services. Because the two hills were heavily wooded, the process included the difficult task of clearing the land, building pathways between the hills, and planting grass and flowers. The association's donation, valued at $175,000, was a boon for the commission and gave it a new path to follow.[24]

The date for groundbreaking was set for 11 November 1990, Veteran's Day, with construction to be completed a year from then. "Putting a deadline on it is the best thing [the commission] did," said John Behan. Using the Nurseryman's Association as a model, the commission met with representatives of the Long Island construction industry on 23 October 1990. A presentation about the purpose and design of the memorial, and resulting public relations' benefits, convinced the industry representatives to donate the material, labor, and services needed to build the memorial.[25]

Surrounded by cameras from New York and Long Island newspapers and news stations, the ceremony took place on 11 November 1990. Veterans carrying shovels marched up the hill, and with the enthusiastic symbolic turning of the dirt the construction process began. The memorial could not have been built without the help of the construction industry. The concrete work, donated mostly by companies from Mineola and Farmingville, totaled $350,000 in labor and materials. There were also donations from the electrical unions and LILCO of nearly $100,000 in materials and services. The structural steel frame was donated, as was the paint and painting of the flag by a local painting union. In all, between $900,000 and $1.1 million-worth of construction costs were donated, showing how much support the commission had in society. Hayduk recalled people coming in their free time to assist in building the memorial.[26]

With donations supplying the landscaping and physical construction, the major expense became the edifice, the exterior of which required three thousand square feet of marble to cover. The marble, from a Georgia quarry, was the same used in both the Lincoln Memorial and the Washington Monument. Each two-inch- thick slab had to be shipped and then erected onto the steel frame. When the bottom seventy feet were completed, the aluminum thirty-foot top (with the painting of the flag) was lifted and placed on top like a star on a Christmas tree. It took a full year for construction to be completed. Finishing touches were being given to the memorial and the landscaping right up to the dedication ceremony.[26]

Most members of the committee were veterans who did everything, from helping the construction to walking store-to-store to solicit donations. For many, the sheer act of being involved was their healing. Mitchko recalled that, "Many veterans had problems and that having the memorial helped." It allowed them to take part in something important not only to veterans but also to Suffolk County. In the words of Jim Larocca, "Just being involved helped people," because it gave a common goal. One veteran recalled that he was "numb until my involvement with the war memorial....And now I feel motivated to do more for the veterans who returned." Hayduk described the memorial as "his catharsis," allowing him "to come to terms with his experiences." For these men and many like them, it was

the involvement in creating something bigger than themselves which was important.[27]

The importance volunteers attached to the project kept the committee together for more than five years. The process of building the memorial accomplished more than erecting a structure. It helped reintegrate many veterans into society. Ken Mitchko explained that many veterans did not tell other people, including spouses and children, that they were in Vietnam. They had personal reasons for keeping such experiences secret, whether they were ashamed of their behavior, felt that civilians could not relate to their situation, or just wanted to forget the war. Building the memorial allowed many, in Hayduk's words, to come home.[28]

Commission-hosted events to raise money, such as concerts, luncheons, and a "run to the hill" motorcycle rally, also helped to bring the veterans in contact with the public. For many, the building of the memorial illustrated that the Vietnam veteran was a valued member of society. Most commission members were successful professionals who wanted to create something both for the veteran and Long Island. At the dedication of the land, County Executive Michael LoGrande declared that, "The memorial will be part of the county, its heritage and its history." John Behan reiterated that notion when he said: "We [the commission] never wanted anything from the county. We wanted to give the county something." The memorial is a cultural marker in Suffolk County. The Vietnam Veterans of America (VVA) conducts a Memorial Day service there, at which members read the names of the 258 Suffolk County men who died in Vietnam. The VVA also holds its meetings at the Bald Hill Cultural Center, at the base of the hills. The location in central Suffolk County allows more members to attend the meetings. For this organization, the memorial has become more than just a place for individual acts of remembrance.[29]

On 11 November 1991, in the cold, damp shadow of the memorial, the ceremony for the dedication was held. After speeches, music, ceremonial lighting, and a fireworks display, hundreds of visitors walked to the memorial past the marble tribute to service and dedication not only to those who served in the war but to all who tirelessly worked on building the memorial. The commission disbanded after the dedication, except for a core group which continues to oversee legal control of the memorial and the land. The Vietnam Veterans of America has taken an active role in maintaining the beauty of the grounds, and making sure that no harm comes the memorial. Suffolk County also contributes to keeping the grounds clean and safe. There are plans underway for a tenth anniversary rededication in 2001.

Many had been skeptical of the design, which lacks the direct association to the Vietnam War of a bronze helicopter or platoon of statues, but there is overwhelming agreement that the commission chose the right design. Most of all, people agree that the design is perfect for the site. As Tony Brand said in a 1988 interview, "The uniqueness of the site will lend itself to something that is more than a conventional memorial." Tom Carhart, a civil lawyer at the Pentagon who worked with the Washington Wall, observed, "It is literally the opposite of [the wall]. It's white, not black; it goes up, not down; and it has the American flag."

Jan Scruggs, the president and founder of the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial Fund, which financed the building of the Washington Wall, said the Suffolk County design "is a very modernizing treatment of a very traditional device, the American flag."[30]

The commission wanted to create a memorial to acknowledge the service of Vietnam veterans. Dedication to this goal held the commission together. Through the patriotic spirit and generosity of thousands, the memorial was built as a reminder to everyone what dedicated people can do. No matter how controversial a war may be, the men and women who served deserve respect for their dedication to the country.

NOTES

1. *The Deer Hunter*, Michael Cimino, Universal Studios, 1978; *Apocalypse Now*, Francis Ford Coppola, Paramount Studios, 1978; *Platoon*, Oliver Stone, Artisan Entertainment, 1986; *Full Metal Jacket*, Stanley Kubrick, Warner Studios, 1987; *China Beach*, ABC-TV, April 1988-July 1991 (after the program was put on a six-month hiatus from the end of 1990, ABC decided to air the remaining episodes, plus the two-hour special reunion show called "Hello-Goodby").

2. Ron Kovic, *Born on the Fourth of July* (New York: Pocket Books, 1976), 103; this book was also the basis for the motion picture, *Born on the Fourth of July*, Oliver Stone, Universal Studios, 1989; author's interviews with Stephen Hayduk, 28 January 1998, and Ken Michko, 14 February1998.

3. Speeches at Land Dedication Ceremony, 24 February 1987, and Memorial Dedication Ceremony, 11 Nov. 1991 (Suffolk County Vietnam Veterans' Memorial video collection of Stephen Hayduk, hereafter cited as Hayduk collection).

4. Author's interview with William Baessler, 22 February 1998.

5. William Stilwagen on a 1987 *Joel Martin Show* (Hayduk collection).

6. Author's interview with John Behan, 14 February 1998.

7. Author's interviews with Jim Larocca, 6 February 1998, and George Sullivan, 7 February 1998.

8. Stilwagen, *Joel Martin Show*, 19 September 1988, Project Site Design Package, 1987, and Stilwagen speech (Hayduk collection); Behan interview.

9. Behan interview; Jim Larocca, Memorial Dedication Ceremony Speech, 11 November 1991 (Hayduk collection).

10. Stilwagen, Site Dedication Ceremony, 24 February 1987 (Hayduk collection).

11. Stilwagen, *Joel Martin Show*, n.d., and advertisements for design contest (Hayduk collection); Hayduk interview.

12. Larocca interview; Stilwagen, *Joel Martin Show*, n.d. (Hayduk collection); Hayduk interview; Deborah Mellon, *Newsday*, 13 June 1989, A32; Larocca interview.

13. Hayduk interview; Robert Fox, speech, 11 November 1991, *Memorial Dedication Ceremony Booklet.*

14. *Newsday,* 13 June 1989, A32.

15. Daphne Berdahl, "Voices at the Wall," *History and Memory* 6 (Fall/Winter 1994): 90-91.

16. Marita Sturken, "The Wall, the Screen and the Image: The Vietnam Veterans' Memorial," *Representations* 35(Summer 1991): 119, 121.

17. Ibid., 131.

18. Ibid., 133; *Long Islander,* 11 August 1988; *Newsday,* 13 June 1989, A33.

19. Gerald Busic interview, 24 February 1987 (Hayduk collection); Larocca interview.

20. Sturken, 124.

21. *Cable Forum,* n.d. (Hayduk collection).

22. Hayduk interview.

23. Stephen Hayduk, interviewed on *Msgr. Tom Hart Television Show,* n.d. (Hayduk collection); *Memorial Dedication Booklet;* Behan interview; Hayduk interview.

24. For landscaping costs see *Memorial Dedication Booklet* and *Mid Island News,* 28 Feb. 1991.

25. Behan interview.

26. Dedication ceremony (Hayduk collection); see also footage from CBS, NBC, and ABC New York affiliates and News 12 Long Island; Hayduk interview; *Mid Island News,* 28 Feb. 1991.

27. Mitchko interview; interview with Jim Larocca; *Newsday,* 15 Nov. 1991.

28. Mitchko interview.

29. 24 February 1987 (Hayduk collection); Baessler and Larocca interviews.

30. Baessler and Larocca interviews; *Long Islander,* 11 Aug. 1988; *Newsday,* 13 June 1989.

TAKING THE MIDDLE WAY: ALGONQUIAN RESPONSES TO THE REVEREND AZARIAH HORTON'S MISSION ON LONG ISLAND (1741-1744)

By John A. Strong and Zsuzsanna Török

This article is based on a paper presented at the Twentieth American Indian Workshop, Lund University, Lund, Sweden, 26-28 April 1999

James Ronda, writing in 1980, suggested that scholars should re-examine the interaction between missionaries and Indians in the colonial period. He pointed out that most of the research focused on negative aspects of the missionary relationship. These studies detailed Indian resistance to the missionaries or described the disastrous consequences of conversion to the Indian identity. We must not overlook, said Ronda, "the possibility of genuine conversion on the part of the Indians searching for spiritual meaning in an increasingly hostile world." Ronda examined the lives of the Christian converts recorded in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries on Martha's Vineyard by Experience Mayhew. Ronda shifts the emphasis to the Indians themselves as active participants in the interaction, rather than passive recipients of the Christian message.[1]

Colin Calloway addressed the same issue more recently, in 1997. Calloway acknowledges that many Indians did fight the missionaries and that others embraced the new message and abandoned their traditional beliefs. However, he also argues that many chose a middle way, retaining their Indian identity while adopting the Christian religion: "Thousands of Indian people selected a middle path of their own making. They heard the missionaries' message, asked questions, and found areas of common ground between old and new beliefs."[2]

The first missionary activity on Long Island was limited to the "part-time" work of the Reverend Thomas James among the Montauketts living near his home in East Hampton. All we know about his work comes from a few brief references in the colonial records regarding his requests for money. One such request was made in 1668 to Francis Lovelace, the colonial governor. James sent a promising Indian convert named Frank to deliver his appeal for funds. Lovelace responded enthusiastically with a promise of some financial support, but we have no record of any missionary activity by James. He never even recorded the details about Frank's conversion. There are no records of any other Indian converts among the Montauketts during the seventeenth century.[3]

The first well-documented accounts of missionary activity on Long Island are the journals of the Reverend Azariah Horton. These journals reveal some insights

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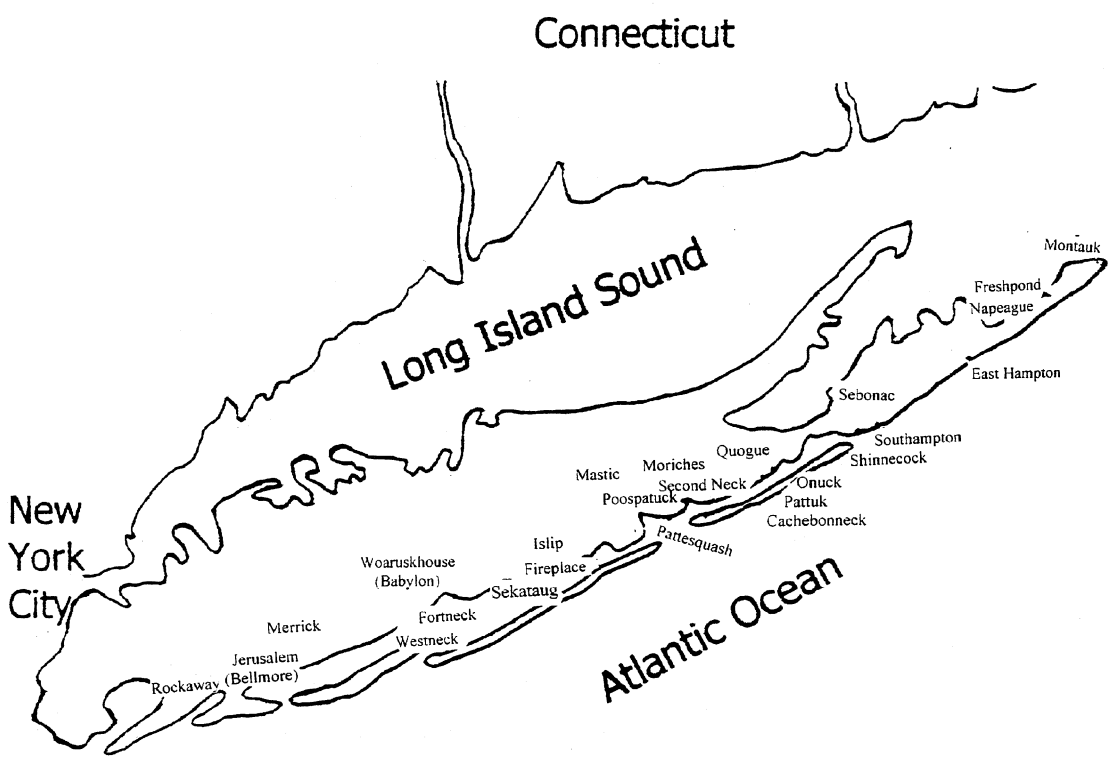


Locations Where Azariah Horton Preached to the Long Islands Indians 1741-1744
Source: Journals of Azariah Horton 1741-1744

into the "middle path" described by Calloway and Ronda. Horton, a native of Southold, traced his ancestors back to the first English settlers who established themselves here in 1640. He recorded his experiences in six brief journals, totaling about fifty-five pages, which were published in *The Christian Monthly Journal* in 1744. The first journal began on 1 November 1741, with 8 March 1744 the last entry in the sixth journal.[4]

Horton, who studied at Yale, was caught up in the religious enthusiasms loosened by the Great Awakening, a revivalist movement which swept through colonial America in the middle of the eighteenth century. Inspired by George Whitefield and a group of enthusiasts who called themselves the "New Light" preachers, Horton and a number of his colleagues, including James Davenport, a minister in his hometown of Southold, believed that the Christian message must be carried to the Indians.

Davenport had criticized the Rev. Nathaniel Huntting, James's successor as pastor in East Hampton, for not taking the Christian message to the Montauketts. New Light preachers were so dedicated and energetic that they often drew censure from the established clergy. Davenport, for example, once awaited guidance from God for several weeks, during which he refused to shave or change his clothes. On another occasion he preached a sermon condemning material possessions and convinced some of his followers to cast their expensive cloths and jewelry into a bonfire along with several "heretical" books selected by him. New Light ministers such as Davenport adopted a very animated preaching style, highly criticized by established ministers as "overheated" and flawed with "errors, irregularities, and mischief." Davenport once became so excited during a sermon in Southold that he "stripped off his upper garments, got up on the seats, clapped his hands and jumped up and down, screaming dreadfully." Although no one questioned Davenport's enthusiasm, the Connecticut authorities challenged his mental stability in 1745, ruled that he was deranged, and escorted him back to his home in Southold.[5]

We know little about Horton's delivery, but his journal accounts did distinguish between his "preachings and his exhortations," which were likely to be much more animated. It was George Whitefield, rather than Davenport, who had the greatest influence on Horton. With the help of Whitefield, Horton obtained sponsorship from the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. This organization, founded in 1701 to combat "popery in the Highlands," shifted its emphasis in 1730 to the "heathen at the ends of the earth." Whitefield was anxious to get New Light missionaries into the field ahead of the Anglican- based Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England. In 1741, the New York Presbytery accepted funds from the Society and ordained Horton as the first missionary of the Presbyterian Church in America.[6]

The grim emphasis on individual sin and its horrible consequences remained at the core of the New Light message. Horton wrote at the beginning of his first journal that he "endeavored to make them sensible that there was a God, a being

on whom they were dependent; that he was holy, and would punish the wicked." He also said he was obliged to remind the Indians that their individual weaknesses and sins exposed them to God's anger and eternal displeasure. Horton's religious views were dogmatic, but his approach to his mission was more flexible. He did not believe that conversion to Christianity depended upon a radical change of Indian lifeways. Although he did not interfere in the daily routine of Indian lifeways, he actively discouraged both the abuse of alcohol and the continuation of ancient religious rituals and beliefs.

Horton and his New Light colleagues emphasized an appeal to the emotions rather than the carefully reasoned argumentation outlined in missionary catechisms written in the seventeenth century by such men as John Eliot and Abraham Pierson. Horton encouraged Indians to become active participants in church services by singing hymns and speaking out about their religious feelings. Horton's colleague, James Davenport, composed a popular hymnal which went through three printings. The practice of singing in unison appears to have evoked a positive response from the Indians. Moravian missionaries also emphasized hymn singing.[7]

New Light ministers tended to stress exhortation rather than conventional preaching or expounding. Sunday sermons in Protestant churches focus on ways in which members of the congregation can apply Christian teachings to their everyday lives. Expounding is a more intellectual approach, wherein the minister seeks to place the Christian message in a broader historical context. Horton appears to have used exhortation as a prelude to the relatively calmer approaches of preaching and expounding.

When he began his mission in 1741, there were two distinct residence patterns, which continue to the present day. There were three permanent "core" Algonquian communities: the Shinnecocks, on the South Fork; the Unkechaugs, on the Poospatuck reservation near Mastic, and the Montauketts, at the eastern end of the South Fork. The Unkechaug and Shinnecock reservations were recognized by the colony of New York, and the Montauketts' land was granted to them in perpetuity by the town of East Hampton. The other Algonquian peoples were members of "fringe groups" who lived in scattered households and small enclaves. They included surviving members of he Matinecock and other small clan groups.[8]

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the Indian population in southern New England and Long Island had experienced military defeat, the ravages of epidemic diseases, and a severe population decline. Although many Indians converted to Christianity in the seventeenth century, a significant number retained aboriginal beliefs until the onset of the Great Awakening in the mid-eighteenth century. Most Indians on Long Island worked in nearby English settlements as domestics and unskilled day laborers. The Shinnecocks, Unkechaugs, and Montauketts, however, maintained a structured community life which tended to strengthen their Indian identity. Horton focused his mission more on these core groups, perhaps because he felt he would have greater success with Indians living in a more stable community.[9]

The Journals

Horton began his mission on 5 August 1741, spending most of the next three months preaching to the Montauketts and Shinnecocks. On 5 August, he preached to a group of thirty Indians at Rockaway on western Long Island, and again on 1 November, when he ended his activity for that year. Horton's attendance figures were always rounded off, but there is no reason to suspect that he manipulated the numbers to impress his sponsors. New Light ministers, in general, and Horton, in particular, were painfully self-critical. On several occasions, he noted in his journal that few Indians showed up for his sermon, and that, at times, those who did come were cold and indifferent or deaf to his words. In a letter to his sponsors, written after two years of work on Long Island, Horton made no attempt to impress them with statistics about conversions and baptisms. In fact, his tone was humble, even to the point of understating his successes. In his last journal he noted his concerns, for example, about the Indians who lived near Islip because they appeared to have grown careless and some had returned to their former "abominable practices."[10]

Horton divided most of his time between the Montaukett and Shinnecock communities. He spent twenty-eight days with the Montauketts and nine with the Shinnecocks, but he made only two visits to fringe groups during the first year of his mission. After his sermon at Rockaway, he returned to New York to submit his journal to the correspondents of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. The corespondents proposed to send him on a mission to the Delaware Indians in New Jersey, but he was convinced that there was a continuing need for him on Long Island.

His second journal included ninety-seven entries covering a six-month period beginning on 22 November 1741 and ending on 16 May 1742. He spent the last week of November meeting with small groups of western Long Island Indians, from Rockaway to Islip. In December, he preached at Moriches to a gathering of about a dozen Indians, probably from the Unkechaug reservation at Poospatuck. Moving east to Quogue, he preached to a larger gathering of fifty Indians, many of whom probably came from the Shinnecock Reservation. There is a six-day gap in his journal at this point. He may have gone to the family home in Southold for a brief visit before he continued on to Montauk.

Once he came to Montauk on 13 December, he remained there until the end of the month. It is interesting to note that his journal entries of 24 and 27 December make no mention of any Christmas celebration. During the first two weeks in January, 1742, he traveled west from Quogue to Moriches, meeting with individual Indians and, on two occasions, with groups as large as fifty. The location of these villages between the Unkechaug and Shinnecock Reservations suggests that most of the Indians probably came from those communities. He spent the remainder of January and the first two days of February with the Montauketts, who were suffering from an outbreak of a sickness, which Horton, unfortunately, did not identify. On 12 February he returned to Quogue and

Moriches for two weeks, and then came back to Montauk for the rest of February and most of March.[11]

On 29 March, he ended his stay at Montauk and began his trip back to western Long Island, stopping for a week in the Quogue and Moriches area, and on to meet with small groups at Islip, Woaruskhouse (Wooruskhouse), Fort Neck, Jerusalem, Merrick, Sekataug (Secatogue), and Rockaway. After a three week break, he began his third journal with an entry for Rockaway on 6 June. He preached at Rockaway, Merrick, and Fort Neck without much success, describing the Indians who came to hear him at Fort Neck as generally "cold and indifferent." After stopping for three days at Islip, he spent the next four months traveling back and forth between Montauk and the Mastic-Southampton area. The journal covers four months and includes sixty-three entries. He celebrated a second Thanksgiving Day on 1 September 1742 at Montauk, returned to Islip on 6 October, and continued back to Woaruskhouse, Fort Neck, and Rockaway, this time with a bit more success. His third journal ends with an entry at Rockaway on 10 October 1742.[12]

The fourth journal began a week later, with an entry from Rockaway. Once again, he spent a few days in the western villages and proceeded eastward to meet with the Unkechaug, Shinnecock, and Montaukett peoples. This journal covers four and a half months and includes sixty-two entries. Again, there is no entry for Christmas Day, 1743, or any mention of Christmas. His last entry for the journal was at Islip on 6 March 1743. In a note at the end of the journal, he made a brief reference to some problems his mission faced from rival "exhorters," who have created "jars and disorders" among the Indians, which, he said resulted in "strengthening the hand of Satan."[13]

The fifth journal covers a period from 13 April to 18 August 1743, and includes only thirty-four entries for the four months. He preached to the western fringe groups at Rockaway, Jerusalem, Fort Neck, Woaruskhouse, and Islip in April, and then moved east to Shinnecock and Montauk until mid-May, when the directors of the missionary society called him to New York and sent him on a second temporary mission to the Delaware Indians in New Jersey. Horton again made it clear that he preferred Long Island. In June he was back at Moriches preaching to the Unkechaugs. During the rest of the summer he moved back and forth between the Shinnecocks and Montauketts. At the end of August he returned to western Long Island, and probably went to New York to hand in the fifth journal.

His last journal begins at Rockaway on 25 August 1743. During the next six months, Horton moved back and forth between Shinnecock and Montauk but had only forty-one entries for this period, in sharp contrast to his second journal, which covered the same length of time but included ninety-seven entries. There is only one entry, for example, for the month of February 1744.

Indian Responses to Horton's Mission

It is impossible to know precisely what was going on in the minds of the Indians who came to hear Horton, but we do have some criteria for evaluating

their response. Horton's meetings were generally well attended. He estimated that there were about four hundred Indians on Long Island at the time. Although probably a bit conservative, the figure is generally accepted in the historical literature. Some of his sermons at Montauk drew eighty "and upwards." When he preached at locations near the Shinnecock and Poospatuck Reservations, he attracted sixty "and upwards," and in Rockaway, at the far western end of Long Island, forty "and upwards" turned out. In areas between Rockaway and the two reservations, where Indians lived in scattered homesteads, he drew as many as thirty listeners, on occasion. These numbers indicate that about half of the Indians on Long Island attended one or more of Horton's meetings, some of them traveling ten to sixteen miles from their homes to hear him preach. On one cold, rainy day in December 1742, Horton noted that nine or ten Indians came twelve miles to hear him preach. If they came on foot, it must have taken at least a half day's journey in the stormy weather, showing a fairly widespread Indian interest in the Christian message.

The presentation of the message may also have been a factor. Horton and other New Light ministers delivered exhortations with great emotion, raising and lowering their voices and flailing their arms in a manner similar to that of the Algonquian Powwas when they conducted religious ceremonies. Roger Williams gives the following description of a traditional Algonquian powwow led by a powwa:

> "They doe begin and order their service, and invocation of their gods, and all the people follow, and join interchangeably in a laborious service, of unto sweating, especially the priest, who spends himself in strange antik gestures, and actions even unto fainting."[14]

It is likely that the Indians were struck by the similarities shared by the New Light ministers and the traditional powwas. Davenport, for example, with his frenetic delivery was successful in attracting Indian to attend his sermons. His most illustrious convert was none other that Samson Occom, who heard him preach during his tour of southern New England. Horton delivered exhortations sparingly, perhaps because their primary purpose was to seize the imagination and open the listeners to the calmer expounding and preaching. His first journal recorded five exhortations during a three month period, the second listed eight over a six-month span, his third and fourth four, and his last two journals, by contrast, listed none.[15]

Another aspect of New Light style which resonated among the Indians was the emphasis on hymn singing. Horton noted with great appreciation the musical talents of two new converts who sang hymns at a service he conducted in a Montaukett village at Napeague. They had learned the hymn by heart after hearing it in the East Hampton church. This significant entry indicated that Indians frequently attended the English church, perhaps sitting in the balcony with the African American slaves to hear the service. On another occasion, Horton described an evening prayer meeting which ended with hymn singing: they sung

part of a "divine Hymn with sincere and grateful dispositions of soul." Kathleen Bragdon, in her analysis of Native American conversions in eighteenth century Massachusetts, discussed the important role of hymn singing. Drawing upon Bruno Nettl's description of Native American musical patterns in Eastern North America, she noted that in eastern Indian cultures music is characterized by

> an undulating melodic movement, relatively short songs, the use of forms which consist of several short sections with iterative and reverting relationships, relative simplicity and asymmetry in rhythmic organization, and, perhaps most distinctively, antiphonal and responsorial passages with some rudimentary polyphony including imitation and canon."

The Calvinist psalm singing style, suggests Bragdon, was similar in some ways to these musical forms. The psalms were sung in unison, without musical instruments, and had very little inner structure, a style that "resembled traditional native music in brevity, simplicity of rhythmic organization." The emphasis on hymn singing undoubtedly provided a cultural connection which encouraged Indians to become involved in Christian worship services.[16]

The Indians also found in Horton's visits a form of religious expression which could be adapted by them to fill their spiritual needs. Horton spent half a day preaching to the whole community, and then visited individuals in their wigwams to give more personal attention. In his study of Indian converts on Martha's Vineyard, Ronda noted that, "Indians shaped Christian forms to serve native public and familial needs. The communal functions once undertaken at powwow ceremonies were now carried on in worship services, thanksgiving feasts, and home devotions." Horton's journals reveal a similar pattern. On traditional Indian ceremonial occasions, such as the celebration of the fall harvest, Horton would conduct a day of thanksgiving. On his first visit to Montauk in September 1741, three tribal leaders asked him to conduct a day of thanksgiving to God for the "good things they enjoyed." They told him that in the past they gave such prayers to their gods, who were represented by wooden images, but now wanted to express thanks in the Christian way. "I readily consented," said Horton, "and appointed a day for that purpose." The Christian message also emphasized the importance of family and the brotherhood of Christ. Traditional beliefs in the responsibility of the family for moral teachings and loyalty to the kin group were easily transferred into a Christian context.[17]

The missionary, like the shaman, tended the sick. When the Indians suffered a minor epidemic, Horton went into the wigwams to comfort the sick, just as the powwas had done in the past. His willingness to put himself at risk to help them must have earned him considerable respect. In his third journal, Horton recorded that when he arrived at Montauk in June, he was warmly received because the Montauketts were suffering through a "time of distressing sickness" which had begun several months before. The epidemic spread to the Shinnecock. That fall, he reported that he visited the sick at Shinnecock during the day and conducted his sermons in the evening.

Ronda's research on Martha's Vineyard and an analysis of the Horton journals clearly indicate that Indian women played a major role in converting Indian communities to the new faith. Experience Mayhew reported that he found "a greater number of women appearing pious than of men." Mayhew included thirty-seven biographies of women, fourteen who converted when they were adults and nineteen who did so in childhood. Horton never identified Indians by name, but frequently distinguished people by gender. There are eighty-nine references to women and only twenty-seven to men. He noted that some women had come to hear him several times. Ronda discussed several reasons which might explain the appeal of the missionary message. He suggested that women were attracted to Protestant Christianity because it elevated the domestic roles of women—housekeeping, child rearing, and other domestic duties—to a high status. This suggests, however, that women had a relatively lower status in traditional society, and there is much evidence that questions this assumption.[18]

His other reasons seem more convincing. Talented and intelligent women found the possibility for the creative application of their abilities in the church organization, helped with church administration, and assisted ministers in their daily routines of visiting the sick and doing other charitable work. Mayhew noted, for example, that the charity work of Wuttununohkomkooh, the wife of Pamchannit, was an inspiration to her community: "She was unwearied in going about, and doing Good among the Poor, and in communicating to them such good things as she was able to bestow on them."[19]

Other women, such as Hannah Ahhunnut, gained reputations as healers. Hannah, reported Mayhew, "was remarkable for her willingness and ability to be helpful to the Sick." Another woman, Hannah Nohnosoo, had such skill and knowledge as a herbalist that she frequently attended English people as well as Indians. Hannah, said Mayhew, "expected no reward for her medicines, so she was observed to be otherwise very kind to them, readily administering to them for their relief, such things as she was able to give them.[20]

Women also found solace in the church for the problems many faced in dealing with disruptions caused by abuse of alcohol. Mayhew recorded the trials of several women who were burdened with alcoholic husbands. Hannah Sissetom's husband spent most of his income on alcohol, "bringing little home for his wife and children." In this case, it is interesting to note, Hannah's mother-in-law, who lived with her, was a source of comfort and support. Another woman, Hannah Tiler, joined her husband in alcohol abuse but then reformed with the help of the church, and finally succeeded in reforming her spouse. Horton mentioned the problem of alcohol abuse several times, urging converts to reform as part of their new commitment to Christianity. In his first journal, Horton recorded a pledge made by some of the "chief men" of the Shinnecock to break off their evil ways, especially "the sin of drunkenness." On two occasions, it was the women who came to him confessing that they had given up "strong drink" now that they were saved.[21]

Women also came because they were eager to become literate. The women in Experience Mayhew's biographies valued literacy and wanted their children to

learn as well. Women such as Abigail Kesoehtaut loved to read and spent time teaching her children to read. In his second journal, Horton noted that a general concern among all of the Indians for literacy. On his first visit to the Montauketts, he observed that there was an eagerness to learn to read expressed by many Indians, especially children. "I can not but observe," he wrote in his second journal, after his sermon at Moriches, "their great forwardness in learning to read." Later in the same journal he reported that spending time teaching the Indians at Rockaway to read. The following June, and again in August, when the Indians at Moriches continued to press Horton for instructions in reading he obliged them with lessons. When he visited the Shinnecock village on 19 August 1742, he reported putting in most of the day giving private consultations and teaching reading, and then preaching in the evening. He later reported to his sponsors that the Shinnecock, in general, were eager to learn to read.[22]

In December, when he preached at Quogue, he again took time to give instructions in reading. One of the women there became very interested in learning to read. A year later, he recounted his pleasure upon hearing three Indian children recite parts of the catechism and spell some words. The mother, who may have been the one mentioned in the previous year's entry, can read well, said Horton, and is diligent in giving instructions to her children. Horton advised the Indians in the area to hire her to teach reading to them. In his entry a year later, he reported that they had taken his advice and hired her. Unfortunately, there is no other reference in the colonial documents to this woman and her pioneering work.

Another indication of the Indians' response to Horton was the number of baptisms recorded in his journals. Such statistics in missionary records are normally viewed with great suspicion, but, as with the attendance figures, we can safely assume that Horton did not exaggerate. Although he recorded nine conversions during the first year of his mission, he did not baptize anyone. He was careful to note, for example, that most of the adults he baptized had been converted several months before. It is possible that he felt that baptism must wait until there was evidence that the new convert remained in a state of grace for a significant period of time. He baptized fifty-four people, twenty-one adults and thirty-three children over a three-year period. The gender of the children was not recorded, but fifteen of the adults were women and only six were men.[23]

Child baptisms provided evidence of continuity. The parents demonstrated a commitment to the new religion and a concern for the religious education of their children. Although we can not trace the biographies of the generation which came after Horton's mission, we do know that when Samson Occom, the Mohegan missionary, came to his mission with the Montaukett, in 1749, he found many Indians very receptive to his message. He also found that the Montauketts' interest in learning to read and write had not waned. He developed some innovative teaching techniques, using wooden blocks with the letters of the alphabet pasted on them.

Soon after Occom left Long Island, Peter John, an Indian living near the Shinnecock Reservation, began preaching to local Indian communities. Although ordained, he never received any funds from the missionary societies to support his

work. Peter John helped to found churches at Shinnecock and Poospatuck, and continued to serve them until his death at the age of eighty-eight. His daughter married Peter Cuffee, a Shinnecock Indian, and they had seven sons. One of them, Paul Cuffee, was born in 1757 while Samson Occom was still at Montauk, but showed no interest in religion during his youth. Paul was indentured to a white farmer as a child and worked for him until he was twenty-one, at which time he experienced an emotional conversion and devoted the rest of his life to the ministry.[24]

The Reverend Paul Cuffee married an African-American woman and moved to the Poospatuck Reservation, where his grandfather and Azariah Horton had preached. In 1790, at the age of thirty-seven, he was ordained and began serving the communities of Indian converts at Poospatuck, Montauk, and Shinnecock. The New York Missionary Society, which agreed to support his work with a salary of $60 a year, was quite satisfied with his efforts in the three communities. In 1800, the directors of the society "having reason to believe that the labors of Paul Cuffee, an Indian Preacher who ministers to the remnants of the three Indian tribes on the east end of Long Island, are useful, thought it incumbent on them to continue his salary for one year." The following year, the society added $20 dollars to his salary so that he could spend more time at Montauk.[25]

The Reverend Cuffee continued the practice, begun by Horton, of melding traditional religious occasions with Christian services. This "middle way" found considerable support in Indian communities on Long Island. Cuffee, for example, encouraged the continuation of the traditional "June Meeting" spring celebration, with a Christian focus. Today, June Meeting continues to be a vital part of community life on the Shinnecock and Poospatuck Reservations.[26]

Many of Cuffee's descendants continued to be active in the Shinnecock Church. The generations who followed were instrumental in founding and sustaining churches on the Shinnecock and Poospatuck reservations in the eighteenth century. These churches continue today to be primary social institutions in their respective communities. The descendants of the converts, who lived in the other areas where Horton preached, played important roles early in the nineteenth century in the founding of AME Zion churches in Sag Harbor, Amityville, and Manhasset. Indians and African Americans living together in segregated communities adapted Christian forms and institutions to serve their interests.

Conculsion

Horton's journals provide important insights into the process of acculturation during the colonial period. Although Christianity was resisted by some Indians, it is clear that many took the opportunity to create what Colin Calloway and James Ronda identify as a "middle way." The Indian people, who were suffering from the loss of their lands, exposure to European diseases, and alcohol abuse, adapted the Christian message to serve their needs. The women, in particular, found in

Christian institutions a means of dealing creatively with some of the most severe problems facing them in their daily lives. They also found an outlet for their intellectual talents and organizational abilities.

The "heathen at the ends of the earth" were not passive recipients of a new message. On the contrary, they were creative people who seized the opportunity to act in their own interests. They established new religious institutions which continue to give meaningful focus and direction to life on the Long Island reservations today.

NOTES

1. James Ronda, "Generations of Faith: The Christian Indians of Martha's Vineyard," *William and Mary Quarterly* 38 (1980): 369-94, reprinted in reprinted in *Major Problems in American Indian History*, Albert L.Hurtadoand Peter Iverson, eds. (Lexington, Mass: D. C. Heath, 1994), 117; Experience Mayhew, *Indian Converts: or Some Account of the Lives and Dying Speeches of a Considerable Number of Christianized Indians of Martha's Vineyard, New England* (London: Osborn and Longman, 1727).

2. Colin G Calloway, *New Worlds For All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1997), 68-91, 71; see also Elise Brenner, "To Pray or to be Prey: That Is the Question: Strategies for Cultural Autonomy of Massachusetts Praying Town Indians," *Ethnohistory* 27 (Spring, 1980): 135-52. and Harold Van Lonkhuyzen," A Reappraisal of the Praying Indians: Acculturation, Conversion, and Identity at Niantic, Massachusetts, 1646-1730," *New England Quarterly* 63 (1990):396-97,427-28. Van Lonkhuyzen acknowledges that the conversion of the praying Indians did not immediately alter traditional culture, but argues that eventually Christianity "subverted traditional patterns" and destroyed the tribal community; Calloway, Ronda, and Brenner, however, maintain that conversion enabled the Indians to preserve their ethnic identity.

3. Earnest Edward Eells, "Indian Missions on Long Island," in Gaynell Stone, ed., *The History and Archaeology of the Montauk Indians* (Stony Brook: Suffolk County Archaeological Association, 1993), 163.

4. Azariah Horton, "Journals of Azariah Horton (1741-44)." The Christian Monthly History 5 and 6; reprinted in Gaynell Stone, ed., *The History and Archaeology of the Montauk Indians*, (Stony Brook: Suffolk County Archaeological Association, 1993), 195-220; Horton worked as a missionary for six more years, but no more journals have been found. The Rev. Earnest Edward Eells, who wrote a brief biographical sketch of Horton, believed that there may have been more journals that might one day be discovered in the archives of the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (Eells, "Indian Missions on Long Island," parts 3 and 4, 165-75).

5. Cedric B. Cowley, *The Great Awakening and the American Revolution: Colonial Thought in the 18th Century*. (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1971); Eells, 167; Gregory P. Disosway, The Earliest Churches of New York (New York: James Gregory, 1864), 291; Charles Chauncey, *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England* (Boston: Rogers and Fowle, 1743), 96,151. See also E. B. Huntington, *History of Stamford, Connecticut from Its Settlement in 1644* (Stamford: Huntington, 1868), 383-86.

6. Cowley, 78; Pierce R. Beaver, "Methods in American missions to the Indians in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Calvinist Models for Protestant Foreign Missions,"

Journal of Presbyterian History 47 (1969):126; William Kellaway, *The New England Company, 1649-1776: Missionary Society to the American Indians.* (London: Longmans, 1961), 186-87; Eells, 165.

7. Cowley, 84.

8. The terms "core" and "fringe" community were part of a model developed by Helen Rountree in her research on the Indian of Virginia (Helen Rountree, *Pocahontas's People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia Through Four Centuries* [Norman: The Oklahoma Press, 1990],13, n138, 269-77). Core communities retain a significant population base in a clearly defined geographic area. Long Island core communities in 1740 were the Shinnecock Reservation, the Poospatuck Reservation, and the Montaukett reserved area at Montauk. Fringe groups consisted of scattered families who held strongly to their Indian identity, but were not directly involved with Indian cultural activities; from the beginning of the twentieth century, their identity as Indians was often rejected by white people and even by some Indians in the core communities. These fringe groups included remnants from the Matinecock tribe and many related clan groups from western Long Island; the Matinecock tribe recently began to reassert its tribal identity. See John A. Strong, "The Reaffirmation of Tradition Among Native Americans of Eastern Long Island, LIHJ 7 (Fall 1994):42-67, and *We Are Still Here: The Algonquian Peoples of Long Island Today* (Interlaken, NY: Empire State Books, 2d ed., 1998), 65-103.

9. William Simmons, "Red Yankees: Narragansett Conversion in the Great Awakening," *American Ethnologist* 10 (1983): 254.

10. Horton letter, following fifth journal, 216.

11. Horton, second journal, 201.

12. Wooruskhouse (Algonquian for "a point of land") was three miles from the present village of West Neck in the town of Babylon (William Wallace Tooker, *Indian Place Names on Long Island* [Port Washington, 1911], 291;Jerusalem was near present-day Wantagh (Karl H. Proel and Barbara A. Shupe, Long Island Gazetteer: A Guide to Current and Historical Place Names [New York: LDA Publishers, 1984], 339); Secatogue, a neck of land in the town of Islip, was a derivation of Sicketenwhacky, a place that appears in local records spelled "twenty or thirty" different ways (Tooker, 234); see also David Yehling Allen, *Long Island Maps and Their Makers* (Mattituck: Amereon House, 1997), 8-14. 22.

13. Horton, fourth journal, 213.

14. Roger Williams, *A Key to the Languages of America* (1643; reprint, with notes by John J. Teunissen and Evelyn J. Hintz [Detroit: Wayne State Press, 1973], 192).

15. Eells, 167.

16. Horton, first journal, 196; sixth journal, 220; Kathleen Bragdon, "Native Christianity in 18th Century Massachusetts: Ritual as Cultural Reaffirmation," in Barry Gough and Laird Christie, eds., *New Dimensions in Ethnohistory: Papers of the Second Laurier Conference on Ethnohistory and Ethnology* (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1991), 121-22; see also Bruno Nettl, *North American Indian Musical Styles* (Philadelphia: American Folklore Society, 1954), 33.

17. Ronda, 153, Horton, first journal, 197; Bragdon, 123.

18. Ronda, 128 ff; see Nancy Bonvillian, "Gender Relations in Native North America," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 13 (1989): 1-28; John Strong, "The Role of Algonquian Women in Land Transactions on Eastern Long Island," in Natalie Naylor and Maureen O. Murphy, eds., *Long Island Women: Activists and Innovators* (Interlaken, NY: Empire State Books, 1998) 27-42; Robert Steven Grumet, "Sunksquaws, Shamans, and Tradeswomen: Middle Atlantic Coastal Algonquian Women during the 17th and 18th Centuries," in Mona Etienne and Eleanor Leacock, *Women and Colonization: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Praeger, 1980), 43-67; Barbara Sykes Rohrlich-Leavitt and Elizabeth Weatherford, "Aboriginal Woman:Male and Female Perspectives," in Rayna Reiter, *Toward an Anthropology of Women* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975), 110-26; and Sally Slocum, "Woman the Gatherer: Male Bias in Anthropology," in Reiter, 36-51.

19. Ronda, 129; Mayhew, 137.

20. Mayhew, 141, 165.

21. Ibid., 185, 190-91; Horton, 197.

22. Horton, 196; second journal, 202.

23. Horton, second journal, 202, 203, 206, 207, 212, 215, 220.

24. Eells, 184, Disosway, 305; Nathaniel Prime, *A History of Long Island, From Its First Settlement by Europeans to the Year 1845, with Special References to Ecclesiastical Concerns* (New York: Robert Carter, 1845), 1:115; Eells, 184.

25. Strong, We Are Still Here, 29-35.

26. Eells, 186.

BROOKLYN'S CONSOLIDATION: A POINT OF VIEW

By Anna M. Lanahan

The creation of Greater New York, which took effect on New Year's Day 1898, was a Manhattan-oriented project rammed down the throats of the people of Brooklyn. The preface to the enabling law pertaining to the city of Brooklyn was even prefaced with the words, "Passed without acceptance by the city," an admission later deleted to avoid embarrassment to the new metropolis. There was no doubt about it: the law rescinded Brooklyn's sovereignty over its departments of police, fire, parks, education, finance, and, worst of all economically, its docks. Moreover, consolidation resulted in the faulty routing of the subway system and the dictatorial Zoning Law of 1916, which set the pattern for Brooklyn in the twentieth century. The zoning law not only did not correspond to a national trend, but was the first, and, from Brooklyn's point of view, the worst in American history. This law was basic to all future enactments, to the severe detriment of Brooklyn's socioeconomic life.[1]

The period of the charter of Greater New York was the Gilded Age, when incorporation, centralization, regulation, and Puritan moralization were united under an umbrella of visionary schemes to accelerate progress. The establishment of Greater New York was the end result of the grand scheme begun by the elitist real estate lawyer, Andrew Haswell Green. He was the master planner for consolidation, but the union was only the first step. His further dream, which he had begun in the 1860s and 1870s, was to make Manhattan as beautiful as Paris and as commercially successful as London. To achieve even the first step he needed the Republican-dominated legislature, the governor, and the powerful Republican state boss to push through the law. This article investigates the legal side of making the charter, after considering the man called "the Grandfather of Greater New York," and the city of Brooklyn which he feared might rival or surpass Manhattan because of its physical size and burgeoning commerce and industry.

In 1842, young A. H. Green came to New York from his family estate in Worcester, Massachusetts, to read law in a New York City law firm. His family was bedrock New England stock, tracing its roots back to 1635 in Massachusetts Bay colony. A self-styled Yankee Democrat who believed in the leadership of the "best men," Green constantly "re-created" himself by reading Milton and listening to hymns. He became a member of the New York City board of education in 1854, and by 1856 was its president.[2]

The Republican party was formed in 1854, in opposition to the Democratic party's sponsorship in Congress of repeal of restrictions on slavery. Two years later, the new party elected John A. King governor of New York, and took control

of the legislature. In 1857, the Republican state government passed an act assuming control of the proposed Central Park in Democratic-party-run New York City. The legislature placed the park, the police department, and, finally, the public health and fire departments under state-appointed commissions. The so-called state reforms, that is, taking over local departments and placing well-bred and trusted men in overseer positions in New York City, were aimed to protect nativists and advocates of the Sabbatarian blue laws, which Democratic officeholders chose not to enforce, aimed against the perceived "continental ways" of Irish and German immigrants.[3]

Within two years after his inclusion on the Albany-appointed Central Park Commission, Green maneuvered himself into the position of treasurer, then to the newly created position of park comptroller (by which he superseded and ultimately drove out the park's famous architect-in-chief, Frederick Law Olmsted), and finally to the post of president of the park commission. The legislature expanded Green's power to cover the widening of avenues, planning and laying out the streets of northern Manhattan to the Bronx border, creating a Riverside Drive and Park, and redoing the boulevard which became the new Broadway. Green learned to appreciate state action when, under the principle of eminent domain and the mechanics of due process, almost sixty thousand persons, their vegetable farms, stores, foundries, leather and bone-boiling factories, and hog farms were pushed out in order to create an 843-acre park. There was no slum or shanty town in the area, as claimed at the time but since disproved by evidence. The population, however, consisted of African Americans (Seneca Village), their Irish and German neighbors, and buildings such as churches and schools, including the Sisters of Charity Convent and School (which boarded two hundred students).[4]

Instead of a number of small parks where most of Manhattan's population lived, the decision was made to make a beautifully landscaped park, where the elite could view and be viewed, and where businessmen could take clients. Upper Manhattan was reshaped and land values rose under the guidance of Andrew Green, the real estate lawyer. Green viewed, as part of his mission on the park commission, the development of a well-planned city north from Central Park and south to the Hudson River, as possible only by the superior intelligence of "a single mind or a single interest"—his own. Green stayed on the park commission until 1873, while its rules went into effect concerning the park: no parades, no baseball or cricket clubs, no concerts, no rental of boats on the lake an Sunday, no large picnics, no liquor, and of course, no walking on the grass.[5]

By 1868, Green made his grand visionary scheme clear. He wanted all of the New York State municipalities around the harbor united under the rule of a single city government. He insisted this merger was necessary for public improvements, and for the financial support of his plans. He had drawn up the boundaries he wanted, which included the counties of New York, Kings, Queens, and Richmond, to secure all available shoreline which, taken together, made up four hundred miles of coast. Green asserted that consolidation of the cities of Brooklyn and New York was the law of evolution and progress. The logic of this assertion was

incontestable, he felt. Brooklyn was expanding and had an enormous shoreline of wharves and piers, while Manhattan's shoreline was stifled, useful only at the southern tip of the island and along the Hudson River. Manhattan's East River side was not large enough for future great commercial use, and, therefore, Manhattan had to expand so that the entire shoreline lay within its area.[6]

The waters above the Narrows, including the East River, had been a spring of perpetual problems between New York City and Brooklyn. In 1833, the village of Brooklyn had petitioned the state legislature for a city charter. After passage by the assembly and during its third reading in the senate, the charter was set aside for the next session. Senators from New York City, under instructions from the board of aldermen, tried to stop it because New York real estate interests feared the growth of Brooklyn and its emergence as a major commercial rival. Yet, despite New York's interference, Brooklyn received its city charter in 1834.[7]

The village of Brooklyn had already fought and been vindicated in its waterfront rights against New York City in two state supreme court cases, *Udall v. the Trustees of Brooklyn* and *Stryker v. the Mayor of the City of New York*, both in 1821. Nevertheless, New York's constant annoyance over water rights led to Brooklyn's obtaining an appendix to the 1834 charter added by the state legislature in 1840. The addition recognized the original 1667 English patent to Brooklyn, which "carried their [Brooklyn's] right of soil to the *filium aguae*, or middle of the river," and, therefore, established Brooklyn's water rights by common law.[8]

In the course of campaigning for Brooklyn's charter against the opposition of a Special Committee Report by the Common Council of New York City, a Brooklyn committee wrote a three-column open letter in the *Long Island Star*, tearing the New York report to shreds. The following oft-quoted statement, although not actually in the letter, conveys the gist of how Brooklynites felt toward New York:

> Between New York and Brooklyn, there is nothing in common, either in object, interest, or feeling...unless it be the waters that flow between. And even those waters, instead of, in fact, uniting them, form a barrier between them...an insurmountable obstacle to their union.[9]

Would a bridge make a difference? As early as 1800, Brooklyn favored a bridge between it and Manhattan, so that Brooklyn and Long Island's agricultural and manufactured products could have another route to reach New York and beyond, as well as to raise land values on the east side of the river. By the 1860s, Brooklyn needed a better passageway than that provided by barges and ferries to carry its goods inland and take advantage of the canal systems and railroads.[10]

In 1854, with the merger of Williamsburg and Bushwick into Brooklyn, the city on the east side of the river grew by leaps and bounds. By 1896, all the remaining towns, including Flatbush in 1894, had been absorbed into the city of Brooklyn, now coterminous with Kings County with a land mass of 74.45 square miles. In contrast, New York City was an island of only 23.73 square miles.[11]

In the first decennial census, in 1790, Brooklyn's population was 4,495. By 1840, the new city's population had risen to 47,613. The state census of 1855, after the annexation of the city of Williamsburg and the town of Bushwick, recorded 202,000 residents. When Green was beginning his determined advocacy of consolidation in 1868, Brooklyn's population was growing far more rapidly than New York's. In 1870, Brooklyn's population was 419,921, and five years later was 482,493. New York, in the same period, increased from 942,292 to 1,041,886. Brooklyn, therefore, was growing at a rate of 13 percent compared to 7 percent in neighboring New York. Kings county, which in 1875 included the city of Brooklyn plus outlying towns such as Flatbush, totaled 509,154 persons, a more than 20 percent increase since 1870.[12]

Between 1875 and 1880, three years before the opening of the Great Bridge, the growth rate in Brooklyn was higher than 20 percent. In 1880, the city of Brooklyn alone had a population of 599,582, while New York City increased by only 11 percent, or a total of 1,164,673 people. In the twenty-five years between 1875 and 1900, during which Flatbush and all the remaining towns joined the city of Brooklyn and the Brooklyn Bridge was completed, Brooklyn's population increased by almost 60 percent, reaching 1,166,582 by the turn of the century. Manhattan, by 1900, with less than twenty-five square miles of land surface, reached a population of 1,850,093, a slightly more than 40 percent increase since 1875. Obviously, with its constant greater rate of growth, Brooklyn, even under a conservative projection, would overshadow New York City as the population center of the metropolitan area in a matter of years.[13]

Turn-of- the-century Brooklyn already reflected the ethnic make-up of a genuine metropolis. The population contained descendants of seventeenth-century Dutch farmers, eighteenth-century New York Yankees and African Americans, and the large nineteenth-century influx of Germans and Irish before the Civil War. In 1900, the major foreign-born groups were immigrants from the German Empire, Ireland, Italy, the Russian Empire, and the British Isles, basically the same groups that were settling in Manhattan but in far greater numbers. Manhattan's foreign-born population in 1900 was 850,884, whereas Brooklyn's was 353,750. On the Brooklyn side of the river, however, Swedes, Austrians, and Norwegians were the largest other groups from the more than twenty-five countries listed as places of origin in the 1900 federal Census, and their numbers increased in the Census of 1910.[14]

In 1898, when consolidation took place, both cities' populations were growing, but Manhattan was more congested than Brooklyn, which had a great deal of room for dispersal. Before its first subway opened in 1908, Brooklyn was permeating its outskirts through its privately owned transit facilities. Its trolleys, begun as horse cars in 1854 and electrified in 1893, and its Long Island Railroad crisscrossed like "a spider web" as the city grew. The transportation network carried passengers to new home developments and work, as well as attracting New Yorkers to the best areas for fresh air, water recreation, and race tracks on the harbor shoreline.[15]

In the 1890s Brooklyn did not need to be joined to Manhattan. It had its own economic, educational, social, and political life, self-contained and separate from New York's. Brooklyn wanted and needed workers for its docks and industries. New York City or other ports in the western hemisphere could not compete with the city of Brooklyn's multi-million dollar waterfront business. In the nineteenth century, Manhattan handled passenger traffic, while Brooklyn's waterfront, with its plentiful warehouses, piers, grain elevators, docks, and shipyards gave it preeminence as the largest handler of foreign freight in the New World. From the 1850s to the federal Census of 1900, Brooklyn held either third or fourth position as the most industrialized city in the United States. It ranked first in refining sugar and molasses, first in coopering, second in the chemical industry, and third in baking products.[16]

In the same decade that Green set his sights on the subjugation of Brooklyn to Manhattan, Walt Whitman was complaining about Brooklyn's industrial power being basically short-changed in the New York State Census of 1855. In one of his "Brooklyniana" articles in the *Brooklyn Standard* he claimed the census had not taken into account the U.S. Navy Yard, which employed three thousand men and turned out work valued annually at tens of millions of dollars. The census had not made a point of Brooklyn's having the only plate glass works in the country, but Whitman was proud of that unique achievement. He claimed that the 1855 census failed to mention many of Brooklyn's principal productive interests, which gave employment to house builders, cartmen, drivers, and railroad employees. The census did not take into account Brooklyn's financial establishment, the City-Central and Long Island Railroads, gas companies—noted for the best quality at the cheapest price—and, what Whitman considered a triumph, the Brooklyn Water Works.[17]

Whitman, who considered himself a Brooklynite as well as the poetic voice of Paumanok, wrote in another "Brooklyniana" article:

> The child is already born, and is now living, stout and hearty, who will see Brooklyn numbering over one million inhabitants!...its destiny is to be among the most famed and choice of the half dozen of the leading cities of the world. And all this, doubtless, before the close of the present century.[18]

The same shortcomings Whitman found in the 1855 state census were repeated in the federal Census of 1880. Brooklyn's advance was measured by its 5,154 factories, which employed 45,000 workers, but the 1880 census did not consider service industries or the dock yards, which employed thousands. The 1890 Census showed that the number of factories had increased to 10,561, representing 229 industries of which chemical establishments were first, followed by sugar refining. Like Whitman's criticism of the state census of 1855, the *Brooklyn Eagle*'s 1893 *History of the City of Brooklyn* faults the U.S. Census of 1890 for ignoring Brooklyn's twenty-one banks of deposit, more than a dozen savings banks, eight trust companies, and other enterprises which showed how well the city was furnished with financial machinery.[19]

The Census of 1900 did not indicate specific Brooklyn manufacturing industries, but listed Brooklyn among the hundred principal industrial cities in the United States, although it had been a borough of Greater New York since 1898. New York (Manhattan and the Bronx) was number one in industrialization, followed by Chicago and Philadelphia; Brooklyn was fourth, followed by St. Louis.[20]

The 1910 Census listed fifty-two multi-million dollar industries in Brooklyn, each requiring thousands of workers. These industries included chemicals; druggists' preparations; malt liquors; bread and baking products; paint and varnish; foundry and machine shop products; shipbuilding; lumber and timber products; printing and publishing; furniture; illuminating gas; clocks and watches; cordage, twine, and linen goods; and men and women's clothing. Here again, even the 1910 Census left out Brooklyn's key sugar industry, which employed thousands of workers and supplied half of the sugar consumed in the country. The American Sugar Refining Company occupied Brooklyn's entire East River frontage, between South First and South Fifth streets, on Kent Avenue in Williamsburg. Moreover, this census carried no information on such service industries as transportation, trade, or domestic work.[21]

During the last half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, Brooklyn was an industrial hub, by no means a poor relation of New York City's. For the thousands employed in the factories, public services, and on the waterfront of the city and then the borough of Brooklyn, there was an abundance of cultural centers for education and entertainment. In the area of education, Brooklyn's Institute of Arts and Science, established in 1890, was the outgrowth of the 1823 Apprentice Library, which had been joined in the thirties by the Lyceum and merged in the forties into the Brooklyn Institute for the Free Educational Benefit of Brooklynites. With its new title, the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Science wanted to build a new edifice, on land originally part of the area purchased for Prospect Park, which was contributed free and clear. The institute asked for $2 million, to be raised through voluntary contributions of Brooklynites, of whom no single name perpetually and solely would be associated with the erection of the great building. The result was the Brooklyn Museum, the large, classical building on Eastern Parkway, which became world famous, vying with the British Museum and the Cairo Museum for its Egyptology section.[22]

In basic education, Brooklyn was ahead of Manhattan. While Manhattan was the last major city in the United States to open public high schools—DeWitt Clinton, Wadleigh, and Peter Cooper, all in 1897—Brooklyn had begun the Central School in 1878, a high school for boys and girls. By 1886, there were so many students that a separate Girls' High School had to be built, which, by 1892, was the largest girls' high school in the world. In 1896, Erasmus Hall, founded in 1787 in Flatbush, was incorporated into the Brooklyn public school system. The city of Brooklyn was also the home of Pratt Institute, noted for mechanical-technical training, engineering art, and library management; Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute; and Packer Collegiate Institute.[23]

For Brooklynites, however, not only was education important but also the opportunity for entertainment. The center of Brooklyn's cultural life after 1861 was the Academy of Music, on Montague Street, which provided the setting for concerts, German and Italian opera, the Brooklyn Philharmonic, Shakespeare, Gilbert and Sullivan, the grand masquerade balls of the Brooklyn German Society, and religious and political assemblies. In contrast, the New York Metropolitan Opera House, opened in 1883, was created particularly for "Society," with 112 boxes, as a proper setting for the fashionable audience whose elegant dresses and evening suits befitted a "gilded" theater. The *Eagle* noted the contrast in 1890, while reviewing a performance of Wagner's *Parsifal* at the Academy, attended by former President Grover Cleveland and his wife. As the reviewer described the audience, "There were no conspicuous costumes and there was none of that sort of display for which the Metropolitan Opera House over the river is notorious."[24]

When the Brooklyn Academy of Music burned down on 30 November 1903, the borough president, directors of the Academy, and the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Science arranged for a public meeting concerning rebuilding, held March 1904 at the Long Island Historical Society's hall on Clinton and Pierrepont streets. Instead of rebuilding on Montague Street, the new Academy of Music would be built at Boerum Place and Lafayette Avenue, a decision based on transit convenience. The site was near the Flatbush Avenue trolley line, the Long Island Railroad depot, and only one block away from the proposed Interborough Subway station at Flatbush-Atlantic and Fourth Avenues. A proposal was made to raise $1 million by the sale of common stock to pay for the new building. Within a few months, the sum of $1,028,700 was raised, and the land, costing $235,950, was bought free and clear. As the Brooklyn borough president explained:

> Brooklyn will die socially, educationally, and to some extent politically, unless we build a place where these essentials of civilized life may be cultivated and enjoyed...We are here to make a final struggle to hold together Brooklyn's love of locality and pride of neighborhood.[25]

The building was completed in fall 1908. The Interborough Subway had constructed its station at the Long Island Railroad depot in May 1908. Brooklyn rallied to the call to rebuild its own symbol of cultural independence, ten years after consolidation. Furthermore, both the Brooklyn Academy of Music and the Brooklyn Museum were built without help from the government of Greater New York.

From the 1870s through the turn of the century, a plethora of theaters showing comedy, tragedy, and vaudeville proved that Brooklynites did not depend on the Academy of Music alone to provide suitable indoor entertainment. For outdoor entertainment, Brooklyn had Prospect Park, "a pearl surprisingly faithful to Olmsted's original vision." Unlike Central Park, from which Andrew Green had driven the landscape architect so that he alone would control all power over the park, Prospect Park was finished by its designers. It was to Brooklyn that New Yorkers had to come for its beaches and horse race tracks.[26]

Of course, Brooklyn had all those empty lots where , on Sundays, young working-class boys illegally played baseball for the benefit of their Catholic parishes. The puritanical "blue laws" forbade the cracking of ball against bat because baseball was not a fit way to observe the Lord's day. Baseball and the sale of liquor were under the same Sabbatarian law upheld by reformers of the Progressive Movement to curb the evils of the "Continental Sunday" brought by Roman Catholic German and Irish immigrants. The Brooklyn police showed moral corruption by waiting until a game finished before arresting the players, sometimes waiting well into the night before booking young men who might intend to get city jobs as future policemen or firemen, and would be penalized should their names be on a police blotter. For the Brooklyn Democratic district leader, this meant that from spring through fall his Sunday afternoons and evenings were spent going from one police station to the next, bailing out all the teams before the boys were booked. William A. Doyle had the task of patrolling all of Bay Ridge, the Ninth District. One Sunday in 1905 he traveled his entire district to bail out seventy-five young men arrested from various parishes. In 1905, Doyle, the Ninth District leader and also a deputy fire commissioner of Greater New York, typified the way the Brooklyn Democratic party opposed some of the Sabbatarian laws as infringements on personal liberty.[27]

The professional Brooklyn Baseball Club, referred to from 1899 to 1916 as the Trolley Dodgers, had to play in other states on Sundays because of the same law. Some Sundays, however, Charles H. Ebbets, the team owner and an active member of the Brooklyn Democratic party, offered free admission to Washington Park, at Third Street and Fifth Avenue, and after 1913, to his own Ebbets Field. The police, as expected, would wait until the game was over, and then arrested Ebbets, his team, and the visiting team and its officials. A former Brooklyn police commissioner, Bernard J. York, always stood by to bail out Ebbets and the others before they were booked. The Kings Country Democratic party was the bulwark which sheltered Brooklynites who broke the law that prescribed legitimate moral conduct according to one particular group's view of morality.[28] As in other aspects of urban life, the Brooklyn Democratic party was self-contained and separate, not only from the Republican seat of power in Albany, but from the Democratic Tammany Hall machine in New York City. In preconsolidation days and into the first decade of the twentieth century, both the city and borough of Brooklyn and the city and borough of New York led separate, extra-legal political lives, although both were Democratic strongholds, run by powerful organizations. Each had its own municipal government and political party leaders, but the Republican party in each worked differently from the Democrats. The Republican party was run by the state chairman, who, from Albany, controlled his party, the Republican county leaders, the state legislature, and the governor. From the time of the Civil War, the "rural" Republicans influenced the affairs of cities with Democratic majorities by progressing from the view of government as protector of private property to that of so-called positive government action for the public good. As a case in point, the Republican party in New York State, a coalition of Free Soilers, former Whigs and Know Nothings, and assorted opponents of the

Democratic party's acquiescence to the extension of slavery, created legislative commissions made up of their appointees as local officials, without questioning the constitutionality of such a strategy for suppressing the power of Democrats. The legislative commission fell into disuse by the 1880s, but in the 1890s the new Republican boss of the state, Thomas Collier Platt, envisioned its return by politically crippling the harbor area through uniting the counties of New York, Kings, Queens, and Richmond under a government basically controlled from Albany. After consolidation, the four Democratic county leaders would have to bargain among themselves to put together a ticket for the city-wide elective offices of mayor, controller, and president of the city council. The Bronx was incorporated into Manhattan until a referendum in 1912 allowed it to be a separate county.[29]

Boss Platt had no interest in turning the Democratic enclave south of the Westchester County line into a grand metropolis until the 1890s. The ambition of Platt, who stemmed from the same Yankee Presbyterian roots as A. H. Green was the chosen heir of the previous Republican state boss, Roscoe Conkling, lay in Republican politics and a resulting manipulation of people. In 1894, the Democrats were set back by revelations of police corruption and Tammany connections in New York City, and the financial Panic of 1893. In 1894, Republican candidates not only swept the state but even elected mayors in New York City and Brooklyn. With his power now at its height, Platt envisioned making his newly elected governor, Levi P. Morton, the Republican candidate for president in 1896.[30]

At this point, Green intensified pressure on the Republican boss to fulfill the dream with which Green had become obsessed, and which generally was referred to as "Green's hobby"—consolidation. Green was tenacious, particularly because of Brooklyn's opposition. He had asked the legislature for a commission to study consolidation in 1888, the year that he became president of the Niagara Park Commission (a position he held until his death in 1903, when he was murdered on the steps of his Park Avenue mansion in a case of mistaken identity). In 1889, Green's measure was defeated by the pressure of the Brooklyn representatives. Yet, when he submitted his petition again in 1890, a commission to examine the issue was authorized, with Green as its president. When the commission's bill for consolidation died in committee, an undaunted Green requested a plebiscite in 1891, but this, too, was tabled by the assembly and rejected by the senate the following year. Finally, in 1894, Platt's year of glory, the legislature gave in and passed a measure permitting citizens in the areas concerned to give their opinion on consolidation.[31]

An all-out offensive was waged by Green and the Consolidation League, made up of proponents who included real estate speculators, wealthy bankers, and businessmen. Many were members of the Manhattan-based Municipal Art Society (MAS), whose main interest was to beautify Manhattan and debate the plan of the city. The consolidation forces collected funds for propaganda and advertisements. In pamphlets, press releases, and information circulars in English and German, the consolidationists promised that Brooklyn would enjoy reduced tax rates, better and cheaper homes, increased employment and wages, public improvements, good

government, and the honor of belonging to the first city of the world. Policemen received a special circular promising pay raises once amalgamation was achieved.[32]

Green's commission went even further to allay fear of the plebiscite's significance. The public was told that the vote was "meaningless," basically only a nonbinding polling of sentiment on the issue: even "if every ballot in the city or town were cast in favor of consolidation, there would be no finality about it."[33]

An erroneous but lasting impression was made that this opinion poll was so important that consolidation would be the only issue voted on in November 1894. In reality, voters had to elect a governor and members of the legislature, as well as approve or disapprove a new state constitution. Green was a member of the convention which drew up the new constitution, which, among other items, safeguarded the rural counties' over representation in the legislature against increased representation from the enormously growing urban counties. Of the nineteen ballots, eighteen were constitutional amendments; the opinion poll was lumped with the amendments to make up the nineteenth ballot. Six days after the election, the Brooklyn League of Loyal Citizens was formed, and claimed the plebiscite was a fraud. The claim was based on the confusion among voters because of the plebiscite's inclusion among all those constitutional amendments.[34]

New York City overwhelmingly approved consolidation: of 156,897 votes cast, the majority for consolidation was 36,979, or 62 percent. In the city of Brooklyn, however, the measure passed by a mere 277 of 129,211 votes cast, a majority of 50.2 percent. The vote was so close that it was not formalized until December.[35]

There had been no coordinated counterattack on Green and the consolidationists before the plebiscite. The Tammany leader, Richard Croker, left the country in June 1894, three months after the beginning of the investigation into police graft and political corruption. The Brooklyn Democratic party felt repercussions from these Manhattan scandals, even though it had not been involved. Croker, Tammany leader since 1886, was an absentee boss for the next three years, going back and forth across the Atlantic six times from his estate in England. The shrewd Croker bided his time, confident that his loyal voters would return to Tammany's control as soon as their outrage subsided.[36]

In Brooklyn, Hugh McLaughlin, the longest-reigning boss in American history, also knew how to wait. His view on consolidation was clear. He opposed it, "because he didn't like getting into the Tammany crowd...He had fought it [Tammany], convention after convention."[37]

Croker was the third notorious Tammany leader to run the Manhattan ring since McLaughlin began organizing his own machine before the Civil War. Between Tammany's scandals and the upstate Republican machine at work, McLaughlin had seen it all. He had witnessed the shenanigans of the Republican state machine through legislative commissions forced on the city of Brooklyn. When McLaughlin, as boss foreman, began hiring the civilian labor force at the Brooklyn Navy Yard in 1857, the Republican-controlled state legislature created a commission of its own picked men and merged the Brooklyn and New York

police departments. By locating the headquarters in Manhattan, Albany left Brooklynites with no control over who patrolled their streets. In 1866, Republican legislative commissions took over Brooklyn's board of health and excise tax departments, followed by another commission for local improvement, which meant that a bill had to go through the legislature to approve repair of a Brooklyn street, the cost of which had to be met by the Brooklynites. By the end of the 1870s, Brooklyn regained self-government over its own departments.[38]

As did McLaughlin, the Brooklyn League of Loyal Citizens and its organ, the *Eagle*, opposed any form of consolidation. Green's reaction was to blame Brooklyn's politicians and citizens for their "senile sentimentalism...incapable of appreciating...the wheels of beneficent progress."[39]

In Albany, the Green commission was instructed to draw up a charter for Greater New York. The Republican mayor of Brooklyn, Charles Schieren, asked the legislature to dismiss Green's commission; if there had to be a commission, Schieren stated that he and the Republican mayor of New York should appoint the commissioners. Voicing the fears of consolidationists, Schieren wanted "conditions first and consolidation afterward."[40]

When the consolidation commission measure came before the legislature in April 1895, for its final form, the commission was not composed totally as Green had hoped. This time, besides himself and other governor's appointees, it included the mayors of Brooklyn, New York, and Long Island City. After the assembly passed the commission bill, Schieren immediately informed the governor that it was unacceptable to Brooklyn unless a referendum were included. The Brooklyn mayor did not accept the 1894 plebiscite, either. That same day, the state senate rejected the bill by two votes, with all Tammany, McLaughlinite, and Brooklyn Republican senators voting against it. The anti-consolidationists believed that the issue of annexation was dead.[41]

Platt, however, finally decided to push consolidation through and bring the legislative commission system back into the newly chartered city. A joint committee of assemblymen and senators, established early in 1896, held hearings. To no one's surprise, the committee decided that a charter commission be formed, with the date of 1 January 1898 set for the creation of Greater New York.[42]

The date was set before any commission worked on the issues and conditions, and before a vote on the commission's report was taken in the legislature. There was to be no referendum. There was no reason to masquerade under the cloak of democracy.

The newly elected Republican mayor of Brooklyn, Frederick Wurster, appealed to his Republican governor, Levi P. Morton, to think about the horror of a Tammany mayor and his deputies governing Brooklyn. Even the Brooklyn Republican Club asked for another referendum. The League of Loyal Citizens collected seventy thousand signatures asking for resubmission of the consolidation question to the people of Brooklyn. Nevertheless, the bill for the charter commission and date of execution passed the senate and assembly, but not without Platt's threatening some waverers in his party with loss of privileges. The bill was to be sent to the mayors of the involved areas, but only as a courtesy. It was

already part of the bill, providing that if they dared to veto the measure the legislature would definitely repass it.[43]

Even the consolidationists again asked for delay so that details could be worked out. On 10 April 1896, Mayor Wurster vetoed the bill. Four days later, the mayor of New York followed suit. On 22 April, the assembly voted 78 to 69, and the Senate 34 to 14, to establish the charter commission, with the date of consolidation set for 1 January 1898. Only the governor's signature was needed.[44]

Platt, known for his ruthless punishment of disloyalty, sent a seething letter to his seemingly rebellious governor:

> I put it mildly when I say to you that I was disgusted and disheartened...relative to Greater New York...our entire programme was definitely stated and thoroughly explained...this whole business utterly discourages and demoralizes me; and it makes me wonder what would be the result if you succeed in becoming President of the United States...And if you are to persist...I assure you that you will be the greater sufferer from such a cowardly policy. In such case I will not feel like taking off my coat and doing the work I contemplated doing in the Presidential matter. I might as well be frank with you now...Now, in conclusion...it is a great deal better to say what I have to say than to let it rankle.[45]

The governor took his cue from Platt and signed the bill. Consolidation was a fact as of April 1896. Andrew Green rushed into Platt's office and called him the "Father of Greater New York." Platt, in turn, called Green the "Grandfather of New York."[46]

A charter commission, including the two mayors who vetoed its coming into existence, went to work and presented the new city's charter to the legislature in February 1897. All of this was anticlimactic, as Platt had preordained the program. After passing both houses, the charter was sent to the mayors. Wurster, who had worked hard to get the best bargain he could for Brooklyn, quietly approved it. The New York mayor, who had also worked on it, uselessly vetoed it. The legislature immediately repassed the charter. Frank S. Black, the new Republican governor, signed it and gave the pen to his "Boss."[47]

The irony was that in September 1897, Richard Croker made his "Return from Elba," emerging from self-imposed exile to run the November 1897 election. On 3 November, the Democratic party made a clean sweep of the elections for the new city government. In a field of four, the Tammany choice received 45.9 percent of the vote for mayor. Second in importance was the controller, who would run the new city's financial department; that office went to a McLaughlin man, who carried 47.2 percent of the city vote in the field of four. To the Brooklyn Democratic party, however, the election meant that constant vigilance would have to be maintained against the Tammany crowd.[48]

Because of the charter, Brooklyn lost what it jealously fought to protect from Manhattan since colonial times—its waterfront. The 4 May 1897 Charter establishing the city of New York was comprised of 619 pages. As stated in

Chapter XVI, Title I, on the Department of Docks and Ferries, in Section 817, Extension and Jurisdiction to New Territory:

> The powers and duties of said department are hereby extended so as to include all the water front, wharf property, lands under water, wharves, piers, bulkheads and structures thereon situated, within the City of Brooklyn."[49]

With these words, the commercial life and future of Brooklyn now lay in the hands of Manhattan. Brooklyn had encouraged the growth of its waterfront business and the jobs created on the waterfront, as well as the raw materials coming to its piers to feed its industries. From 1 January 1898, it was Manhattan's responsibility to continue that tradition, which, at the turn of the century, had made Brooklyn the greatest freight handler in the western hemisphere.

Within a few years after consolidation, both the master planner, Green, and the politically powerful Platt were dead. Together, they had created Greater New York, one to make Manhattan the core of an internationally recognized great city without the possibility of an even greater rival across the river, and the other to make a metropolis under his control from Albany. Green succeeded. Despite Brooklyn's being a world-famous commercial port, an industrial giant, a center of education, culture, and entertainment, a city of churches, homes, and recreation, and a place of ethnic variety and manifold opportunities, he subjugated Brooklyn to his plan for Manhattan's dominance.

Green's scheme was completed after his time by the routing of the subway system (except for the lone CG track) through Manhattan as the core, ignoring the spider web design created inside Brooklyn by its trolleys and elevated lines, and by the Zoning Law of 1916 that choked Brooklyn's progress. Platt failed, as evidenced by the first election in Greater New York, in which the voters overwhelmingly brought back the Democrats: now the independent Brooklyn Democrats had to deal with corrupt Tammany Hall. Neither Green or nor Platt could foresee it, but more than a century as a borough has not suppressed the Brooklyn Psyche. When asked "Where are you from?" (the answer is never, never "New York City"), the response is "I'm from Brooklyn." That is significant.

NOTES

1. "Charter of the City of New York," *Laws of the State of New York Passed at the One Hundred and Twentieth Session of the Legislature* (New York: Bank and Brothers, 1897), 1. This important statement was deleted, leaving a wide space between "Chapter 378" and the words "An Act" on the picture of the charter as it appears in Allan Nevins and John A. Krout, eds., *The Greater City, New York, 1898-1948* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1948), 57.

2. Andrew Haswell Green (1820-1903) studied in the law office of Samuel J. Tilden, and became his partner, see *Dictionary of American Biography (*hereafter cited as *DAB),* s.v. "Green, Andrew Haswell"; Ray Rosenzweig and Elizabeth Blackman, *The Park and the People: A History of Central Park* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1992), 98, 186, 192; David

C. Hammack, *Power and Society: Greater New York at the Turn of the Century* (1982; reprint, New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1987), 111, 189-90, 310. Hammack constantly refers to Green as a Swallowtail (frock coat) Democrat, one who represented the mercantile elite.

3. *DAB*, s.v. "Green, Andrew H." Two Central Park Commissioners were born in New York City, while the other six, including Green, were of "genteel" backgrounds, Protestants, with predominantly rural roots, who had moved to the city (Rosenzweig and Blackman, 97-99; Hammack, 188).

4. Frederick Law Olmsted (1822-1903), was architect-designer of famous parks and estates, including Central Park, Prospect Park, Franklin Park in Boston, Mount Royal Park in Montreal, "Biltmore," the Vanderbilt estate in Asheville, N.C., and the 1893 World's Fair grounds in Chicago, and wrote many articles and books on landscape design (see *DAB*, s.v. "Olmsted, Frederick Law"). He resigned from his Central Park work because of Green's interference and "Greenism"; for Olmsted's summary of Green's brusque manner and Calvinist determination, see Rosenzweig and Blackman, 185-86, 193; Gregory F. Gilmartin, *Shaping the City: New York and the Municipal Art Society* (New York: Clarkson Potter, 1995), 58, 243; *DAB*, s.v. "Olmsted, Frederick Law." The area designated for Central Park was charged as very poor in order to pay little or nothing for property. Based on tax lists, church registers, manuscript censuses, city directories, land records, and maps, the accusation was incorrect; the area had a poor but stable population which provided for itself (Rosenzweig and Blackman, 59, 61, 88-91, 186, 191-92).

5. Rosenzweig and Blackman, 256, 249.

6. Ibid., 201; Gilmartin, 32; DAB, s.v. "Green"; Harold Coffin Syrett, *The City of Brooklyn, 1865-1898: A Political History* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1944), 243, 249.

7. Ralph Foster Weld, *Brooklyn Village: 1816-1834* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1938), 49-50. The charter divided Brooklyn into nine wards, three of whose outer limits adjoined the towns of Williamsburg, Bushwick, Flatbush, and New Utrecht; the western boundary was the East River. Common Council of the City of Brooklyn, "The Charter of the City of Brooklyn, 1834," *Acts Relating to the City of Brooklyn, and the Ordinances Thereof; with an Appendix, Containing the Old Charters, and Statistical Information* (Brooklyn: A. Spooner, 1840), 11-13.

8. In both cases, the decision was clear that Brooklyn's jurisdiction was to the low water mark (William Johnson, *Report of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of Judicature and in the Court for Trial of Impeachments and the Correction of Errors, in the State of New York* [Philadelphia: E. F. Bockus, 1833] 19:175, 178); Common Council, "Appendix to 1834 Charter, 1840," *Acts*, 145.

9. The letter to George Hall, president of the village of Brooklyn, said to be from the *Long Island Star*, 13 Feb. 1834, and signed by six Brooklynites, of whom Gen. Jeremiah Johnson, to whom the statement is credited, was the first signatory, is not in that or any issue of the *Star* from December 1833 through June 1834. Johnson, however, was head of the Brooklyn Committee against New York's attempt to stop the charter and the statement and source is in Weld, 52; Alan Trachtenberg, *Brooklyn Bridge: Fact and Symbol* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1965), 36; David McCullough, *The Great Bridge* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972),113, the notes on p. 575 refer to the *Star* and Trachtenberg; Grace Glueck and Paul Gardner, *Brooklyn: People and Places, Past and Present* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991), 25, quotes Johnson from the *Brooklyn Star* (there are no notes in this book, although Weld is in the bibliography); for the "Report," see *Long Island Star*, 30 Jan. 1834.

10. Weld, 52; Trachtenberg, 36.

11. Common Council, *Acts*, 97, 106; Gabriel Furman, *Antiquities of Long Island and Notes Geographical and Historical, Relating to the Town of Brooklyn, in Kings County, on Long Island* (New York: J. W. Bouton, 1874), 332-37; Henry R. Stiles, ed., *The Civil, Political, Professional, and Ecclesiastical History and Commercial and Industrial Record of the County of Kings and the City of Brooklyn, New York, from 1683 to 1884* (New York: W. W. Munsell, 1884), 1:217; Bureau of Community Statistical Services, Brooklyn Communities: Population Characteristics and Neighborhood Social Resources (New York: Community Council of Greater New York, September 1959), x; "Boundary Problems Troubled Old Flatbush," editorial, *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (hereafter referred to as *Eagle*), 13 July 1933.

12. *Brookln Communities*, xii-xiii; Henry R, Stiles, *A History of the City of Brooklyn* (Albany: Joel Munsell, 1870), 2:419; *Census of the State of New York for 1875: Compiled from the Original Returns* (Albany: Weed, Parsons, 1877): 2, 28.

13. Thomas Adams, Harold M. Lewis, and Theodore T. McCrosley, preparers, *Population, Land Values and Government: Studies of the Growth and Distribution of Population and Land Values, and Problems of Government, Regional Survey (New York: Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs*, 1929):2:71; *Brooklyn Communities*, xii-xiii.

14. *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900* (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Census Office, 1902) 1: Part I, *General United States*, 772-73; *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1913) 3: *Population, 1910: Reports by States, with Statistics from Counties, Cities and other Civil Divisions*, 240, 253, 256; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle Almanac, 1916* (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Eagle, 1916), 80, correcting 1900 and 1910 censuses and explaining who "others" were.

15. Walter Laidlaw, ed., *Population of the City of New York, 1890-1930* (New York: Cities Census Committee, 1932), 275; William Lee Younger, *Old Brooklyn in Early Photographs, 1865-1929* (New York: Dover Publications in cooperation with the Long Island Historical Society, 1978), [L. I. Railroad, 39 (1896), 117 (1900), 127 (1888); trolleys 78 (1896), 91 (1880 and 1885), 159 (1897); steam-powered cable trains on Brooklyn Bridge (1883-1908), replaced in 1908 by trolleys, 9 (1895); Prospect Park, 135-45; Coney Island, other beaches, and race tracks, 114-31.

16. Louis M. Hacker, "The Beginning of Industrial Enterprise after the Civil War," in *History of the State of New York: The Empire State*, ed. Alexander C. Flick (1937; reprint, Port Washington: Ira J. Friedman, 1962), 10: 7-11, 27, 30; Hacker, The Maturing of Industry," 35, 59; Syrett, 13-14, 137, 243; *United States Census 1900*, 7: Part I *United States by Industries*, ccxxx; Henry W. B. Howard, ed., *The Eagle and Brooklyn: The Record of the Progress of the Brooklyn Daily Eagle issued in commemoration of its semi-centennial and occupancy of its new building: together with the History of the City of Brooklyn* (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 1893), 14-15, 140, 242-43, 173-74; Henry Isham Hazelton, *The Borough of Brooklyn and Queens, Counties of Nassau and Suffolk, Long Island, New York, 1609-1924* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing, 1925), 3: 1584, 1588, 1594.

17. Henry M. Christman, ed., *Walt Whitman's New York: From Manhattan to Montauk* (New York: Macmillan, 1963), 54-57; Hazelton 3: 1586.

18. Christman, 137.

19. Howard, 168, 196-97.

20. *United States Census, 1900* 7: Part I, *United States by Industries*, ccxxx-ccxxxiv.

21. *United States Census, 1910*, 9: *Manufactures*, 868-70; *Eagle*, 28 May 1905, sec. 2, 1.

22. *Eagle*, 19 May 1890, 4; Younger, 149.

23. Edward Robb Ellis, *The Epic of New York City* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1966), 458; Hazelton 3:1,354, 1,358, 1,361, 1,367-68, 1,695-96. Dr. William H. Maxwell (1852-1920) was the guiding light of the Brooklyn education system from the 1880s, and later superintendent of the Greater New York Board of Education. At the 1898 consolidation, Brooklyn demanded that Maxwell have the joint superintendency over a Manhattan candidate. He demanded higher requirements for teachers, making them professionals, and called for uniform courses city-wide, college preparation, manual training, and beginning education with kindergarten. He required one foreign language (German) taught in all elementary schools until it was dropped in 1917 because of World War I (*DAB*. s.v. "Maxwell, William"); for his relationship with Hugh McLaughlin, see Hazelton 3: 1700).

24. Bayard Still, *Mirror for Gotham: New York as Seen by Contemporaries from Dutch Days to the Present* (New York: Univ. Press, 1956), 225, 273; Hazelton 3:1384, 1387; Eleanor Ruggles, *Prince of Players: Edwin Booth* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1953), 359-60; *Eagle*, 1 Apr. 1890, 1.

25. *New York Times*, 1 Dec. 1903, 3; 9 March 1904, 9; and 24 Mar. 1904, 9. *Eagle*, 14 Apr. 1904, 22; Hazelton 3:1391; *New York Times*, 24 March 1904, 9.

26. Howard, 991, 995; The *Eagle* over the decades showed the same theaters' advertising as well as reviews of their offerings: see 2 Jan. 1880, 1, 31 May 1890, 5, and 2 Jan. 1900, 9; Gilmartin, 244; McCullough, 146; Younger, 135, 109, 114-31.

27. *Eagle*, 27 May 1905, 3; William A. Doyle (1868-1926), a partner in an insurance firm, was elected councilman in the first municipal assembly, 1898-1902, in which he worked as an obstructionist on any measures, proposals, and bond issues from Tammany administrative heads of departments (*Eagle*, 24 March 1926, 3).

28. *Eagle*, 16 Apr. 1905, 1, and 19 Sept. 1906, 3; Charles Hercules Ebbets (1858-1925) began as a vendor of score cards and worked his way up to owning the team and building his own playing field. In the first municipal assembly, 1898-1902, Ebbets was one of Boss McLaughlin's obstructionist councilmen against Tammany; in the 1917 state elections he made Sunday baseball the main issue (ibid., 1 Oct. 1902, 3; *New York Times*, 19 Apr. 1925, 26).

29. Theodore J. Lowi, *At the Pleasure of the Mayor: Patronage and Power in New York City, 1898-1958* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe-Macmillan, 1964), 12, 34-35, 90; Frederick Shaw, *The History of the New York City Legislature* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1954), 10, 87; *Eagle*, "Regular," 6 Nov. 1912, 1.

30. For Thomas Collier Platt (1833-1910), see *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1971, The Continental Congress, September 5, 1777 to October 24, 1788 and the Congress of the United States, from the First to the Ninety-first Congress, March 4, 1789 to January 3, 1971, inclusive* (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1971), 1550; *DAB*, s.v. "Platt, Thomas C."

31. *DAB*, s.v. "Green, Andrew H."; Syrett, 246-51. See "Consolidation" edition, *Eagle*, 2 Jan. 1898; for three cents, readers received 100 pages on appointments, office terms, and salaries, 1; "Observance Ceremonies"at Brooklyn's City Hall on New Year's Eve with speeches by Mayor Wurster and *Eagle* editor St. Clair McKelway, 4-5; Tammany appointments, 11; "Supplement," Brooklyn politics, 9-24, and history of consolidation, 38-39. The Republican

Brooklyn Citizen devoted its first page to city appointments, but omitted history and titled its write-up "How the 'Wake' Was Celebrated."

32. Nevins and Krout, 48-50; Syrett, 253-55; Hammack, 205.

33. Syrett, 258-59; Hammack, 204.

34. *Eagle*, "Consolidation," 39; David M. Ellis et al, *A Short History of New York State* (New York: Cornell Univ. Press, 1957), 373; Hammack, 206, 209-13; see Donald E. Simon, " By a Margin of 277 Votes: The Consolidation of Brooklyn and New York," *LIHJ* 11 (Fall 1998):15-26.

35. Charles E. Fitch, *Official New York from Cleveland to Hughes* (New York: Hurd Publications, 1911) 4:120.

36. Alfred Connable and Edward Silberfarb, *Tigers of Tammany: Nine Men Who Ran New York* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), 213-16; Morris R. Werner, *Tammany Hall* (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran, 1928), 442, 445-46; Harold Zink, *City Bosses in the United States: A Study of Twenty Municipal Bosses* (Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ Press, 1930), 140-42. For Richard Croker (1841-1922), see Alfred Henry Lewis, *Richard Croker* (New York: Life Publishing Company, 1901); Werner, 303-481; Zink, 128-45.

37. John Heffernan, "Reminiscences," Oral History Project No. 47 (Columbia University, 1950), 23. Hugh McLaughlin (1827-1904), born in Brooklyn of Irish immigrant parents, in 1855 was appointed boss foreman at the Brooklyn Navy Yard in the period during which he laid the foundation of his machine and originated the peculiarly American political title of Boss (see Martin W. Littleton, "Historical Sketch of the Democracy of Kings County," in James K. McGuire, ed., *The Democratic Party of the State of New York* [New York: U.S. History Company, 1905], 2:239-60; Heffernan, 19-38, *DAB*, s.v. "McLaughlin, Hugh").

38. Heffernan, 19-38; Syrett,42-46, 51.

39. Syrett, 259.

40. Ibid , 260; Charles Schieren (1842-1915) opened his own small factory in 1868, and by the turn of the century his tanning and belt manufacturing business was one of the largest in the U.S. He was president of the Germania Savings Bank of Brooklyn, a director of the Germanic Life Insurance Company, a trustee of the Brooklyn Trust Company, president of the Brooklyn Academy of Music, a first vice president and trustee of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Science, and a member of the L.I. Historical Society. He was mayor of Brooklyn from 1894 to1896, elected because of the economic depression and the scandals in New York City. The Republican Mayor of New York City at the same time was William Strong (William F. Mohr, ed. *Who's Who in New York City and State, 1914* [New York: Who's Who in N.Y. City and State, 1914], 634; A. N. Marquis, ed. *Who Was Who in America, 1897-1942* [Chicago: Marquis Who's Who, 1962] 1: 1087; Hammack, 213-14).

41. Hammack, 213-14, *Eagle*, "Consolidation," 38; Syrett, 261.

42. Ellis, 378-79; *Eagle*, "Consolidation," 38; Syrett, 263.

43. Ellis, 379; *Eagle*, "Consolidation," 39; Syrett, 263-66. Frederick W. Wurster (1850-1917) was elected for 1896 and 1897 because of a split between two reform Democrats; Edward M. Grout, on the regular McLaughlin party ticket (later elected Brooklyn's first borough president in 1898 on the regular ticket), and Edward M. Shepard, who ran for New York City mayor in 1901 and lost to Seth Low.) After his term as mayor, Wurster, like Schieren, returned to the

business world (obituary, F. W. Wurster, New York Times, 26 June 1917, 18, and Edward M. Grout, 10 Nov. 1931, 27,); Lately Thomas, *The Mayor Who Mastered New York: The Life and Opinions of William J. Gaynor* (New York: William Morrow, 1969), 50, 97, 111, 157. An oddity is that on the morning of Friday, 31 December 1897, electric wires were strung over the tracks of the steam cable trains on the Brooklyn Bridge. President Rossiter, of the Brooklyn City Railroad Co., had promised Mayor Wurster that he would ride a trolley car across the bridge while he was mayor, and a few minutes before midnight, Wurster, as the last mayor of Brooklyn, motored the trolley himself across to Manhattan and back. Of course, the electric lines were immediately taken down, and trolleys did not begin to run on the bridge until 1908 (*Eagle*, "Consolidation," 6).

44. *Eagle*, "Consolidation," 39; Hammack, 220-22.

45. Syrett, 268-70; Hammack, 218-19.

46. Syrett, 270; Ellis, 379; *DAB*, s.v. "Green, Andrew Haswell."

47. Fitch 4:23; Syrett, 270-72.

48. 1897 Election totals for mayor and controller of Greater New York:

Mayor:

Candidate:	Party	Total Vote
Tracy	Republican	101,994
Van Wyck	Democrat	228,531
Low	Citizen union	148,215
George	Jefferson Dem.	19,836
City Total:		498,576

Controller:

Fitch	Republican	113,841
Color	Democrat	220,328
Fairchild	Citizen Union	108,063
Dayton	Jefferson Dem.	24,344
City Total		466,576

BROOKLYN'S CONSOLIDATION: A DIFFERENT POINT OF VIEW

By Donald E. Simon

The *Long Island Historical Journal* prides itself on bringing to its readers articles on a wide array of issues and giving a voice to points of view that might not otherwise be published. Such an example is Anna M. Lanahan's provocative essay, "Brooklyn's Consolidation: A Point of View."

The fundamental premise of Lanahan's work is that the creation of Greater New York was the end result of the grand scheme begun by the elitist real estate lawyer, Andrew Haswell Green. The author asserts that Green was successful because it was the "Gilded Age, when incorporation, centralization, regulation, and Puritan moralization were united under an umbrella of visionary schemes to accelerate progress."

Historians recognize that there is always a multitude of forces at work These may combine into a dominant philosophy, one that gives a specific character to an age, but as with any parliamentary coalition, there is a constant ebb and flow of influences changing the dynamics of the situation. Thus was the condition of post-Civil War New York City and Brooklyn. Two cities were developing at rapid paces, each seeking to outdo the other yet tied together by common threads including ethnic and social groups, geography, and economic interests.[1]

Lanahan's principal assertion is that consolidation was pushed through by elitist New Yorkers in order to colonize and dominate what, if left alone, was destined to become the larger and more important of the two cities – Brooklyn. Unfortunately, her conclusion flies in the face of fact. One of the interesting ironies of the history of New York and Brooklyn in the period from the late 1850s to consolidation in 1898 was the parallel forces that operated in each of the communities. Lanahan outlines the work of Andrew Green but fails to recognize that James S. T. Stranahan in Brooklyn was simultaneously fighting the same battles and seeking the same outcomes. And neither Green nor Stranahan operated in a vacuum.[2]

The parallels are almost uncanny. Green had been head of the Central Park Board that created New York's principal park (something that few of today's New Yorkers would suggest is too large and should have been rejected in favor of a series of smaller squares located in the more heavily populated regions of the city). Stranahan was head of the Prospect Park Board. Both men rejected early plans for the parks under their control as not meeting the fundamental criterion—that the park present a "paraphrase of the countryside" for what would surely become the midst of a teeming metropolis. Both also eventually selected Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux to develop site plans. In contrast to Lanahan's conclusion that the large parks were built for the exclusive pleasure of

the elite, Olmsted wrote that they had a "great democratizing influence," permitting all classes and conditions to come together under the most uplifting and ennobling circumstances. "The park," he observed, referencing the Brooklyn project, would "soon become a favorite resort for all classes of our community."[3]

Also, both major parks were created, in part, to contain and secure a large reservoir that would ensure adequate supplies of fresh water for the growing cities, thereby further necessitating the creation of large refuges. In addition, both park boards came into conflict with Olmsted and Vaux, resulting in the termination of their employment contracts.

The East River, which washes the shores of Brooklyn and Manhattan, was a barrier to the commerce and commuting that moved between the cities. In both cities, proponents had called for a bridge to link the two communities from the early years of the nineteenth century. Both Green and Stranahan were officers of the New York and Brooklyn Bridge Company, the entity established to fund and build the Brooklyn Bridge. The consolidation movement was as much an outgrowth of the opening of the Brooklyn Bridge in 1883 as a political enterprise. The bridge made possible a massive increase in the commerce that linked the two communities. So great was the volume of goods and people crossing the span that, within a short while, two additional East River spans were completed, the Williamsburgh Bridge in 1902 and the Manhattan Bridge in 1909. As was the case with the Brooklyn Bridge, both new spans carried elevated trains that were parts of a unified system that was being enlarged under the auspices of the city of New York for the benefit of commuters, a large number of whom were Brooklynites.

What Lanahan cites as examples of Brooklyn's potential primacy were at work in both cities. Civic boosters on both sides of the East River were equally busy advocating the "City Beautiful" concept, leading to the creation of Central and Prospect parks, the Metropolitan and Brooklyn museums, the Metropolitan, Manhattan, and other New York opera and concert halls in New York, and the Academy of Music in Brooklyn. Support for the Brooklyn Bridge was strong in both communities. Consolidation, contrary to Lanahan's contention, was the natural extension of a process that had begun in the region in 1855 when Brooklyn annexed neighboring Williamsburgh. By 1896, Brooklyn was coterminous with Kings County, having annexed all of the original Dutch and English towns. New York had annexed portions of what is now The Bronx, beginning in 1874. Consolidation of municipalities was a process found in cities across America–and one that continues today.

Another issue is Lanahan's conclusion that what she sees as a New York City-led impetus for consolidation emerged from a fear that Brooklyn would eclipse New York. In truth, a driving force was the rapid growth of Chicago. Both New Yorkers and Brooklynites recognized the importance that came from theirs being the preeminent port region in the nation. Combining the first (New York) and third (Brooklyn) cities in the nation would forever end Chicago's dreams of supremacy.[4]

Another assertion of the author which is subject to debate is that because Brooklyn was growing at a more rapid pace than New York, it would eventually become the business and commercial center of the region. It is true that Brooklyn's population would exceed that of New York. Indeed, the amount of space available in Brooklyn was greater than that in New York, even if one includes the annexed districts north of the Harlem River in the Bronx. What the author fails to consider is that, by the 1880s, growing numbers of white-collar employees were at work in offices, especially in New York, and this trend continued at an ever-greater pace. Although the port region of New York was still a major source of manufactured goods, by the last decades of the nineteenth century it was apparent that administrative and office positions would become a significant component of the employment market.

This simplification of historical data carries over to Lanahan's description of the uses to which the docks in both cities were put. Although more passenger traffic left from New York's Hudson River piers, her statement that "Manhattan handled passenger traffic, while Brooklyn's waterfront, with its plentiful warehouses, piers, grain elevators, docks, and shipyards, gave it preeminence as the largest handler of foreign freight"is incorrect. Docks and warehouses that held goods and products from all over the nation and the world ringed New York. Brooklyn might have handled the greater volume of freight, but New York's waterfront was not exclusively devoted to passenger traffic. Indeed, some of the freight piers in New York have survived into present times, and many are being recycled for office and residential space. Their mere existence belies the author's generalization.[5]

Another issue is the incompleteness of the 1855 New York State census and the 1880 United States census, both of which failed to count many industrial enterprises. However, the shortcomings that Lanahan found in the Brooklyn count were also present in New York's, doing a disservice to both communities and raising questions about the author's conclusions.

Religious and moral imperatives governed social life in both communities. The author's detailed description of the weekly farce when baseball teams would violate the restriction against playing on Sunday only to be bailed out of jail by Democratic district leaders is interesting, but not unique to Brooklyn. Conflicts regarding the proper way to keep the Sabbath always emerged when immigrants populated a district once the exclusive province of old-line "Americans."

The final portion of the essay is devoted to the political machinations that took place in Albany and downstate, and led to the passage of the consolidation legislation. However, it was not politics that spearheaded the process –it reflected inexorable economic and social forces that, long before actual consolidation in 1898, or even the November 1994 plebiscite, destined that the two cities be bound together.

Lanahan's essay is a substantial historical study. Unfortunately, the author attempts to find conspiracy where none was present. Her conclusion that consolidation was a mechanism for preserving Protestant control over the economic and social future of the emerging city is without foundation. David C.

Hammack, in his seminal study, *Power and Society: Greater New York at the Turn of the Century*, speaks to this issue as follows:

> When they sought to exert power in these years Greater New York's economic and social elites were also limited by the considerable and increasing resources available to the less affluent. Most major decisions required action by the state or local government and also, therefore, by the political party organizations that supplied government officials. Thus universal manhood suffrage and the contemporary custom of nearly universal voter turnout provided the region's middle- and lower-income citizens with an important resource.

Hammack concludes that an unintended consequence of this trend was the strengthening of the political organizations that, of necessity, had to be responsive to the needs of the middle- and lower-income citizens—the very people Lanahan asserts were powerless in the face of the Protestant elite.[6]

One hundred years ago in New York and Brooklyn, there were many disparate groups seeking social, economic, and political dominance. The situation then was not all that different from the contemporary environment. Few would attribute to any element of society a conscious, conspiratorial campaign aimed at seeing its position prevail. To ascribe such motives to Andrew H. Green and his contemporaries does them—and the historical process—a disservice.

NOTES

1. See Dixon Ryan Fox, foreword to Ralph Foster Weld, *Brooklyn Village, 1816-1834* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1938), x, asserting that Brooklyn was a "dormitory-suburb" and that "proximity to New York constantly conditioned the progress of Brooklyn."

2. For Stranahan's contributions to the development of Brooklyn see Donald E. Simon, "The Public Park Movement in Brooklyn, 1824-1873" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1972), 207-20.

2. Frederick Law Olmsted to Calvert Vaux, 1 August and 28 September 1865, *Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Commissioners of Prospect Park* (Brooklyn, 1866), 5-7; see also Simon, "A Plan for All Seasons: The Design of Brooklyn's Prospect Park," *LIHJ* 3 (Fall 1990): 121-35.

4. *Encyclopedia of New York City*, s.v. "Consolidation"; Gary Hermalyn and Lloyd Ultan, "One Hundred Years of The Bronx," *Bronx County Historical Society Journal* 35 (Fall 1998): 63.

5. David C. Hammack, *Power and Society: Greater New York at the Turn of the Century* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1982), 230.

6. Ibid., 306.

CLINTON ACADEMY: ITS HISTORY AND ARCHITECTURE

By Sherrill Foster

The village of East Hampton is the site of a building named Clinton Academy. Visitors often inquire if this is a recent construction in the colonial revival theme, and why is it named Clinton? The latter question is easy to answer: the academy's namesake, George Clinton (1739-1812), was the first governor of New York State and an early advocate for education. The answer to the first question, concerning the history and architecture of the building, is the subject of this article.

But first, a brief overview of the history of the area and its leading characters. Settled in 1648 by residents who first gathered in Lynn, Massachusetts, and then for eight years in Southampton, East Hampton was one of the pioneer bastions of Long Island Puritanism.[1]

The Independent Church, subsequently named Presbyterian, was the only organized religion in East Hampton until the mid-nineteenth century. Thomas James, East Hampton's first minister, was recommended by the governor of Connecticut Colony, John Winthrop Jr., and served from 1652 until 1696. James married Ruth Jones, the daughter of his ministerial mentor. with whom he had five children, most of whom married into local families. After Ruth died, in 1669 James married Katherine Blux, a well-to-do widow who had two children from her first marriage. The second minister, the Rev. Nathaniel Huntting (Harvard 1693), of Dedham, Massachusetts, served from 1696 to 1746. Under Huntting, the New England style Second Church was built in 1717. Huntting and his wife Mary Green had ten children, most of whom married locally; descendants of both Huntting and James still live in East Hampton. In November 1745, the Rev. Samuel Buell (1716-1798) was ordained as East Hampton's third "fifty-year" minister, and became the creative force responsible for the academy and its building.[2]

Samuel Buell (Yale 1741) was immersed in learning and intellectual pursuits. After leaving Yale he served for several years in Northampton, Massachusetts, as assistant to the illustrious philosopher-theologian Jonathan Edwards, who came to East Hampton in 1646 to deliver Buell's ordination sermon In 1753, Buell founded the "Philogrammatican Library" in East Hampton, a private lending library and an echo of an English society of the same name. By mid-century, he had spearheaded the redecoration of the large 1717 meeting house with a carved pulpit, with a background of arches with tulip-centered capitals, using the popular woodworking carvers of the Connecticut River Valley.[3]

Buell and his first wife, Jerusha Williams Meacham, the daughter and granddaughter of prominent Connecticut River Valley ministers, had six children, only one of whom lived beyond infancy. This was Jerusha Buell (1749-1782), who

married David Gardiner, the sixth proprietor of Gardiner's Island. Seven years after Jerusha Meacham's death, Buell married Mary Mulford, of an old East Hampton family, with whom he had two children, a daughter Mary, and, in 1771, a son named Samuel Jr., about whom Buell wrote in the church register, "May he be a flaming minister of Christ."[4] As young "Samme" grew, Buell determined to provide him an excellent education right here at home.

The Academy

Buell pressed for the idea of an academy, both as a building and as a college preparatory school. In January 1684, through his influence and enthusiasm, a meeting of Buell's friends and neighbors raised £934 to establish the first secondary school chartered by the New York State Board of Regents. Donors of money included Seth Barnes, Nathaniel Gardiner, Daniel Hedges, Reuben Hedges, Dr. Samuel Hutchinson, Aaron Isaacs, Lieutenant John Miller Jr., Major David Mulford, Elisha Mulford, and Capt. Recompence Sherrill: known members of the board of trustees were William Floyd, Abraham Gardiner, Nathaniel Gardiner, John Gelston, Benjamin Goldsmith, Jonathan Nicoll Havens, Dr. Samuel Hutchinson, Aaron Isaacs, Major David Mulford, Jeremiah Osborn, Uriah Rogers, David Rose, Major Jeffrey Smith, Judge Selah Strong, Nathan Woodhull, and the Rev. Aaron Woolworth. Governor Clinton dedicated the school on New Year's Day, 1785.[5]

Eighteenth-century intellectuals were expected to be versed in the art of architecture as well as music, literature, science, and languages. A contemporary of Buell, Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790), exemplified this versatility. Another contemporary, an importer in Newport, Rhode Island, Peter Harrison (1716-1775), was responsible for the design of several buildings there, using plates from the numerous architectural pattern books published in England at this time. This type of architect (itself a late-century word) was called a "gentleman-amateur," as opposed to the "architect-builder" who actually constructed a building, using his memory of traditional forms with help from the books mentioned.[6]

Buell's gentleman-amateur status was evident in two letters he wrote to Mr. and Mrs. Elisha Pitkin of East Hartford, Connecticut (Mrs. Pitkin was Buell's niece, the eldest daughter of his sister Hannah), in 1784. The Pitkin family included well-known jurists and legislators in Connecticut. In the first letter, Buell apologized for not visiting his East Hartford friends because,

> Our academy has especially engrossed my attention and care. The joiners are this week finishing off the outside work which they have done in a very elegant manner, and have done considerable part of the inside work also. It is a building fifty foot in length of proportionable width—there are three tiers of rooms, one above the other—the gable ends are all brick, there are belonging to it near 40 windows. The front faces the Meetinghouse and Town Clock, and is within 8 rods thereof, and has before it a beautiful

> piazza. It has a neat balcony with a walk around it. Tis likely to be a costly business by that tis finished which we are in hopes will be so far forth as to open a school in it in about three weeks—the proprietors of this building propose having the best instruction that can profitably be obtained. There is now one of the best English schools kept here—all the learned languages will be taught, the French tongue—in short, any gentleman may send his son for instruction in any branch of useful knowledge for a longer or shorter term of time as he pleases and have him under best advantage for improvement—we have it in contemplation to put it under the patronage of his excellency Governor Clinton which he seems fond of, and of giving us a charter.

Buell went on to say that, "Today is Quarter Day" and the students have been declaiming orations for several hours, as was the practice at Yale and Harvard at this time. He enclosed some samples of writing by his students, hoping to encourage Mrs. Pitkin to send her two sons, as well as sons of acquaintances, to enroll in the academy.[7]

Two days later, Buell wrote again (apparently, their letters had crossed) to apologize once more for not visiting East Hartford:

> I had no assurance that any very valuable purpose could be answered and obtained by coming. However I had come at all adventures had there not at that time 12 or 14 men been daily at work upon the new erected edifice assigned for an academy here, who continually wanted my advise. I was so much feared some capital error in that elegant building that I thought best to forego a present pleasure rather than sustain a future injury and this was the entire reason of my not coming as proposed and has hitherto prevented, and likely will yet longer till the season will perhaps not admit of coming till next Spring.[8]

His letters described the building as it looks today. He also implied a design for the building which he interpreted to the "joiners," for which his supervision was needed. It would seem that Buell was indeed the "gentleman-amateur" of the project.

Architecturally, Clinton Academy is a five-bay, two-and-a-half-story gambrel-roof building, with brick ends laid in English bond, interior end chimneys, an extruded three-run stairwell at the rear, and a colonnaded porch across the front. Five gabled dormers and a cupola, or belfry, decorate the roof. As Buell said, "It is an elegant building."[9]

The shape of the two-part gambrel roof is typically New England, with the upper slope at the steep angle popular in the mid-eighteenth century. When Buell, a native of Connecticut and a graduate of Yale, thought of educational housing his inspiration was his alma mater. The 1717-1718 College House, used by Buell as an undergraduate, had gabled dormers and a high-post open belfry housing a flaring bell.[9]

College House was razed in stages between 1775 and 1782. Its design has been attributed to another gentleman-amateur, Massachusetts-born Connecticut Governor Gordon Saltonstall, with specifications made by the Reverend Samuel Russel, of Branford, Connecticut. The list includes such items as "3 plates 54 foot long (besides splicing), 8 inches square." With the plan and the timbers already set, Henry Caner was hired as master-carpenter. College House was 170 feet long but only twenty to twenty-two feet wide. The eighteenth century was the "age of candlelight," so that such a narrow building, with many windows, provided much daylight. Clinton Academy has the same effect from its narrow, well-lighted interior. A 1765 Yale graduate, returning in 1787, recalled the recently demolished College House as "by far the most sightly building of any that belonged to the university, and most advantageously situated. It gave an air of grandeur to the others."[10]

In 1750-1752, Connecticut Hall was built on the Yale campus. Standing today, it is a gambrel-roofed rectangular block with interior chimneys, permitting the profile of the gambrel to be seen. Thus, the Clinton Academy belfry and gabled dormers were inspired by Yale's demolished College House, while the gambrel roof on the 1750 Connecticut Hall was based on Harvard's Massachusetts Hal—a distinguished pedigree for Clinton Academy.

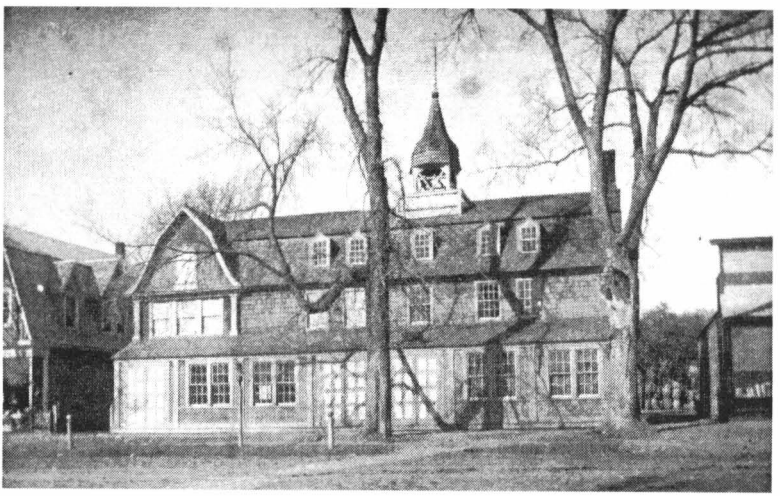
Clinton Academy's distinctive and unusual feature is the colonnaded porch, or "piazza," as Buell called it. None of he eighteenth-century college buildings had such a porch, or any porch at all. Perhaps Buell was inspired by the similar construction of the Greek stoa, where Socrates' dialogues took place.

Stoas were open building with roofs supported by one or more rows of columns parallel to the rear wall. This would have fit Buell's aspirations for the academy. In addition, ancient Greece was prominent in the thought of the time. Stuart and Revett's influential book, *Antiquities of Athens*, published in four volumes beginning in 1762 led to the popularity of the Greek Revival style of architecture in America.[11]

Poised between the domestic quality of eighteenth-century New England college edifices, and the imposing Greek Revival buildings of the nineteenth century, Clinton Academy's architecture is typical of its time. Even as Buell was establishing his academy, there were numerous schools of the one-room type in the town of East Hampton, as well as some "dame" schools such as the one Roxanna Foote Beecher held in the first decade of the nineteenth century. William Payne, Aaron Isaacs's new son-in-law, who moved to East Hampton in spring 1780 and lived in one of Isaacs's numerous properties, conducted the school to which Buell referred in his letter of 6 October 1784: "there is now one of the best English Schools kept here."[12]

Aaron Isaacs was a merchant with Newport connections. Immediately after the Battle of Long Island (27 August 1776) Isaacs hired six boats to take him, his family, and his merchandise to Haddam, Connecticut. While helping her father tally merchandise on the dock, Sarah Isaacs met William Payne, a young widower from Cape Cod who was homeward bound from a trip to the West Indies. After Sarah and William married, Aaron suggested that they move into his empty house

Clinton Academy. Photograph, taken soon after the academy closed, courtesy of the East Hampton Historical Society.



Clinton Hall, with the James Renwick addition of 1887. Photograph, ca. 1900, courtesy of the East Hampton Historical Society.

in East Hampton, to keep British soldiers from damaging it. Payne, a noted educator in the Boston area, was soon holding classes.[13]

What was it like to go to school at Clinton Academy? There were four classrooms, two on each floor, with a hallway through the center and the stairwell at the rear, as it is today. No lists of students survive (they may have been burned in the disastrous New York State Library fire of 1911), but an extant 1794 handbook provides fascinating details of the rules, times of attendance, and cost of an education. The three departments of instruction were the classical, English academical, and common school. The classical department was the most expensive, charging $7.50 per subject per quarter, so that quarterly tuition ranged from a high of $140 for classical students to a low of $110 for students in the common school. The English academical department cost $5.00 per subject per quarter, the common school from $2.25 to $3.00; students of both sexes attended these divisions.[14]

Studies in the classical department were those "of regular classical education," which meant Latin as a spoken and written language, as well as Greek, geography, navigation, surveying, mensuration, gauging, and other mathematics, applied for separately. The English academical department was for a "Miscellaneous Education" (to quote the academy's publicity)—writing, arithmetic, accountantship, reading, English grammar and rhetoric, sentimental and epistolary composition, and French. Common school was for those who wished to learn to read and write.[15]

All departments had winter and summer terms. Hours of attendance were six hours per day, from 8:00 to 11:00 A.M. and 1:00 to 4:00 P.M., with private tutoring hour perquisites for the various instructors. Students had two vacations each year with a six-week total, three weeks from the first Wednesday in April, and three from the first Wednesday in September– perhaps holidays were not included in vacation times. No age limitation was discussed in the rules, with entrance to a department probably dependant on a student's earlier education. Students could start in the common school and move into either the English academical (boys and girls) or the classical courses (boys only, as it included Greek), a policy that seems to have been standard in all academies. The idea of an English school was derived from Benjamin Franklin's eighteenth-century model, which he presented as opposed to the Latin school.[16]

Enrollment was about eighty students a year for the approximately one hundred years of Clinton Academy's operation. Buell opened the morning exercises every day. His son "Samme" attended, as did Samme's cousins, "Josee" and "Nedde" (Joseph and Edward Pitkin, from East Hartford), who boarded with their uncle. Boarding, itself, was big business in East Hampton, with the householder providing meals and doing the student's laundry for an extra sum.

Clinton Academy had a notable roster of students, known from other sources. One was Anna Tuthill Symmes, who was among the first group of students and entered the academy at the age of ten or eleven in 1785. After staying for about five years, she returned to her parents' home in North Bend, Ohio, and, at the age of twenty, married William Henry Harrison, the future ninth president of the

United States, on 22 November 1795. (Harrison's successor, John Tyler, also married an East Ender, although she did not attend Clinton Academy: his second wife, the twenty-four-year-old Julia Gardiner whom he married in 1844,, was born on Gardiner's Island.[17]

In 1823, the family of future Judge Henry P. Hedges purchased the present Mulford house and moved to East Hampton from Wainscott, so that young Henry and his siblings could attend Clinton Academy. The Widow Mulford rented rooms to Capt. William Rysam and his five daughters, all of whom attended the school.[18]

After Buell's death, Lyman Beecher was selected as the minister for East Hampton. He was expected to perform many of the Rev. Buell's duties, such as leading the student assembly in prayer each morning at 8 A.M. Because these functions were not to Beecher's liking, others performed many of them. His daughter Catherine (the eldest of his many distinguished children) would have attended from the age of seven or eight in 1807 and 1808, until her parents moved to Litchfield, Connecticut, in 1810. After Abel Huntington moved to East Hampton from Sag Harbor, his four children (future doctors and authors) all were students at the academy. His oldest daughter, Mariette, was the same age as Catherine Beecher.[19]

The academy's principals were college trained. Charles Silas Williams, Union College, 1848, Phi Beta Kappa and a straight "A" student, began teaching in the fall of that year, becoming principal for ten years. He married the daughter of the owner of the present 1770 House, adding a large wing as a dormitory for the boarding students.[20]

Clinton Academy Becomes Clinton Hall

The academy's last-known state education report filed in Albany was dated 1868. The building was later rented to teachers who carried on the educational program. In 1884 the academy building became Clinton Hall. The offices of the village were there as well as a large room for town meetings. Other events held there included dramatic readings and plays, dances, and social events. It became the action center of East Hampton, with summer people included in the activities. Summer visitors, mostly boarders, later organized many of their own affairs at Clinton Hall.[21]

In spring 1874, a *New York Tribune* reporter observed that, "upwards of 500 city people congregate here during the summer months." He described the boarding houses, noting that the Sea Spray House (not yet moved to the beach) accommodated only thirty persons, but that William Gardner, the owner-manager, seated one hundred people in his dining rooms. The article also noted that several city people already had built summer cottages.[22]

The Gallatin brothers, Frederick and James, were boarders during this summer of 1874, but Frederick soon built his Queen Anne Revival style cottage (since demolished) overlooking Hook Pond. His architect, James Renwick (who was engaged on St. Patrick's Cathedral), had previously designed Gallatin's city residence on Fifth Avenue at 53d Street. Renwick and Frederick Gallatin were

close personal friends, and Renwick visited the Gallatins in East Hampton almost every summer, arriving for Fourth of July celebrations on his steam yacht *Jean* and anchoring off Fresh Pond.[23]

By summer 1886, the facilities of Clinton Hall were not large enough to hold all the activities of local and summer people, as well as units of local government. Enlargement was the only solution, to be paid for by donations and special fund raising. There were meetings, to one of which Frederick Gallatin sent "his personal architect," Renwick, and plans were discussed for a two-and-a-half-story addition at right angles to the present building, doubling the usable space. Old photographs show the new gambrel roof with the same lines as those of the academy building. However, the summer people had to exert considerable pressure to get the trustees of Clinton Academy to go along with the plans.

Excerpts from local weeklies closely followed problems that developed. The *Sag Harbor Express* reported on 14 October 1886:

> The Trustees of Clinton Academy have concluded to enlarge their building so as to accommodate public meetings in a comfortable way and thus derive a sufficient revenue to keep the property in good shape. This will not prevent the school from being kept there. Work will commence at once and the addition made during the winter.

On 14 November, the paper's East Hampton correspondent noted that, "Specifications for the addition to Clinton Hall are prepared and will soon be submitted to builders for their bids. The chestnut timber for the foundation is daily expected and the trenches have been dug and filled." The next week, this item appeared:

> The contract for building the extension to Clinton Hall has been awarded to Mr. George Eldredge, who will proceed to procure lumber and erect the building. It is to be complete as far as this contract goes by April First. It does not include the interior front, or the small rooms in the rear. These will have to be an after consideration as there are not funds sufficient for final completion.

On 30 December 1886 the paper observed that,

> Work is progressing nicely on the new Hall. Boss Eldredge has nearly completed the raising of the timber; in fact all the heavy timber has been raised for some days. It will be a thoroughly strong and well framed building, and capable of accommodating safely all that it can hold.

The paper continued its coverage in 1887. A report on 13 January announced that the "Clinton Hall extension is nearly enclosed and work is progressing rapidly under the able direction of Boss Eldredge." A 27 January item stated that, "New village hall progressing, will seat 400."

On 10 March, the paper reported that,

> The work of painting portions of the new Hall is progressing nicely. The roof, window frames, etc. outside and the front of the stage inside, are being painted by Messers Lawrence and Parker. The chairs for the Hall are being negotiated for, and stoves are already put up, and in a few weeks an opening will be made to the public. Just what the opening will be, whether Dramatic or Literary, we cannot say. An entertainment of a dramatic nature is in progress of preparation.
>
> An oyster supper will be given by the ladies this week on Thursday evening at Mr. White's Hotel. All are invited to come and enjoy a fine spread. Proceeds for the benefit of the Hall. It is desired that a large attendance should reward the efforts of the ladies in their labor of love.

On 23 March, the *Express* announced the opening of the new hall. Posters had been put up around town, and the entertainment was "Castle" on Tuesday and "Money" on Thursday, done by the young people. In 1887, readers knew which was "literary" and which "dramatic."

However, financial problems continued to beset the new addition. On 14 April, a list of donors included Dr. Everett Herrick, who gave $100 to the new hall fund. Fundraising continued all summer, with notices in all three local papers, the *East Hampton Star*, *Sag Harbor Corrector*, and *Sag Harbor Express*.

The *East Hampton Star* of 10 September printed a formal bid, signed by the building committee whose members were H. D. Hedges, S. S. Conklin, G. H. Hand, H. Sherrill, B. H. van Scoy, and J. S. Osborne: "By advertisement it will be seen that the Building committee of Clinton Hall ask for bids for the completion of the inside work of the building. The Hall is now only about $100 in debt and it is thought that it will take about $500 to complete the interior work."

The 24 September *Star* reported that,

> The contract for completing the interior work of Clinton Hall has been awarded to Boss George Eldredge whose bid was $575. The ceiling is to be finished with Virginia pine in the same style as that already used around the stage. The sides are to be wainscoted as far up as the window sills and the remainder is to be plastered. The work is to be completed November 15th.

The final word appeared in the *Sag Harbor Express* of 20 November: "Clinton Hall is finished and refurbished. The cost was about $4000."

Villagers and summer people enjoyed Clinton Hall together. However, by August 1891, "persons interested in the erection of a clubhouse in East Hampton" were meeting, and by January 1892 plans for the first Maidstone Club had been

drawn by I. H. Green Jr., the architect who designed Dr. Herrick's house, called Pudding Hill. Clinton Hall continued to be used. The *East Hampton Star*'s office was there until 1897, after which the library was housed until 1912. Mr. and Mrs. Lorenzo E. Woodhouse, who summered in East Hampton and built in 1895 at the eastern end of newly opened Huntting Lane, were the generous benefactors who gave the land and money to build the library in 1912.

In 1921, their continued interest in the historic aspect of East Hampton led them to hire the architect Joseph Greenleaf Thorp (1862-1934) to supervise the restoration of Clinton Academy to its original appearance. Thorp had built and sensitively remodeled houses in East Hampton since 1891; his sympathetic eye for the character and telling details of the early building enabled him to remove the Renwick-designed addition of 1886-87.

Clinton Academy stands today basically as the Rev. Samuel Buell left it and just what he wanted–an elegant, sophisticated building.[25]

NOTES

1. For East Hampton's early history, see Jeannette Edwards Rattray, *East Hampton History and Genealogies* (Country Life Press, 1953); William S. Pelletreau, "East Hampton," in *History of Suffolk County* (New York: W. W. Munsell & Co., 1882); Roger Wunderlich, "Lion Gardiner, Long Island's Founding Father," *LIHJ* 10 (Spring 1998): 172-85: for Clinton Academy and other early secondary schools on Long Island, see Natalie A. Naylor, "The 'Encouragement of Seminaries of Learning': The Origins and Development of Early Long Island Academies," *LIHJ* 12 (Fall 1999):11-30.

2. For East Hampton's first three ministers, see Rattray, 48-57; Pelletreau, 13-16.

3. For Buell, see Sherrill Foster, "The Reverend Samuel Buell of East Hampton: Tastemaker in the Connecticut Valley Tradition," *Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin* 54, (1989): 189-211; for Buell and Edwards, see Patricia Tracy, *Jonathan Edwards. Pastor: Religion and Society in 18th Century Northampton* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1980), 189.

4.Quoted in Rattray, 54, from undocumented sources, possibly East Hampton Presbyterian Church Records (microfilm of original records, L.I.. collection, East Hampton Library).

5. Harried Stryker-Rodda, "Early Nineteenth-Century Academies on Long Island, 1790-1850." *Long Island Courant* 1 (October 1965): 42; "Application to the Regents of the University of the State of New York," 21 September 1787, MS letter, Document Book 11, 30, Long Island Collection, East Hampton Library (hereafter cited as LIC); see also typescript (x) FH 201, Doc-3. listing the ages and amounts donated by the founders (typescript, LIC "Board of Trustees, Clinton Academy," typescript, n.d., LIC (x) FH 201 TRU-1)

6. Wayne Andrews, *Architecture. Ambition and Americans* (New York, Harper & Row, 1947), 43-47; Alan Gowans, *Images of American Living* (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott, 1964) 203-5.

7. Samuel Buell to Mr. and Mrs. Elisha Pitkin, 6 October 1784 (LIC. document Book 11), 35; "one of the best English schools kept here" referred to the private school kept by William Payne, the son-in-law.

of Aaron Isaacs.

8. Ibid., 8 October 1784.

9. George Dudley Seymour, "Henry Caner (1680-1731) Master Carpenter, Builder of the first Yale College Building 1718 and of the Rector's House 1722," *Old Time New England* 15 (January 1925) 104-9; Abbott Lowell Cummings, director, Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, said when viewing Clinton Academy: "The building carries the spirit of New England" (author's interview in the late 1970s).

10. Seymour, passim.

11. James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *Antiquities of Athens,* 4 vols. (London and New York: G. Brell 1762-1816), the source of many pattern books used in the American colonies and early republic, among them Batty Langley, *Treasury of Designs*; James Gibbs, *Book of Architecture*; and William Kent, *Designs of Inigo Jones.*

12. Buell to the Pitkins, 6 October 1784.

13. Sherrill Foster, "Aaron Isaacs Family of East Hampton, Long Island." *Suffolk County Historical Society Register* 19 (1994): 94-106.

14. *Rules and Regulations for the Government of Clinton Academy in East Hampton* (Sag Harbor: David Frothingham, 1794), 12 (LIC KC/21).

15. Ibid, 5; see also William Payne's advertisement, *Gazette of the United States,* May 1790, dealing with costs of boarding, clothes washing and ink for writing (LIC, (x) FH 201 Doc 2).

16. Stryker-Rodda, 40; *Suffolk Gazette,* 4 April 1804. Graduation orations were in Latin, Greek and French (LIC, Microfilm, *Suffolk Gazette* 1804-1805 [April 1804]).

17. See Natalie A. Naylor, "Long Island's Mrs. Tippecanoe and Mrs. Tyler Two," *LIHJ* 6 (Fall 1993). for Anna Symmes (2-6) and Julia Gardiner, passim.

18. H. P. Hedges, *Memories of a Lone Life,* East Hampton: the author, 1909, 16-18; for the Rysam daughters, see forthcoming book on that family by Lois Beechy Underhill.

20. Rattray, 55, 56.

21.See Mary Esther Mulford Miller, *Memories of an East Hampton Childhood* (1938), 4, 12-14; New York State changed its educational program and requirements in 1884, but the date Clinton Academy ceased to function as a school has not been learned; its papers were burned in the New York State Library fire of 1911. The ongoing body, the Trustees of Clinton Academy, has oversight of the building.

22. George Lansing Taylor, *New York Tribune,* 29 October 1874 (clipping LIC, CF 41).

23. Frederick and James Gallatin were grandsons of Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, 1801-1814; for the brothers as architectural sponsors, see Sherrill Foster, "Boarders to Builders: The Beginnings of Resort Architecture in East Hampton, L. I. 1870-1892," MA thesis, SUNY at Binghampton, 1977.

24. Jeannette Edwards Rattray, *Fifty Years of the Maidstone Club*_(East Hampton, 1941), 1, and *Up and Down Main Street* (East Hampton, 1968) 113, 114; see also Foster, thesis; R. A.

M. Stern, "Architectural Patronage of the Woodhouse Family," *East Hampton Invents the Culture of Summer*, (East Hampton: East Hampton Historical Society, 1994).

25. Sherrill Foster, "J. Greenleaf Thorp: Architect of Summer," *Preservation League of New York State Newsletter*, July-August 1982, and Foster on Thorp in Robert B. MacKay, Anthony Baker, and Carol A. Traynor, eds. *Long Island Country Houses and Their Architects 1860-1940* (New York: W. W. Norton 1997) 393-96.

LAND, LIVESTOCK, AND LIBERTY: RICHARD SMITH OF SMITHTOWN

By Elizabeth Shepherd

On North Country Road just west of the Nissequogue River stands a bronze bull, head lowered, tail arched, a memorial to the founder of the town of Smithtown, Richard Smith (or Smythe, as he wrote it). Said to symbolize Smith's mythical ride astride his bull to establish the boundaries of his future town, it may more simply represent the bull on his seal. However, study of the sparse records remaining after three hundred years reveals a more potent symbolism. Cattle provided the economic force behind Smith's settlement of the town: oxen furnished the power to move felled trees to construction sites and fuel piles, pull plows through untilled soil, and drag home loads of corn and hay, while cows yielded milk and cheese and steers provided beef and hides both for home consumption and sale. "The bull," in short, enabled Smith and his family not only to survive but prosper during the early years of English settlement of western Suffolk County.

If cattle provided motive power and protein, the need to keep those animals healthy shaped the settlers' choice of land. The most desired land offered open grazing and marsh grasses for winter hay—food resources that needed no plowing, planting, or cultivating. Indian clearings promised the former, extensive freshwater and saltwater wetlands the latter. Grasses, fine and coarse, grew along the shores of Smithtown Bay, the Nissequogue River, the many ponds near the headwaters of the river, and around Lake Ronkonkoma. At most, the marshes would need to be fenced on their landward sides to prevent livestock from grazing before the grass could be harvested in late summer. The bronze bull seems emblematic of the way Smithtown—and Long Island—developed from the salt meadows along its coast to the woods inland. Given the surviving record, it seems a fitting symbol for Richard Smith's place.

Cattle and land were clearly the keys to economic success. Smith managed to breed or otherwise acquire and maintain more hoofed animals than most of his North Shore peers, and acquire far more land than they to feed his livestock and those of his children and grandchildren. Little information remains to show how he became the sole patentee of a town covering fifty-five square miles; most contemporary grants were a fraction of this size and were given to more than one proprietor. Family connections might have helped, but what those could have been are not known. Although the seapapers with a heraldic shield, none of his descendants, after generations of determined seeking, has been able to identify its source definitively. From the ducal crown above six *fleurs-de-lis* emerges the front end of a bull, a lively looking creature, hooves pawing the air. The present Smithtown seal carries the patentee's bull and motto: *Nec timeo nec sperno* (I

neither fear nor scorn). Richard had some education, possibly even some legal knowledge, which gave him an advantage over his often illiterate peers, and allowed him to make good use of colonial courts in pursuit of land he wanted.[1]

An educated gentleman, Richard Smith apparently reached Boston in the mid-1630s, and from there went five or six miles north to Lynn. There he might have learned about maintaining livestock in a harsher climate and under more rigorous living conditions than those to which they were bred. In 1640, Richard married sixteen-year-old Sarah Hammond, daughter of William and Elizabeth Hammond, who had settled in Watertown, a small town upriver from Boston. Already accustomed to the rigors of colonial life, Sarah proved a valuable and equal partner to her husband. The Smiths subsequently joined some other families from Lynn who founded the town of Southampton in 1640. Richard's name first appears in the town records as a resident in 1643.[2]

As a newcomer, Richard underwent the usual probationary period, and in 1648, his behavior having been found satisfactory, became a freeman, eligible to hold office in the town. He was listed in subsequent town records as a constable for a one-year term, as one of three men voted by the General Court "to agitate towne business, and as one of two men appointed to fence the "great plaines" and levy a tax on the settlers' home lots. His name appears among members of a twelve-man jury, and as part of the squadrons named to cut up whales beached on the shore.

In 1654, the town approved Richard's efforts to gain access to and fence town land adjacent to his home lot, provided that he left "a sufficient watering place for all sorts of cattle against the lane end." Residents had been steadily importing milk cows, bulls, oxen, goats, and hogs, as did Richard. In 1652 (and again in 1657) he was accused of trespass by Jonas Wood, found guilty, and fined. When other residents were cited for the same offense, it was usually because their hogs or cattle had strayed from the common grazing land and trampled someone's corn.

Richard's family grew with the births at two-year intervals of seven children—six of them boys, but such biographical information reveals nothing of cattle or livestock, or the family's daily life. However, having so many sons gave Richard and Sarah an obvious advantage over families that were smaller or had mainly female children.[4]

When their eldest son, Jonathan, was fifteen, Richard left him and his brothers to tend the farm, while daughter Elizabeth helped her mother with the two babies and other household tasks. Richard went to England, possibly because of his father's death. He returned on board the Speedwell when it landed in Boston on 27 August 1656, and "Richard Smith of Southampton" was imprisoned as a Quaker, along with at least eight fellow passengers (who possibly converted him from Calvinism during the ten-week voyage). As a rule, such "notorious heretiques" were incarcerated for weeks on end, half starved, flogged, and eventually banished from the colony without a chance to defend themselves. Richard Smith, perhaps because he was considered of higher social rank than his radical associates, seems to have escaped the customary thirty stripes and was given an official hearing. The hearing turned on the question, considered crucial

in Puritan Boston, of whether the Scriptures were "the only rule and guide of life [or] subordinate to the quickening of the inner light." After several days of discussion, Smith was judged "infected" and shipped home to his family.[5]

A few weeks later, he was banished from Southampton under a recently enacted town law making that the "punishment for vneverend cariage [*sic*] toward the magistrates," unless or until the offending parties "acknowledge their fault and profess reformation." "Quaker Smith" was given a week to leave town. Yet, it was harvest time, cold weather was coming, and the family had nowhere to go. Sarah was or soon would be nursing a new baby boy. Three weeks after his banishment, Richard was still in Southampton. There is no evidence that he expressed the slightest regret for his behavior, for which he was fined £5—a sizable sum—"to bee levied immediately upon [his] goods and chattels." Still he lingered, his name appearing in town records for several more years.

Richard and Sarah's ninth and last child, a daughter, was born in 1658. That was the year the town seized and sold one of his hogs to defray damages to Indian plantings—the first and only mention of specific livestock belonging to Richard. In October 1659, Smith was listed as having fence frontage along the great plain, eight poles eight links long (140 feet); about the same time, he stated that he had sold all his "meadows at Shinnecock and Seponack." The term "meadow" did not mean rolling fields of cultivated grasses, but salt marshes whose hay fed livestock. Each town sought to ensure that residents owned their fair share of what were sometimes identified as "boggie meddoes." Had Richard owned such land he must have been raising cattle, or the town would not have agreed to his buying it in the first place.[6]

In 1661, Richard was listed among the two dozen settlers of Setauket, established in 1655 as the first settlement in the town of Brookhaven. He surely knew most of the families, many of whom came from Lynn or Southampton. Richard and his sons built a house on the west side of Main Street, and he also bought a number of lots between Setauket and Stony Brook harbors. As the Setauket land was divided among its freeholders, most shares had access to water, salt meadows, thatch beds, or watering holes. Green with marsh grass, these shorelines offered ample hay for cattle. As time went by. Richard acquired considerable acreage in the town, much of it with good access to water and marsh grass. Because of various civic and personal activities, his name appears in the Brookhaven town records as it had in Southampton's, but there is scant reference to livestock and nothing to suggest any large herd grazing on the commons.[7]

At some point, Richard cast his eyes toward the land west of Stony Brook Harbor, as well as the Nissequogue peninsula cultivated by Indians known as Nesaquakes. The harbor and river were fringed with acre upon acre of salt meadows, as were Sunken Meadow and smaller estuaries to the west, promising habitats for cattle. As it happened, Richard's friend Lion Gardiner, an East Hampton resident, soon owned that land and much more. For effecting the rescue of the kidnapped daughter of the Montauk sachem Wyandanch, Gardiner's reward, in 1659, was the thirty thousand acres that became Smithtown.. For Richard Smith, the use of this particular friend as intermediary probably seemed the most expeditious way to negotiate with the original settlers for the land he wanted. An

undocumented rumor holds that Wyandanch's ransomed daughter was restored to her father at Richard's house in Setauket.[8]

As it turned out, the Nesaquakes had previously (1650) signed away much of this land to six other Englishmen, including Jonas Wood. Apart from present-day Nissequogue, which the original settlers reserved for themselves, they granted the six Englishmen rights to settle on the land between Stony Brook Creek and the Nissequogue River and four necks beyond it. Deeds and other records in Huntington often used the phrase "necks of meadow," to reflect the fact that salt marshes lay about each neck of land, including the extensive ones around Northport ("Cow Neck") and Lloyd Neck " (Horse Neck). The value of the meadows as fodder for cattle and horses goes far to explain the prolonged controversy about who was to own them. In 1656, and again in 1657, Wood joined another group of speculators who also acquired rights west of the river, including an additional "neck." Wyandanch had conveniently confirmed all these deeds, though the land itself was a two-day walk from his home.[9]

At any rate, Wyandanch gave Gardiner the land between Setauket and Huntington, in a 1659 deed, one witness to which being Richard Smith. Smith made an offer for the land, but Lion Gardiner died before the sale took place, his son David consummated the deal, for which no record remains. Possibly, Richard tracked down some or all of the previous purchasers of the land and arranged for a transfer of rights; certainly he approached the people who lived there. In a surviving deed, the sachem Nasseconset gave Richard title to all of Nesaquake Neck. The deed refers to marks made on trees by "three Englishmen" for Richard showing the boundaries south to Lake Ronkonkoma. The transfer was concluded in the spring of 1664. Necessary documents in hand, Richard immediately applied to the General Court in Hartford for confirmation of his title. The commissioners gave him their blessing subject to his "plac[ing] twenty families upon the said land." Richard further strengthened his title, as advised by the court, by paying Nasseconset "one Gunn, one kettle, tenn coats, one Blankett, three hands of powder and three handfulls of Lead" and two additional coats to a man named Catawump who claimed part of that land. However, the Nesaquakes reserved some important rights for themselves: they expected to be able still to gather thatch to make mats for their summer wigwams and to cut trees for canoes, to capture nesting eagles for their feathers, and deer and bears "in the water" for their skins.[10]

For his homestead, Richard selected a spot overlooking the fields where the Nesaquakes had been growing crops. Accordingly, he had no need to fell ancient trees or otherwise prepare the ground for planting. The fields ran south from the coastal bluffs and the more gently rolling land on Rasepeage Point to the east and James Neck to the west. Protected from the coldest winds off the sound by the natural contours of the land, the place had fine, naturally fertile soils, and easy access to the river stretching away to the southwest. The salt hay in the river and in Stony Brook Harbor would readily sustain the family livestock through the winter, with corn stalks and, later on perhaps, some cultivated hay. "[A] tract of several acres was originally laid out as a spreading ground (a place to spread and

cure the salt hay)." Once the hay was dry, it was piled on wooden sleds so that the oxen could move it to sheds or barns convenient to the homestead. Freshwater springs feeding the river were a ready source of good drinking water for family and livestock, and of course there were numerous small ponds where animals could drink. With the upland already cleared, the Smiths might have been able to set out orchards that first spring with whips grown in Setauket: apple, pear, plum, and cherry trees all grew there. These orchards, to be deeded to two sons, appear to have been south of the house or at least "as far as the old fence southward." The family bees probably were left for a time in Setauket to pollinate the trees which were the source of fruit and cider during the first winters.[11]

Before the Smiths had harvested their first crops, the king of England, Charles II, decided to force the Dutch out of New Netherland and make it an English colony under the sole proprietorship of his brother James, the duke of York. In August 1664, Col. Richard Nicolls, commander of the British expedition that ousted the Dutch, assumed the role of governor of the Province of New York. Nicolls quickly instituted the code known as the duke's laws, intended principally for "Long Island and the land to the east of the Hudson River and north of Manhatoes [the future Westchester County]." Onerous in many ways, the duke's laws invalidated former grants and required new surveys and fees to replace them. Richard Smith received a patent on 3 March 1666 for the land "bounded Eastward with the line lately runne by the Inhabitants of Seatalcott as the bounds of their town, bearing Southward to a certain fresh Pond called Raconkamuck, from thence southwestward to the Head of the Nesaquake River, and on the west side of the said River so farr as is at this present in ye possession of Richard Smith as his proper right and not in any wayes claymed or in controversy betweene any other persons."[12]

Because Jonas Wood and the other Huntington people did not relinquish their claims, the dispute dragged on. In some ways, the controversy was advantageous to Richard. He was "obliged to settle onley ten families within the space of three years" from the date of his patent, rather than the usual twenty families in five years, and until these families were settled he was excused from paying taxes. Not even his two eldest sons established homesteads in Smithtown before the 1669 deadline; Elizabeth Smith had married Captain William Lawrence, one of the patentees of Flushing, and moved there.[13]

Licensed, in effect, to continue as he was, Richard was expected to honor "such other acknowledegments and dutyes as are or shall be Constituted and ordained, by his Royall Highness," one such duty being the establishment of a church within his town. Town and parish were virtually synonymous, with boundaries more arbitrary than features of the terrain. Lacking the requisite twenty households to make up a parish, Richard was required instead to pay "toward ye maintenance of the Minister at Seatalcott," an obligation noted in Brookhaven records when the overseers of Setauket seized Richard's oxen because of his failure to pay the tax on his horses. By the date of his patent, then, he owned more than one horse and more than one ox. Matthias Nicolls, the secretary to the governor, wrote Richard a sharp letter on 3 April 1666, rebuking him for not mentioning this matter when applying for his patent. It had much annoyed the governor, he said. As Richard

was expected to pay all Setauket rates and taxes assessed before the date of his patent, presumably he paid up and retrieved his "beasts." The following year, at the insistence of the Setauket proprietors, Richard agreed to relinquish his holdings there in exchange for adjustments to the boundary between the two towns. Richard was reimbursed for "all such moneys as have been expended or layed out by him for the Town's use," and excused from taxes and from contributing toward the minister for an entire year. He still owned close to five hundred acres, although it is not clear how he had managed to acquire so much land.[14]

In November 1666, Gov. Nicolls granted Huntington a patent to lands as far east as the Nissequogue River, with the same condition he gave Richard—the lands had to be settled within three years. After ten farmers from Huntington duly laid out ten farms along the Sound from Cow Harbor east to the river. Smith promptly sued them for trespass, arguing that he "hath been hindred from setting the familyes upon his Plantation which he is obliged unto." The court found in Huntington's favor, ordering Richard to pay court costs. It was significant that of the ten lots settled, eight deeds referred specifically to marshes, ponds, or running water. No wonder Richard appealed the decision, his wife presenting the family's case to the governor and his council in New York City. Finally, in 1675, the General Court of Assizes confirmed Richard's title to about half the land he wanted, "from the west most part of Joseph Whitmans Hollow, and the west side of the Leading Hollow [north along the middle of the creek] to the Fresh Pond Unthemamuck [eel pond], and the west side of the pond at high water mark." However, Huntington would retain jurisdiction over the entire area, an awkward arrangement not fully rectified for more than a century.[15]

In 1675, Huntington, as well as Setauket and other Long Island towns, sent tax assessments to the governor that gave some idea of their farming activity and general prosperity. The Smiths were apparently still excused from taxes. Their former neighbors in Setauket, which now had thirty-one taxpayers, had built up their herds, which included 208 cows and 71 oxen, to a total valuation of £3,065. The sixty-nine taxpayers in Huntington had 476 cows and 134 oxen, but no valuation was given. The older settlements of Southold and East Hampton, with eighty-one and fifty-seven ratepayers, were taxed on ratables of about £11,000 and £9,075 respectively. Southold residents owned about eleven hundred oxen and cows all told, but no livestock were listed for East Hampton residents.[16]

At this point, Jonas Wood and other Huntington farmers, with the blacksmith Thomas Skidmore acting as attorney, accused Secretary Nicolls of falsifying court records to benefit Richard Smith. Shortly thereafter, Skidmore presented a petition begging relief for "the Poore farmers who are seating on the land." He noted that they followed the court order of October 1670, and had "satt downe, built upon, cleared fences, Planted Plowed and so etc upon ye Land on the West Side of Nessequauke River and Cutt and provided Hay for their Cattells Provizion this winter." Now they were being told they lacked title. They tried "to tender [with Richard] for Peace and Quietness sake, offering buy or rent land they farmed. Richard refused. Before this, he "acted the part of the currish nabour by

usurping with impudence and shameless bouldness, to come upon our ground and to seize upon our [salt meadow] grass for [his] own use, an unheard of practice, and never practiced by honest men." It seems evident that Richard wanted the extra hay for his livestock, and felt entitled to it. One wonders if he later apologized for his actions, as in an earlier case, because a compromise with Skidmore and the others allowed them to harvest their corn and stay until the following spring. In August 1677, the new governor, Edmund Andros, ordered that "Mr. Smith of Nesaquake [underlined in the original] settle a farme near said Nesaquack river," which his youngest three sons eventually.[17]

Despite new legal troubles with heirs of the speculators to whom Wood's original group had sold shares in the Nesaquakes' land, Smith's Town was on its way, with three or four sons already in their own homesteads. In 1675, on the hill across from Richard and Sarah's house, the family built its first church, allegedly unfinished inside without so much as a chimney for warmth. It lacked a resident minister for many years, although the Setauket pastor, George Phillips, preached part-time starting in 1697. In 1677, Governor Andros issued a new patent covering both the land east of the Nissequogue River and the western tract "recovered by the said Richard Smith from the town of Huntington." These parcels were granted to him, his heirs and assigns, forever:

> Together with all the lands, soyles, woods, meadows, pastures, marshes, lakes, waters, fishing, hawking, hunting and fowling, and all other profits commodities and emoluments to the said parcells of land and premises belonging, with their and every of their appurtenances, and every part and parcell thereof.[18]

In 1683, a new governor, Thomas Dongan, recalled all existing patents, though no record shows that Richard's was either recalled or renewed. However, the patent Dongan gave Huntington in 1685 included the long-disputed land west of the river. Richard no doubt entered some legal action, for in 1694 a new patent to Huntington omitted it. A few Huntington farmers appear to have remained on their farms in the disputed territory, with "libertie for fishing, fowling and hunting" in the common lands. In 1684, Richard began selling other lots to Huntington people, the first of whom was the son of Jonas Wood's associate. He sold Daniel Whitehead Jr. a fourteen- or sixteen-acre lot, with "liberty of Commonidge"—that is, grazing his livestock on the common lands of the patent. Next, he agreed to build a house for Robert Arthur, and subsequently sold him another one hundred acres west of the river. In 1687, Robert Arthur and David Scudder of "Smithston" apparently gained title to "creek thatch" in the Nissequogue Rive—prime bedding material for their cows and horses. Not too long afterward, Richard apparently sold a small lot on Three Sisters Hollow Road to the Snook family, who later kept a tavern there.[19]

Aside from his sales of land, and some family deeds, the methodical Smith left few documents telling how he and his heirs exploited the natural resources within Smith's Town, or what the "profits, commodities and emoluments to the said parcels of land" might have been. Furthermore, the town's record book for the

years before 1715 has been lost. The 1683 tax "estimations," assessing the value of each head of livestock owned by residents in each Long Island town, provide the first explicit information about "fat lambs" and other taxable commodities produced by the Smiths.

The seven Smith families together owned livestock valued at £1,340, with the livestock of the patentee appraised at £201, and those of his two elder sons at about £305 each; the three youngest ones, who had not farmed on their own so long, averaged about £145 each. Job was assessed at £92. In Southampton, three-quarters of its 142 households were valued at less than £145, two-thirds at less than one hundred pounds; the four households valued at more than four hundred pounds lifted the town's average to £115, slightly more than half of the Smithtown average. In Setauket, with four times more inhabitants, the average "estimation" was just under £100 per household. In Huntington, with ten times as many, it was £87. The estimations did not count buildings or trees for their value as lumber and fuel, and crops and poultry were not assessed. Tax estimations reflected what the colonial administrators most valued and, with the possible exception of Job, what the Smiths valued as well—livestock.

Until Dongan's time no one had much tried to collect quitrents or taxes; now, the mere presence of the sheriff provoked riots among outraged citizens. Their produce, whether salted pork, wheat, calves, or lambs, was undervalued, the farmers argued, while their acreage or livestock were overvalued. Southold assessors grumbled, for example, that mares were valued at twelve pounds apiece when they were worth only one-third or even one-sixth of that. The people of Oyster Bay were all too "sikly" to report their stock to the town overseers on estimation day, and the constable conveniently was in Rhode Island. However, there is no evidence that Richard refused to pay or was otherwise involved in any sort of tax protest.[20]

Sheep, cattle, swine, and horses could be bought and sold on the open market, had an abstract money value, and could be taxed. Land and marshes, with their thatch for bedding, and their salt marsh hay as fodder, were taxed in 1675 but not in 1683. This was fortunate for the Smiths, who were to rely on the marsh meadows for their cattle for another two hundred years. By 1683, there were in Smithtown 197 sheep and lambs, 191 swine, 84 cows, steers, and heifers, 31 oxen yoked and working, and 30 horses. Such numbers speak of surplus, but perhaps this was not the case.[21]

The large numbers may have been a response to hardships of the time, like the high human birthrate. How many animals did a colonial family need? How much did those animals eat and how many acres were needed to grow that food? As tax estimations for various towns suggest, two or three cows and a litter of pigs satisfied the needs of many families, along with a yoke of oxen and possibly a horse. But, people's needs differ. Job Smith had only five cows and four oxen, while many contemporaries had none at all. A pair of oxen was adequate for most plowing, old-time farmers say. Setauket's largest landowner, Richard Floyd, with ninety-four acres of land and meadow in 1683, had only two oxen, but twelve cows, fifteen sheep, thirty-three swine, and ten horses. Altogether, Setauket's

fifty-three ratepayers had 75 oxen and bulls, 268 other bovine animals, 23 sheep, 264 swine, and 131 horses. Only the most prosperous family, with its twenty-one cows, came close to Richard's two eldest sons with twenty-five cows and six oxen apiece. In cattle-rich East Hampton, the largest herd assessed among its seventy-one residents was comprised of thirty-five cows and ten oxen. Even in Hempstead, with 102 inhabitants, most households had far fewer animals than the Smiths, although one man had seventy-four cows and cattle, a herd twice as large as that of any other farmer. His cows probably supplied city customers with fresh milk, butter, cheese. While the Smiths probably could not, in the absence of refrigeration, send their milk and cream to the city, they could, by heavily salting it, ship their cheese.[22]

The Smiths had thirty horses, far more than seems necessary, even considering all of Richard and Sarah's travels on legal business. On occasion, a farmer might harness a horse to lead his oxen. Otherwise, horses were not used in the fields as they were not strong enough to pull the heavy plows of that time. Richard and Sarah owned seven of those horses, but their son Job, like most other North Shore householders, had none.

Each horse represented considerable expense. It ate two or three times more than an ox, was more susceptible to disease, more prone to accidents, and an old horse was not even pickled for the table like an aged ox or cow, but let out to pasture. On the more positive side, a horse could readily be sold, or traded for several steers, some pewterware, or other luxury items. Perhaps the Smiths, like some other colonists, raised horses for sale in the West Indies or elsewhere. Perhaps they used them also to herd cattle or drive them to market. Although one hundred years later, cattle and sheep were driven overland to Brooklyn, more likely in colonial times the drives ended at boat landings on the Nissequogue River, in Setauket, or at Cow Harbor (Northport). The deep water at this last stop perhaps explains Richard's long effort to secure it for himself.[23]

The Smiths surpassed their neighbors in numbers of swine and sheep as well as horses and cattle. In the patentee's time, hogs provided most of a family's meat. Salted pork was a winter staple on Long Island, as it was in England. Though hogs were small by today's standards, weighing less than two hundred pounds, no one would eat much more than the equivalent of one animal in the course of a year. The patentee had twenty hogs, Richard Jr. thirty, and the eldest son, Jonathan, eighty. One pig fancier in Huntington was assessed for twenty-eight, and Richard Floyd, in Brookhaven, for thirty-three, but they were exceptions. The patentee, now seventy years of age, owned eighty lambs and sheep at a time when the largest flocks in Huntington and Brookhaven contained forty and thirty-four, respectively, and most people had none. Captain John Seaman, the largest landowner in Hempstead with 266 acres, had seventy sheep, but no one else in his town approached that number. Even in East Hampton, where raising sheep was more prevalent and a quarter of all families had twenty-five or more, the largest flock numbered fifty-four and 40 percent of residents had no more than one or two. Although of incidental value because they cropped the scrub oak and saplings that sprouted between the clearing and planting of fields, sheep were difficult to keep through the long cold winters. With no satisfactory way to preserve the meat,

fewer than half of the farmers outside Huntington and Brookhaven bothered with them. Like his East Hampton peers, Richard might have seen an opportunity to create a domestic wool supply in this period when most colonists still imported wool and cloth from England. He might also have shipped live sheep to market.[24]

Apart from their persistent interest in securing Northport harbor within their boundaries, there is no evidence that Richard or his sons shipped livestock or other goods out of their own or other local harbors, or that they bought or built vessels of their own. Yet, they could not have consumed by themselves all the "ratables" enumerated in 1683, or have become so prosperous without reliable access to markets. As noted by a colonial historian, Judge William Smith, Long Island farmers were "for the most part graziers; and, living very remote from New York, a great part of their produce is carried to markets in Boston and Rhode Island." Two of Richard's sons married women from Massachusetts, which suggests they made more frequent voyages to Boston than family ties alone might explain. Boston's off-shore fishing fleet provided a ready market for salted pork, bacon, corned beef, and butter, as well as corn and wheat. Markets in "Mannadens" also had "from Long iland [sic] beef, pork, wheat, butter, some tobacco, wampen & peage," starting during the Dutch occupation and continuing under the English. Demand for these products, as well as fresh meat, fruit, cider, and vegetables, increased. Long Island farmers also shipped milled flour and bread to Virginia and English-held islands in the West Indies.

Jonas Wood, Thomas Scudder, and other Huntington men fitted out a vessel for the West Indies trade, while Captain Thomas Fleet owned and was taxed for forty vessels. John Scott, with houses in Setauket and elsewhere, was also involved in the coastal trade; both his sloop and his frigate carried livestock as well as biscuits, beef, and pipestaves for rum barrels. There was a wider trading market with Europe, too. Trade became so brisk that Governor Dongan imposed duties on all produce, including shipments of live sheep and cattle. To ensure collection, he ordered that all goods, wheresoever bound, must be shipped through New York harbor. The Huntington captains paid their fees, but to their annoyance many Long Island shippers took to smuggling, trading profitably with New England. To discourage such disregard for regulations, naval vessels were stationed outside many harbors [1687], though apparently not at Setauket or Stony Brook. As if this were not enough, at the behest of city millers and bakers, it was required that all grain exported from Long Island be milled in New York City. This perhaps affected the Smiths, for by this time Richard Smith Jr. operated a grist mill on the river.[25]

In 1682, Richard Jr. had built a mill about two miles upriver from his father's house. The tide, boosted by the river's converging headwaters, produced power to turn the wheels. Rowing to the mill with the incoming tide and home with the outgoing tide was easy for farmer patrons on the west side of the river, as well as the Smiths to the east. Sixteen years later, looking for customers on the Brookhaven side of the town, his brother Adam applied for and received "the town's right of the stream called Stony Brook...[to] erect a good sufficient grist mill." Unfortunately, no records of either mill survive. Lacking evidence to the

contrary, one can assume that corn, wheat, rye, and oats were produced and milled on the patent lands for sale, family use, or both. After all, family members needed their daily bread, while their poultry and "beasts" needed supplements to what came from the woods, fields, and wetlands. The number of acres and types of crops the Smiths cultivated remains unknown.[26]

It seems obvious that without help the Smiths could not have raised or fed so many animals, kept them healthy, and protected them from predators. It was not possible for them to fence off the marshes, harvest the various kinds of grasses, and store them. Nor could they, without some help, plant the corn and wheat fields, cultivate the crops, and fence them in to keep out livestock and white-tailed deer. In 1683, Richard's grandchildren were small, with seven year-old Jonathan Jr. the only one able to lead an ox team, gather mast for his father's hogs, keep sheep from tangling their fleece in catbriars and brambles, or scare away wolves; the ferocity of an old boar with tusks was often proof against the great gray wolves and other predators. Wolves, and often marauding dogs, became such a nuisance on Long Island that a bounty was placed on their heads. In Smithtown, Job, with his small flock of lambs, volunteered for the task of creating a "wolf pit" on his brother's land.[27]

Wolf pits were all very well, but the Smiths clearly needed shepherds and, indeed, laborers of all kinds. Of course, free men wanted to own their own land, not hire out to others. It seems unlikely that the Smiths could lure newcomers unless by promising land, which Richard would have been slow to do. If the family wanted to have indentured servants or apprentices, the duke's laws required them to sign and record contracts, specifying terms and conditions for terms of work. No such contract survives. In March 1666, Richard Smith had agreed "to accommodate Nasaconseate the Indian properly belonging to that place them and their heyres with sufficient land for their own securitie." So, like colonists in other towns, the Smiths could call on Indians when hands were needed for fence mending, hay cutting, or other tasks. Despite their eagerness to acquire guns and ammunition for deer hunting, the Nesaquakes had a reputation for disappearing when most needed; they had work of their own to do, and their population was rapidly dwindling. In the lifetime of Richard's children, the number of Native Americans declined to less than 9 percent of the population by 1731, and by 1770, in a process mentioned but not explained in town records, Richard's grandchildren expelled the few Indians still living in Smithtown.[28]

There is ample evidence in estate inventories and deeds that the Smiths relied primarily on African slaves and their offspring. Before 1691, they owned eight or nine slaves and possibly more; within a generation, the patentee's children and grandchildren owned at least seventy-two people, with men outnumbering women almost two to one. In 1691, when the patentee and his wife prepared a joint will, they owned three men, Harry, Dick, and Robin, and two women, Bess and Nan. To purchase one slave cost no more than a freeman's wages for a year, and the patentee and his sons could pay in cattle, corn, whale oil, or tobacco. A slave cost less to keep than a free wage earner unless he or she became ill or grew too old to do useful work. Richard and Sarah left their slave Robin to Job, "for ye term of twelve years. And at ye end of ye said twelve years the said Robin shall be free."

Such manumissions were common practice, based on private understandings between masters and slaves.

It is possible that the Smiths owned other slaves who were freed or died before 1691. Sarah's will, drawn up in 1707/8, requested that "what I gave Mary Petreche she may have it," and that her sons maintain her, sharing the burden equally. No one knows who this woman was. The fate of Nan and Bess is also unknown. Dick and Harry remained the property of Richard Jr. who, alone among the patentee's sons, named individual slaves in his wills, the first dated 23 June 1718 and proved 23 March 1720, the second 26 April 1720. His other slaves included John, Jack, Lish, and "the mulatto boy," Stephen. While Richard Jr. gave specific men to each of his sons, he named no African women. He gave his widow "the use of...a young Negro girl...Mulatto Dick [and] Harvey." The second will noted that "if my mullato Dick continues villainous and stubborn then my overseers shall dispose of him." Harry's low appraised value of £30 suggests that his physical condition was more suited for work in the dairy, vegetable gardens, or household, than for more vigorous projects. How the overseers resolved the problems with Dick is not recorded.

Harry reportedly lived for 120 years, though his longevity is not necessarily proof of good treatment by the Smiths; conditions for slaves on Long Island were usually better than for indentured servants. Slaves worked alongside their owners, performed similar tasks, ate the same food, wore similar clothes, and, if necessary, learned English as they went along. They were usually housed under the family roof, often sleeping dormitory style with the older children of the family, although some slaves were quartered in unheated sheds or lean-tos attached to the kitchen.[29]

The Smiths enjoyed other conveniences as well. At a time when ordinary people drank from pewter mugs, ate from wooden trenchers, speared their stewmeat with the points of their knives or scooped it up with wooden spoons, the Smiths had silver mugs, tumblers, tankards, porringers, plates, spoons, and even the newfangled forks. The patentee had a set of monogrammed silver buttons (dated by the smith) and a silver snuff box, of which "supposably he made abundant use." His sons, too, had a taste for silver. Richard Jr. possessed a dozen spoons and five forks in his collection of silverware, along with numerous small, medium, and large silver buttons, a silver-hilted sword, and a silver-handled cane. In contrast, his blacksmith's tools were appraised at £5.10. He had two Bibles, a Testament, and a law book, as well as bonds worth £91.4. He also speculated in real estate, as did his brother Jonathan, buying up Moriches, Mattuck, and Watchogue necks on the South Shore. Their mother, on the other hand, put her wealth on her back and her head, as exemplified by her purchase of a "silk whod and scarfe." Although most people had two sets of clothes, at most, Sarah Smith had a trunk full of imported linens and clothes, and gave her son Richard's wife her cloak. She and her husband must have patronized the importers and local "artificers" by then well-established in New York City. There is no telling what she counted so grandly among "all ye household stuff" she willed to her sons.[30]

Unlike most of the well-to-do families with whom they associated, the Smiths did not build grand houses. Job Smythe's was a modest exception, with two rooms

on either side of a central chimney, with steep stairs to the rooms above and a lean-to across the rear, its long low attic offering sleeping space to the older boys. The houses of two of his brothers also survive, if eclipsed by later additions, as does a third house attributed to Richard Jr. All three were one-room houses, with north walls formed by chimneys made of bricks fired in the family kilns. As for the patentee, architectural historians believe that his Nissequogue house, his third or fourth on Long Island, also had but one room, with an attic above.[31]

Whatever grandeur the houses in Smithtown lacked, they satisfied the conditions of the patent. And so Richard Smith "improved" his land, extracted due "profits, commodities and emoluments," and passed it on to his heirs. Although he expressed his wish "to be decently buried in such manner as our Executors shall seem convenient," no one knows how or where this was done, for no stone marks his grave. Descendantds of Richard erected one in his memory in 1919, and later sponsored creation of the bronze bull completed in 1941. They did not see fit to remember Sarah, who outlived Richard by sixteen years.

In the years following the patentee's death, Sarah arranged and rearranged the family holdings almost as obsessively as her husband. Unfortunately, no tax records or other documents survive to show how she disposed of her livestock, aside from one cow she bequeathed to the family minister. Apart from other special bequests, her purpose was to ensure livelihoods for her fifty heirs. That legacy marks the town today, although no cattle graze on the lush grass of industrial parks or drink from the landscaped ponds embellishing colonial style condominiums.[32]

Barely visible on aerial photographs, despite the carpet of buildings from Long Island Sound south to Lake Ronkonkoma and from Huntington east to Brookhaven, are traces of cattle trails winding down toward the landings. Some tidal and freshwater meadows still fringe the river and its headwaters, the ponds and lakes, the shores of the various "necks," and the "sunken meadow." However, they now are viewed and valued not as potential cattle fodder, but as high-end real estate. The natural resources Richard Smith fought so hard to secure for himself are measured by new standards, but standards that enterprising cattleman would surely have understood.

NOTES

1.Frederick Kinsman Smith, *The Family of Richard Smith of Smithtown, Long Island, Ten Generations* (Smithtown, 1967) (hereafter cited as F. K. Smith), 1-29; see also William S. Pelletreau, "Richard Smith of Smithtown," read before the Suffolk County Historical Society, 15 February 1898, and J. Lawrence Smith, *History of Smithtown* (Smithtown: 1961) hereafter cited as J. L. Smith, 2-3; "For the first twenty years of the English occupation the grants of land were for the most part under 1000 acres and seldom exceeded 2000 acres" (P. W. Bidwell and J. I. Falconer, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States* 1620-1860 [Washington D.C., 1925; reprint, Clifton, N.J.: Augustus Kelley, 1973], 63, 73).

2. Edward H. L. Smith III, *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 121(January 1990): 19-22; see also Charles H. Pope, *Pioneers of Massachusetts,* (Boston: the author, 1900), s.v. "Hammond"; F. K. Smith, 4-5, 29-30; William Smith Pelletreau, *Records of the*

Town of Smithtown, Long Island, New York (Smithtown, 1898), hereafter cited as *Records*), viiviii; further citations of this and other town record books are all from vol. 1.

3. F*irst Book of Records of the Town of Southampton with Other Anc/ient Documents of Historic Value,* transcribed with notes by William S. Pelletreau. (Sag Harbor: John Hunt, 1874, 1877, hereafter cited as *Southampton Records*) 1: 30-32, 55, 70, 92, 93, 95; Jonas Wood was charged with trespass on various occasions, once for going into the house of "an alone woman and her small children at unseasonable time of night [causing her] frightment" (ibid., 115).

4. F. K. Smith, 6-9, 18-19.

5. The passenger list included two Richard Smiths of Southampton, one forty-three years of age, the other twenty-eight, with no way to distinguish between them (see "A Lyst of the Pasingers Abord the Speedwell of London Robert Lock Master, Bound for New England," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 1 [1847]: 132); J. L. Smith cites among "curious memoranda: Note the date of 7 March 1665 on Quaker Smith's deed from Col. Nicolls" (J. L. Smith, 1).

6. *Southampton Records* 20: 112-15, 139-40, 146; F. K. Smith, 5, 30.

7. F. K. Smith, 10-11; *Brookhaven Town Records,* 1662-1679, copied, annotated, and compiled by Archibald C. Weeks (New York: Wright, 1924, hereafter cited as *Brookhaven Records*),1and passim.

8. Roger Wunderlich, "Lion Gardiner, Long Island's Founding Father," *LIHJ* 10 (Spring 1998): 172-85; see also J. L. Smith, 2; Rufus Rockwell Wilson, *Historic Long Island* (New York: Berkeley Press, 1902), 38; *Records,* 3

9. J. L. Smith, 1. Each member of the 1650 group (Jonas Wood, his father Edmond, his brothers Jeremy and Timothy, Daniel Whitehead, and Stephen Hudson) paid one coat, a "howe," a "hatchett," a metal knife, an iron or copper kettle, about twenty muxes (awls used for making wampum), and a "fathom of wampum" (Charles R. Street, ed., *Huntington Town Records, including Babylon, Long Island, New York 1653-1688* [Towns of Huntington and Babylon,1887, hereafter cited as *Huntington Records*]1: 23, 6-7, 29-32); Silas Wood, *A Sketch of the First Settlement of the Several Towns of Long-island* (Brooklyn: Furman Club, 1865), 19.

10. J. L. Smith, 2; F. K. Smith, 11-12; *Records,* 5-9, 12, 18-19.

11. *Records,* 4, 23, 8-9; F. K. Smith, 13; J. L. Smith 3-4; E. H. L. Smith II to author, 11 March 1993.

12. J. L. Smith, 4; F. K. Smith, 13-14; *Records,* 6-8.

13. Gov. Nicolls left it up to Richard to "cleere his Title and be lawfully possessest of the premises"; suits for trespass were standard procedure for determining mutual boundaries, "ye best touchstone to proue who hath ye right" (B. Fernow, *Documents Relating to the History of the Early Colonial Settlements Principally on Long island* (Albany: Weed, Parsons, 1883), 3:615; after Lawrence's death, Elizabeth married Philip Carteret, the governor of New Jersey, with a prenuptial contract to protect her and her seven children's property (F. K. Smith, 29, 32-43); J. L. Smith's statement that Carteret named the New Jersey town for her is incorrect; again widowed, Elizabeth married Col. Richard Townley in 1682, he, too, an important colonial administrator.

14. Fernow, 575-76, 594; F. K. Smith, 20; *Brookhaven Records*, 19-20, 26, 28, 114-15; *Records*,10, but in 1725, Smythe's heirs were still working on the boundary with the proprietors of Setauket.

15. *Records*, 11-18; *Huntington Records*, 92-96, 170, 176-77, 179-80, 187-88, 193-99, 209-14; records of the trial in the Court of Assizes (October 1670) survive, offering an intriguing glimpse of the colonial legal system as well as Richard's character (see Fernow, 615, 613, 640-44); *Brookhaven Records*, 121; Edmund B. O'Callaghan, *Documentary History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1849) 1: 87.

16. O'Callaghan, 2: 441-58, 468-69; J. L. Smith, 7-8.

17. O'Callaghan, 2: 443, 445; Wood, as owner of forty-eight acres of land and meadow (his son Jonas owned another twenty), was, with the widow Jones, the largest landowner in that town (*Huntington Records*, 187-88, 212-14); J. L. Smith, 4, 7; *Records*,13-16, 18; Fernow, 644, 657, 674, 677, 701-2, 713-15. In a form the magistrates of Southampton might have appreciated, Richard repented, in a March 1672/3 case, his "Spoken words to severall psons and in severall places tending much to the Deffamation of Mr: Benedick & Whitney in Saying they were forsworne or perjured psons, and this fully Evidenced against mee in Court I Doe acknowledg my great evill therein, Desireing ye pties whome I have thus wronged to forgive mee, hopeing it shall bee a warning to mee hereafter, of offending in ye like nature" (Thomas W. Cooper, *Records of the Court of Sessions of Suffolk County in the Province of New York, 1670-1688* [Maryland, 1993, 38]; see also Fernow, 729).

18. *Records*, 23-26; J. L. Smith, 7; Richard's son, Obadiah, drowned in 1680; Deborah Smith had twelve children (F. K. Smith, 23, 27, 29-30, 50, 52-58); George Phillips (1644-1739), the grandson of the Hammond family pastor in Watertown, received 100 acres as his fee and life use of 200 acres in Setauket, but had problems making ends meat; for more on Smithtown's church and pastors, see *Records*, 37-38, 56-76; Wood, 50-51.

19. *Records* 18-29, 33-37; see Marshall Harris, *The Origin of the Land Tenure System in the United States* (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State College Press, 1953), for a layman's explanation of the terms and conditions of these grants; among the Huntington farmers were Edward Ketcham (with four oxen, four cows, six sheep, two hogs, and nine acres), John Jones (one horse, four cows, and thirteen acres), James Scudder with no ratables, and Thomas Scudder, the second richest man in Huntington, with £205 in ratables; his son in-law Robert Arthur was valued at £39 (see O'Callaghan 2: 443-46; *Huntington Records*, 516-17).

20. Rate Lists of Long Island, 1683, O'Callaghan, "Smith's Town," 2:531; "Southampton," 536-38; "Brookhaven" (Setauket) 532-34; "Huntington," 530; "Southold," 535-36; "Oyster Bay," 528-29. Residents of Huntington paid their quitrent and fee for their patent in English coin, while those of Brookhaven paid in cows, calves, and whale oil (see Wood, 30-31, 69); compare Governor Edmund Andros, "Report of the Province of New-York, saying that "a merchant worth 1000 lb or 500 lb is accompted a good substantiall merchant and a planter worthe half that in moveables accompted [rich?]" (O'Callaghan 1: 91); see also the inventory of Obadiah Smith's estate (1682), valued at £145, including one hundred acres of cultivated land at £30 and four acres of meadow at £4 (*Records*, 41-42), also the many deeds to the patentee's sons regarding thatch beds and marshes (56-76).

21. O'Callaghan , 2:531-34.

22. O'Callaghan, "East Hampton," 2: 532-42, and "Hempstead," 2: 523-28; author's interview with DuBois Tangier Smith, 20 August 1989; Howard S. Russell, chap. 8, "The Farm Family," in *A Long, Deep Furrow, Three Centuries of Farming in New England,*

abridged by Mark Lapping (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1982), see especially 52.

23. Russell, 52; *Records*, 10: note from 12 June 1666, Lilian T. Mowrer, *The Indomitable John Scott, Citizen of Long Island, 1632-1704* (New York: Farrar Strauss, 960), 169.

24. O'Callaghan, 2:531, 530, 532-34, 523-28, 539-42; *Huntington Records*, 285-87; the estate of Obadiah Smith, "a singel man," included sixteen hogs valued at £1 each and another six (piglets?) at half that (*Records*, 41-42).

25. William Smith, *History of the Province of New-York from the First* Discovery to the Year MDCCXXXII, (1814; reprint, Michael Kammen, ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1972) 1; "Description of the Towne of Mannadens, 1661," reprinted in *Narratives of New Netherland (1609-1664)*, J. Franklin Jameson, ed. (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1990), 423; F. K. Smith, 48-49; O'Callaghan 2: 443-446, 530. Scott's charts of Long Island Sound's rocks and shoals provided bases for his later charts as royal geographer for Charles II (Mowrer, 65-66, 194-95); see also O'Callaghan 6: 139 ff; *Brookhaven Records*, 123; *Records*, 41-42; Russell, chap. 5, "To Market to Market," 33-38.

26. Richard Smith's mill operated until about 1736, when a more powerful mill farther upriver made it obsolete; Adam's mill was washed away in a flood in 1751 (J. L, Smith, 17), rebuilt and operated until 1947; now listed on the State and Federal Registers of Historic Places, it recently as repaired and operates as a museum.

27. F. K. Smith, "Second Generation," 31-58; Bidwell & Falconer, chap. 2, "Livestock;" Fernow, 748; representative wolf bounty rates approved by the governor in pounds of pork and beef, bushels of winter wheat, summer wheat, Indian corn, and rye, and barrels of oil are also given in the records of the towns (see for example, *Huntington Records*, 238-39, *Southampton Records*, 3); see J. L. Smith, 13; O'Callaghan 3: 867; see also *Records*, 107-8; J. L. Smith, 8.

28. J. L. Smith, 13; *Records*, 34-36, 52, 43-44.

29. *Brookhaven Records*, 49; O'Callaghan 3:867; in 1720, the top price for a male between sixteen and forty was £60; for slavery on Long Island, see Grania Bolton Marcus, *A Forgotten People: Discovering the Black Experience in Suffolk County* (Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities, 1988); Vivienne L. Kruger, "Born to Run: The Slave Family in Early New York, 1626-1827," Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1985, 3:11; Richard Smith's inventory showed a slave "Lish," but not Jack, valued at £40 (Kenneth Scott and James A. Owre, "Genealogical Data from Inventories of New York Estates 1666-1825," [New York, 1970], 140); for text of second will, see Marcus, 77; J. L. Smith reported that "this remarkable individual [Harry] said he could remember when there wer but very few houses in the City of New York. He could do a good day's work when he had passed 100 years," 31; see also F. K. Smith, 27.

31.Richard Smith, inventory, *Records*, 37-56; F. K. Smith, 44, 21; Bartlett B. James, ed., *Journal of Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter 1679-1680* (Ann Arbor: University microfilms, 1966), 334; F. K. Smith, 33, ix; Robert Arthur's house is described in the deed that reserved to Richard rights in the family brick kiln (Records, 63, 72-73, 75-76); Setauket residents built a similar house for their first minister, Nathaniel Brewster, about 1665; see also Nicolas Langhart, "Architecture and Town Planning," M.A. thesis, Cornell University, 1984; *Records*, xi-xii.

32. *Records* 33, ix.

SECONDARY SCHOOL ESSAY CONTEST

We are pleased to present the following three winning entries in the "Long Island as America" essay contest we sponsor in conjunction with the SUNY at Stony Brook Center for Excellence and Innovation in Learning, Dr. Eli Seifman, director.

BOOK-BANNING IN LONG ISLAND SCHOOL LIBRARIES: A REEXAMINATION OF *ISLAND TREES SCHOOL DISTRICT V. PICO ET AL.* (1982)

By Raphael Rabin-Havt
Paul D. Schreiber High School, Port Washington
Faculty advisor, John J. Cahill

Although the first amendment guarantees freedom of speech, press and religion, these rights are frequently challenged in the courts. One such case, which involved the removal of books from a public school library on Long Island in 1976, went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1982. The issue—the extent to which the first amendment restricts boards of education from banning books from public school libraries—split a school district, a community and the nation. In *Board of Education, Island Trees School District v. Pico et al*, a sharply divided Supreme Court ruled five to four that, "while school boards have broad discretion in managing schools affairs and determining the contents of their libraries, their actions are constrained by the first amendment." Although this somewhat ambiguous ruling set no definitive guidelines, a result of the case was that school boards now can be sued by parents or students who object to the arbitrary removal of books from school libraries.[1]

Five students and their families went to court when, in 1976, the Island Trees Union Free School District removed nine books from its high school library and one from that of its junior high school after a group of parents submitted a list of works that it deemed inappropriate. The nine books removed from the high school

library were: *Slaughter House Five*, by Kurt Vonnegut Jr.; *The Naked Ape*, by Desmond Morris; *Down These Mean Streets*, by Piri Thomas; *Best Short Stories by Negro Writers*, edited by Langston Hughes; *Go Ask Alice*, of anonymous authorship; *Laughing Boy*, by Oliver LaFarge ; *Black Boy*, by Richard Wright; *A Hero Ain't Nothin' but a Sandwich*, by Alice Childress; and *Soul on Ice*, by Eldridge Cleaver; the book taken out of the junior high library was *A Reader for Writers*, edited by Jerome Archer. Another listed book was *The Fixer*, by Bernard Malamud, a novel included in the curriculum of a twelfth-grade literature course. After some reconsideration, the board continued to ban the entire list except for *Laughing Boy*, which it put back, and *Black Boy*, which it made available subject to parental approval. Teachers could neither assign nor suggest the use of the books removed, but they were not barred from discussing ideas and positions expressed in them.

Determined residents lined up on both sides of this precedent-setting case. To some, it represented a step toward the free flow of ideas. To others, it confirmed the duty of a school board to remove unsuitable books. Many residents polled in 1982, before oral arguments were rendered to the Court, supported the banning in general but believed that, "parents, not teachers or school boards should make the decisions."The four hundred forty-eight Nassau and Suffolk residents polled by Social Data Analysis, Inc., were evenly divided, with 46 percent in favor of removing some of the books, an equal number opposed, and 8 percent undecided. Fifty-seven percent of those who considered themselves conservative thought the books should be banned, while only 37 percent of liberals agreed. These results only highlighted the fundamental question of who should decide what students can read in school libraries, an issue which has not satisfactorily been resolved.[2]

Justices Lewis A. Powell, William H. Rehnquist, Sandra Day O'Connor, and Chief Justice Warren Burger, in a sharp dissent, raised the fear that, "the court was coming seriously close to becoming a super censor of school library decisions." Justice O'Connor stressed that although she did not "agree with the action of the school board with respect to some of the books...it is not the function of the courts to make decisions that have been properly relegated to the elected members of school boards." The other justices did not dispute this point, but ruled that the grounds for removing books must be strictly educational, and not because of board of education members' personal political and moral values.[3]

However, the case contains important lessons for other communities. One is that the determination of a few individuals to challenge or defend the system can make a difference. One of the participants, the school district librarian Irene Turin, was the first to make public the board's decision to remove the books. Edna Yarris, whose son was one of the plaintiffs, maintained that:

> We objected to the school board undoing what has been approved by people knowledgeable in psychology and education. But we also objected to those particular books being banned and to banning. If you hire well-educated people to make certain decisions, it seems to me you should allow them to do the job that they've been trained and are being paid to do.[4]

> Steven Pico, the student council president, contacted the Nassau County chapter of the New York Civil Liberties Union for legal assistance. Pico, who graduated from high school in 1977, stayed with the case throughout the years of litigation. In 1985, he commented that he "knew the case would exact a price ...that even victory would be costly."[5]

The school board president, Frank Martin, defended the board's policy, contending that there was

> a vast difference between the public library and a school library. The public library is open to people of all ages. The school library is strictly for the use of the students within the particular building. So there is a limited audience in the school library as opposed to the public library which caters to everyone.[6]

Books were banned for different reasons. For example, although *The Fixer* dealt with the reality of anti-Semitism in Czarist Russia, some members of the school board claimed the book was "vulgar and some passages might be objectionable to Jews."As Malamud, a Pulitzer-Prize winning author, observed, "they are unmoved by literature; nor do they understand its relation to the health and moral vigor of a democracy." When a reporter asked a board member why he voted to ban *The Fixer* from the twelfth-grade curriculum, he replied "that he could not remember. I think I'll read it and find out why."[7]

A Hero Ain't Nothin' but a Sandwich contained statements within a context to which the board objected, such as that George Washington was a slaveholder; *Down These Mean Streets* was ejected because the board considered the language offensive to blacks, Christians, and Americans, although the book dealt with life in the inner city by a person who survived his environment. Kurt Vonnegut Jr.'s *Slaughterhouse Five* was said to be "sadistic, blasphemous and anti-Christian because of ridiculous disparaging remarks," although it was based on the author's confinement, as a World War II prisoner of war, in an abandoned slaughterhouse in Dresden during the Allied fire-bombing, a target later recognized as civilian rather than military. As Joseph LaDolcetta, a special education teacher in the Island Trees District, remarked concerning the banning, "You can't capriciously pick out books."The board seemed to misunderstand the works of Malamud, Vonnegut, and Thomas, or the premise for the controversial theories of Desmond Morris, the British zoologist, in his treatise, *The Naked Ape*.

Long Island librarians also expressed such concern with the case that they "filed an advisory brief with the Supreme Court." The American Library Association was worried because throughout our nation, mainly in suburbs like Island Trees, library books as well as magazines and even textbooks were being questioned. More than 240 works in school districts throughout the country were challenged during the years of the Island Trees controversy. From Maine to Idaho, Pennsylvania to New York, books were banned while *Pico* was in litigation.

Objections to library books, magazines, and other educational materials came from parents or parent organizations of various ideologies, and "groups such as Parents of New York United (PONYU), which supplied the Island Trees board members with the list of objectionable books." This group sponsored a 1975 conference in upstate New York attended by three Island Trees school board members. PONYU was particularly concerned with books that students were reading, which, it believed, were turning them "away from God, country, parents, authority, and virtue." Other challenges came from school districts in communities such as IslandTrees, where certain parents objected to what they perceived as inappropriate language, political and religious concepts, or sexual innuendoes.[9]

On 4 January 1977, five students and their parents filed suit against the school board in a case that because of its constitutional nature was remanded from state supreme court to the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of New York. The high school students involved were Steven Pico, Jacqueline Gold, Russell Rieger, and Glenn Yarris, together with a junior high student, Paul Sochinski, all of whom claimed that school board members had removed the books because particular passages in them "offended their social, political, and moral tastes." In 1979, Judge George C. Pratt of the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of New York ruled that no constitutional principle had been violated. He concluded that the board acted on its belief, "that the nine books removed from the school library and curriculum were irrelevant, vulgar and immoral, making them educationally unsuitable for the students of the school." Following this decision, the students appealed to the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit. On 6 February 1980, three Appeals Court judges, Charles P. Sifton, Jon 0. Newman, and Walter R. Mansfield, heard arguments from the New York Civil Liberties Union attorneys representing the students and George Lipp Jr., representing the school board. The Appeals Court reversed Judge Pratt, ruling two-to-one that a new trial be held. Two judges thought the board's argument for removing the books was not strong enough, while Judge Mansfield held that the board had acted reasonably, and that "the undisputed evidence of the motivation for the board's action was perfectly permissible."[10]

With this inconclusive decision, many felt the case should go to the U.S. Supreme Court, which on 13 October 1981 decided to hear it. When the case was argued on 2 March 1982, Lipp contended that because "the School Board had the authority to determine what books were suitable to be read by its students, therefore [it] was passing on community values to its students." Lipp maintained that school boards must have the right to decide what students read, and that, because its action was not an infringement of first amendment rights, the courts should not interfere. The New York Civil Liberties Union based its counter-argument on validation of the first amendment: "By banning the books the school boards were trying to enforce 'orthodoxy' and allow students to learn only things the board wanted them to learn." Steve Pico now was an ordinary twenty-two-year-old graduate of Haverford College thrust into extraordinary circumstances, the only one of the five students still involved with the case. However, five of the

original seven board members involved in the ban were still on the board of education.[11]

Justice Powell's emotional dissent discussed the unique position of school boards in our democratic system. Local control of education to Justice Powell was a sacred democratic ideal, the elected body of government closest to the people. Powell was concerned that the power of school boards would now be restricted. To him, school boards were the organ most in touch with their local community and the "decision symbolizes a debilitating encroachment upon the institutions of a free people." The majority did agree that courts "should not intervene in the resolution of conflicts which arise in the daily operation of school systems unless basic constitutional values are directly and sharply implicated." However, Alan Levine and the other attorneys for Pico and the four students contended that the board had banned the books because certain members opposed the ideas they presented, not because the books were educationally unsuitable. Levine argued that this violated the students' first amendment rights, and that the courts must at times review the motivations for removing books from library shelves.[12]

On 25 June 1982, the Supreme Court rendered its decision on case 82043. By a five-to-four vote, the justices ruled that students and parents have the right to challenge board decisions through the court system. The Court avoided ruling directly on the constitutionality of censorship. While upholding the right of a school board to select the contents of its libraries, the Court also stated that this process should not interfere with the right of students to learn. In Justice William J. Brennan's words, "The Constitution protects the right to receive information and ideas." The school library is outside "compulsory classroom environment and because of that, is not under the school board's absolute authority... Students do not shed rights to freedom of speech or expression at the schoolhouse gate."[13]

Justices Brennan, Thurgood Marshall, and John Paul Stevens cited *Tinker v. Des Moines School District* (393 U.S. 503, 507 [1969]), the landmark decision which affirmed students' rights and stated that, "discretion must be exercised in a manner that comports with the transcendent imperative of the first amendment." Although *Tinker* did not deal with book censorship (it upheld the first amendment right of students to wear black arm bands to protest the Vietnam War), it is often cited in book-banning cases.[14]

The Court ordered that the case be returned to the district court. Frank Martin, the vice president of the school board, commented in response that, "School boards in the future would be afraid to make decisions and that board members would fear being taken to court by people upset over their decision."[15]

The five justices who remanded the case to the trial court were concerned that the Island Trees Board removed the books after receiving a list of reviews from an overly conservative educational group. Justice Brennan said it was important to remember that, "this would be a very different case if the record demonstrated that the petitioners had employed established, regular and factually unbiased procedures for the review of controversial materials." Justice Harry A. Blackmun concurred with the majority opinion of Justice Brennan, but voiced a different

perspective on first amendment rights. He agreed with the dissenters that public schools "may promote civic virtues," but concluded that there must be a proper balance between school officials representing the state and the constitutional right of each state to regulate its reserve power over education. Blackmun thought that in this case the school board seemed to have exceeded its limits, because it "restricted access based on their disapproval of the ideas involved. Justice Byron R. White did not join with the majority opinion, but voted for the case to go back to the trial court, stating, "that there is no necessity at this point for discussing the extent to which the First Amendment limits the school board's discretion to remove books from the school libraries." The justices on both sides offered differing views, and each dissenter even wrote a separate opinion.[16]

After the Supreme Court ruling, twelve hundred parents petitioned the Island Trees Board to return the books to the library shelves. The board agreed to do so until it reached a decision on whether to go back to court, which it never did. Thus, the *Pico* precedent was set by a Long Island school district. At the time, more than "20 percent of the nation's school boards faced challenges in book-banning cases." After *Pico*, other school boards carefully considered their policy toward school library books which could, as at Island Trees, result in litigation.[17]

Although *Pico* concerned banning books in a high school library, it has been cited in dozens of different educational lawsuits since the decision was rendered in 1982. Judges have quoted Justice Brennan's eleven points, specifically the first one "that the first amendment provides for the right to receive information." In the 1987 *Edwards v. Aguillard* evolution case in Louisiana schools, judges cited particular parts of *Pico*; the case was cited more than five times in the 1991 case of *Student Press Law Center v. the Hon. Lamar Alexander, Secretary, Department of Education and U.S. Department of Education*, in which college students complained that information was being withheld from them. The *Pico* decision is important not only in educational cases, but also in first amendment cases in which there is conflict over student rights.[18]

Pico was not a clear-cut censorship, first amendment case. The Court affirmed a school board's right to select books for its library and curriculum. But school boards now are more wary to remove books for any other reason than educational value. "Book-banning flies in the face of everything we are taught about democracy. It does not respect diversity; it stifles creativity. Even if a majority of a community wants a book banned, even if the entire community wants it removed, even if such an event occurs in public schools which the board says are unique institutions, censorship is wrong," according to an Island Tree's student enrolled in the district throughout the controversy. Conversely, Christina Fasulo, a school board member during the seven years of litigation, declared that, "Until the day I die, I refuse to budge on my position. Since when is it demeaning to take filth off library shelves?"[19]

Though controversies continue in certain school districts, school censorship cases are not as prevalent today as during the *Pico* years. Nevertheless, the Supreme Court decision was clear in that, "schools have a right to determine the

content of their libraries but schools may not control their libraries in a manner that results in a narrow, partisan view of certain matters of opinion."[20]

NOTES

1.Rita Ciolli, "Top Court Restricts Ban of Books by School Board," *Newsday*, 26 June 1982, 7; *Board Of Education, Island Trees Union Free School District No. 26 v. Pico et al.*, 457 U.S. 853 (1982), hereafter cited as *Pico*.

2. Ciolli, "Where Llers Stand on Banning Books," *Newsday*, 14 Feb. 1982,4; Jon C. Gold, *Board of Education v. Pico* (New York: Twenty-First Century Books, 1994), 12.

3. Ciolli, "Top Court Restricts"; *Pico*.

4."The Island Tree Case Turns Another Corner," *New York Times*, 27 June 1982, C4.

5. Ciolli, "Top Court Restricts."

6. "Island Tree Case Turns Another Corner."

7. Ciolli, "The Books Removed by Island Trees," *Newsday*, 14 Feb. 1982, 24, 25; Bill Andriette, "Growing up with the Book Ban," *Newsday*, 12 Mar. 1982, 5.

8. Ciolli, "Where LIers Stand," and "Top Court Restricts."

9. Ciolli, "Llers Split on Book-Banning," *Newsday*, 14 Feb. 1982, 4, and "American Ideals to Clash Tomorrow in High Court,"*Newsday*,16 Mar. 1982, 6; Fred M. Hechinger, "Rise of Censors Assayed in Book," *New York Times*, 8 Jan. 1980, C4.

10. *Pico*; Gold, 43, 45.

11. Gold, 50, 51.

12. *Pico*.

13. Ciolli, "Where Llers Stand"; *Pico*.

14. Gold, 70.

15. "Island Trees Case Turns Another Corner"; Ciolli, "Top Court Restricts."

16. *Pico*.

17. Ciolli, "Top Court Restricts," 13.

18. *Pico*.

19. Andriette, 5; Gold, 74.

20. *US Supreme Court Decisions: A Case Study Review for US History and Government* (New York: New York State Bar Association, 1999): 39.

MITCHEL FIELD AND THE HISTORY OF AVIATION ON LONG ISLAND

By Reggie Shore
Amityville Memorial High School
Faculty Advisor, Charles F. Howlett

Aviation's birthplace is Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, the site of the Wright Brother's historic first flight in 1903. However, most of the early development of aviation took place on Long Island, which is often referred to as the Cradle of Aviation. Most of the aviation activities on Long Island centered around the skies of the Hempstead Plains. The Hempstead Plains, a sixty-thousand-acre portion in the center of Nassau County, is the easternmost prairie in North America, and somewhat of a mystery because it cannot be explained by its geological foundation. One of the only areas on Long Island without trees or shrubs, it consists of acres of flat grassland. Scientists speculate that the presence of so much grass with so few other plants was caused by Indians, who might have burned the land as an aid to hunting or farming.[1]

On 17 July 1909, Glenn H. Curtiss flew his *Golden Flier* airplane for fifty-eight minutes over the Nassau County villages of Mineola and Westbury. He won $10,000 and a Scientific American trophy for being the first American to fly at least twenty-five kilometers. More importantly, he started the aviation industry on Long Island, in which he continued to be an important figure.

By the end of 1909, the first airplane built on Long Island, a biplane designed by Frank Van Anden of Islip, was successfully flown in Mineola. These flights amazed and entertained the local populace, many of whom rode and walked to the Hempstead Plains to see the newest American invention—the flying machine.[2]

The world found out about Long Island's role in aviation when the International Aerial Tournament was held at the Belmont Park Racetrack in 1910. The Wright Brothers and Glenn Curtiss attended the week-long tournament, along with more than seventy-five thousand spectators. A year later, in 1911, another International Aerial Tournament was held in Garden City. Two important events at this tournament predicted how air power would affect the twentieth century. Earl Ovington made the first air-mail delivery by flying six miles and dropping a bag filled with 640 letters and 1,280 postcards near the Mineola Post Office. His flight showed that airplanes were useful for more than just entertainment and travel. The other historic event at the 1911 air show involved Army Lieutenants Thomas D. Milling and Henry H. Arnold, who used the only two planes owned by the Army to find troops hidden in Long Island woods. Their flight demonstrated the military potential of aircraft. Henry "Hap" Arnold learned so much about

military aircraft usage that he became the commander of the United States Army Air Corps in World War II.[3]

The military would realize the potential of aircraft during World War I, only three short years away. In a short time, the Hempstead Plains turned from an area of contests and games to the site of military bases and training camps (Hempstead Plains played a significant role in the Civil War, both world wars, and almost every conflict in which the nation engaged). The first military flight training school for Army and Marine Corps pilots was established at Hazelhurst field on the Hempstead Plains in 1917. This field was named after Leighton W. Hazelhurst, the first military officer killed in an aviation accident. Hazelhurst Field was the scene of an aviation innovation—the first air traffic control tower on a Long Island airfield, mounted on the roof of a hangar on the west side of the field. An operator climbed to the top of the tower and observed the airplanes through binoculars. He had no communication with the pilots and no control over the flight path of the planes, but was charged with watching for accidents so he could blow the siren and direct the crash crew.[4]

One of the army trainees at Hazelhurst Field was Quentin Roosevelt, the youngest of Theodore Roosevelt's four sons. After Quentin Roosevelt was killed in a combat mission over German lines in World War I, Hazelhurst Field was renamed Roosevelt Field in 1918.[5]

The other major flying field on the Hempstead Plains, initially called Air Field No. 2, was renamed Mitchel Field in 1918 in memory of John Purroy Mitchel, the mayor of New York City from 1914 to 1917. At thirty-five years of age, he was the city's youngest mayor at that time; when he was not reelected, he joined the Signal Corps Army Air Service to help defend his country. After he died in a training accident in Louisiana on 6 July 1918, Mitchel Field was renamed in his honor ten days later.[6]

Mitchel Field and Roosevelt Field played major roles in World War I. In 1917, the government set up an Aeronautical General Supply Depot and Concentration Camp at Mitchel Field, which was used for storage and distribution of supplies at both Mitchel and Roosevelt Fields.[7]

Glenn Curtiss designed and built military aircraft from his headquarters at the Gold Bug Hotel, in Mineola. One of his designs, the *J-4*, nicknamed the "*Jenny*," played a major role in World War I. In 1916, ten *J-4*s accomplished the first mass cross-country flight in U.S. military aviation history.[8]

In 1918, Glenn Curtiss's company, the Curtiss Company, joined with Sperry, another Long Island Company, to design and build the world's first air-guided missile, known as the Aerial Torpedo. An early form of an automatic pilot device guided the missile, which was designed to carry explosives. Several successful test flights were made from a secret airfield on the edge of the Great South Bay, near Amityville. However, the Aerial Torpedo was never used because World War I ended before it was deployed.[9]

On 22 May 1920, the L. W. F. Engineering Company's Model H was christened at Mitchel Field. This largest land plane ever built in the United States had a 106-foot wingspan and three engines. It was designed as a bomber, and usually was referred to as the *Owl* because it was intended for night flying. The plane was also

called the *Giant* or the *Goliath* because of its monstrous size. Despite its overbearing size and power, the Owl never lived up to its expectations because it did not fly very well. The plane was scrapped in 1923.[10]

In November 1923, two speed records were set at Mitchel Field two days apart. On 2 November, Lieutenant H. J. Brow, flying an *R2C-1* airplane equipped with a Curtiss D-12 engine, set the world speed record. He averaged 259.47 miles per hour in four flights over a three-kilometer course. Two days later, Lieutenant A. J. Williams broke Brow's record by recording speeds of 266.59 miles per hour, flying the same plane with the same engine at the same field.[11]

The first successful flight around the world touched down at Mitchel Field on 8 September 1924. Four planes, under the command of Colonel Lowell H. Smith, started this global flight on 6 April but only two completed the trip, The gallant pilots were congratulated by the Prince of Wales and a large cheering crowd when they landed at Mitchel Field.[12]

In early 1927, the world record for non-stop endurance flying was set by Clarence Chamberlain and Bert Acosta. They took off from Roosevelt Field at 9:30 A.M. on 12 April, and landed at the same place 51 hours, 11 minutes, and 25 seconds later, surpassing the previous record by almost six hours. This flight proved that a monoplane was capable of flying long enough to cross the Atlantic Ocean, a feat accomplished by Charles A. Lindbergh later that same year.[13]

Lindbergh's non-stop solo flight across the Atlantic is the most famous event in Long Island's aviation history. In his single-engine monoplane, *Spirit of St. Louis*, Lindbergh left Roosevelt Field at 7:52 A.M. on 20 May 1927. After a flight of 33 hours, 32 minutes, he landed at Le Bourget Airport near Paris.[14] Lindbergh undertook his flight to win fame and the $25,000 prize, but he became an instant hero who captured the attention of the world. His heroism also helped put an end to the gaudiness and self-indulgence of the Roaring Twenties.

History has made much of Lindbergh's first solo non-stop flight across the Atlantic. In the late 1920s, many other firsts were attempted by aircraft pioneers on Long Island, not always ending successfully. Soon after Lindbergh made his successful voyage, two not-so-famous aviators tried to win the honor of becoming the first woman to fly across the Atlantic. The first one was Ruth Elder, who took off from Roosevelt Field in her Stimson monoplane, *American Girl*, on 11 October 1927. She was bound for Europe, but her plane developed engine trouble and she was forced down onto the water. The plane sank, but she was rescued by a Dutch tanker. On 23 December the same year, Frances W. Grayson took off from Roosevelt Field in a Sikorsky S-36 amphibian named *Dawn*. She was also bound for Europe, but flew into treacherous weather and disappeared. Neither she nor her plane was ever found.[15]

One of the last great breakthroughs in aviation technology occurred on 24 September 1929 at Mitchel Field. Lieutenant James H. Doolittle took off in his Consolidated *NY-2* biplane, navigated a fifteen-mile course, and successfully landed—all while flying under a hood and unable to see where he was going. This first deliberate "blind" flight, made possible by a horizon and directional gyroscope manufactured by the Sperry Company, was of monumental importance to further

development of the aviation industry. For the first time, technology had conquered fog and darkness. These natural phenomena would never again be obstacles for pilots and airplane travelers.[16]

During World War II, Mitchel Field was one of the major Army Air Corps bases on the East Coast, and functioned as the center of a defense system against possible enemy air attacks. Between 1941 and 1943, the Air Corps ran operations from Mitchel Field to locate German submarines off the Atlantic Coast, a function taken over by the Navy in 1943. The Army Air Corps trained pilots and ferried planes to Europe from Mitchel Field. In 1943 and 1944, more than a thousand B-17, B-24, and B-29 bombers and crews flew from Mitchel Field to army bases in England. In addition, German prisoners-of-war (POWs) were held in Mitchel Field in 1943 and 1944.[17]

Military activities on the Hempstead Plains ended toward the end of World War II, in 1944, after which Mitchel Field became the home of the Continental Air Command (CONAC), a division of the
U. S. Air Force. CONAC was established in 1948 with Mitchel Field as its home until 1961, when Mitchel Field was deactivated after CONAC was relocated to Robins Air Force Base in Georgia.[18]

The Hempstead Plains continues to be a focal point of Long Island life. In 1951, all flying activities stopped to make way for the Roosevelt Field shopping center, one of the nation's first enclosed malls, built on the site of the Roosevelt airfield and opened in 1956. Most people who now visit Roosevelt Field are probably not aware that they are shopping on what was once the principal site of Long Island's aviation history, a site that played a defining role in the development of the worldwide aviation industry.

Today, the area known as Mitchel Field is populated by Nassau Community College, Hofstra University, and modern office buildings. Mitchel Field is also home to the Nassau Coliseum, where defensive maneuvers take place only on the hockey rink. Mitchel Field is also the location of the Cradle of Aviation Museum, established in the 1980s, with a large expansion planned for 2000. The goal of this museum is to educate and inform Long Islanders and other visitors about the key role Long Island played in the nation's aviation history, both in peace and war.

NOTES

1. Bernie Bookbinder, *Long Island: People and Places, Past and Present* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1983), 17.

2. Ibid., 163-64.

3. Ibid., 164.

4. George C. Dade and Frank Strand, *Picture History of Aviation on Long Island: 1908-1938* (New York: Dover Publications, 1989), 40.

5. Bookbinder, 172.

6. *"John Purroy Mitchel,"* from *http://www.fnol.net/~vtfitzge/jpmitchl.htm.*

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8. Dade and Strand, 37.

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10. Ibid., 75-76.

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13. Ibid., 100.

14. *Microsoft Encarta 97 Encyclopedia,* s.v. "Lindbergh, Charles A."

15. Dade and Strand, 115.

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BROOKHAVEN NATIONAL LABORATORY AND "BIG SCIENCE"

By Amanda Stone and Vincent Taurassi
Smithtown High School
Faculty advisor, Charles Backfish

Editor's note: This is a slightly revised version of a paper presented on 28 May 1999 at the Science, Technology, and Western Society Conference for History Students, sponsored by Smithtown High School, the Smithtown Central School District, and the USB Center for Excellence and Education.

Brookhaven National Laboratory (BNL) was established in January 1947 on the site of Camp Upton, the former Army base in Yaphank that served as a major induction center in World Wars 1 and II. The laboratory was created to furnish machinery and equipment for scientists seeking expanded knowledge in the field of nuclear energy. In the postwar period during which the new condition of "Big Science" engrossed the nation in a fervor of scientific and technological advancement, BNL applied its freshly acquired knowledge to the advancement of the peaceful use of atomic energy. BNL's focus from the beginning has been on research and technological development, education, and industrial development: this multidisciplinary laboratory executes basic and applied research in the physical, biomedical, and environmental sciences, and in selected energy technologies. According to the laboratory's historian, Robert P. Crease, the term "big science," as opposed to "little science," was coined in 1961 "to refer to the recent exponential increase in scale of large scientific projects.[1]

During World War II, physicists from across the nation were called to places like Los Alamos, New Mexico, and Oak Ridge, Tennessee, to disclose the secrets of the atom with the goal of military use. After the war, many of these physicists returned to their home institutions, still anxious to continue research that would further probe the atom in the service of peace. However, such research required larger, more complex "big machines" that were beyond the financial capabilities of single private institutions. BNL was founded in 1946 by Associated Universities, Inc. (AUI), a nonprofit educational consortium of nine northeastern universities specifically organized for this purpose.[2]

The institutional background was framed by Columbia University and the Manhattan Project or Manhattan District—code names for the project to build the atomic bomb. Two physicists from Columbia University, Isidor I. Rabi and Norman Ramsey, believed that while Columbia had made enormous contributions to the war effort, it had received little scientific benefit in return. The two gathered

delegates from institutions in the New York area to call for the establishment of a laboratory centered around a reactor and an accelerator. In a letter to Leslie R. Groves, the commanding general of the Manhattan District, they stated the need for a regional research laboratory near New York City, and offered the assistance of their respective institutions in its establishments.[3]

The half-facetiously proposed ideal site would have been the ten square miles adjacent to Grand Central Terminal, while the closest reasonable alternative was to take over swamp or military land. Of seventeen possible sites, including locations near Yale, Princeton, and Columbia, sixteen were gradually eliminated because of unavailability, geographical inconvenience, and undesirable parameters and resources. The site finally chosen, Camp Upton, was at first not a strong contender because its sparsely-developed, desolate appearance would make it "impossible to attract a strong staff to the location." After considering such names as Yaphank Laboratory, Upton Laboratory, and Long Island Laboratory, Brookhaven was picked because, as the physicist Norman Ramsey stated, it had a "misleading association with quiet, shady streams which might make it sound more attractive to potential new recruits." By 21 March 1947, the lab's supervision was transferred to the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), the newly created civilian agency that would act as AUI's government sponsor for the next twenty-eight years.[4]

Even before the new laboratory had a site or a name, the nucleus of its staff had been slowly building, housed in Columbia's Physics Department. The choice of director became a major concern for the enlarging staff. The third choice (the first and second choices had turned down the offer), Phillip Morse, a professor of theoretical physics at M.I.T., accepted the directorship. Norman Ramsey was appointed head of the Physics Department in charge of recruiting the staff; he first engaged G. Kenneth Green, who had studied accelerator physics at Berkeley and had wartime experience in the Signal Corps on proximity fuses, as a physicist in Brookhaven's accelerator program.[5]

A husband-and-wife team of physicists, Maurice and Gertrude Goldhaber, became a part of the staff and worked on the reactor program. Many other brilliant physicists followed suit and operations began with three hundred employees and a mission statement closely resembling that of the lab's present employees. Since the Department of Energy (DOE) took control of the lab in 1977, the statement has been slightly altered and expanded. The mission of the lab today is to conceive, design, construct, and operate complex, leading-edge, user-oriented facilities in a safe and environmentally benign manner responsive to the needs of the community, while carrying out basic and applied research for the Department of Energy. The mission statement includes developing advanced technologies that address national needs, educating new generations of scientists and engineers in order to maintain technical currency in the nation's workforce, and encouraging scientific awareness in the general public.[6]

The time of BNL's opening was right for "big science," the kind of research that required massive capital investment and was expected to yield significant

results. At the groundbreaking ceremonies, AEC Commissioner Sumner T. Pike summed up the objectives:

> It is probably fair to say that [the AEC's] principal concrete responsibility is that of producing atomic weapons [and will be] for a long time to come; I hope not. When we try to visualize other applications we see immediately a multitude of possibilities—power, treatment of diseases, improving industrial processes, bigger agricultural crops.[7]

Some residents of Long Island were reluctant to accept BNL. The nuclear explosions over Hiroshima and Nagasaki had happened less than eighteen months before the lab's founding, and the public inextricably associated atomic energy, reactors, and radiation with atomic explosions, destruction, and warfare. On 6 January 1947, when the first person arrived at the site to fire up the old coal-burning heating plant, a plume of black smoke sent high in the sky provoked a neighbor to threaten a lawsuit, complaining that she had been exposed to radiation even though no staff or equipment had yet moved in. The threatened lawsuit foreshadowed the problems that the laboratory would face as it began to operate within a larger social community that harbored its own expectations and fears. Some Long Islanders were concerned that the lab would be just another place to manufacture atomic bombs, or that the resulting radioactivity would harm radio reception. The laboratory established a speakers' bureau of experienced scientists and administrators to address local organizations and whomever else was interested, to reduce such apprehensions.[8]

In addition to its efforts to calm unwarranted fears, the laboratory appealed to the Long Island community by hiring residents as typists, truck drivers, and business administration personnel. Right from the start, the laboratory became a source of employment for local people, hiring well over half of its staff from local sources. As the skeptical segment of public opinion began to support the concept, the building of BNL enjoyed greater popularity.[9]

In the 1950s, both the scientific community and the federal government gained new perspective on what science could deliver, given appropriate funding and facilities. The "big machines," which came with the notion of a new science, enabled more extensive research in nuclear science and related fields, focusing on the promise of peacetime applications. Under the protection of the AEC, the lab designed, constructed, and began operating two nuclear reactors and two particle accelerators which enabled major discoveries in high-energy physics.[10]

The Brookhaven Graphite Research Reactor (BGRR) was the world's first reactor dedicated strictly to peaceful research on atomic energy. The concept, put forth by Rabi and Ramsey, was the first project designed by the new laboratory. Construction began in early 1947, with completion in 1950 a grand achievement. The first chain reaction occurred on 22 August 1950. This project resulted in more than sixty research facilities of various types, with applications in medical procedures, manufacturing processes, and genetics, in addition to basic studies of the structure of solids, atoms, and nuclei.[11]

Though reactors were the main factor in BNL's creation, accelerators became the most influential reason for its existence. Unlike the reactor project, the scientific staff directly controlled the designing and engineering of the accelerator. The scientific background and the name of the machine, the Cosmotron, were obtained from cosmic rays. The discovery and gradual understanding of the radiation that bombards the earth from deep space began at the turn of the century, intersected with the interests of mainstream physics, and resulted in the building of the Cosmotron, in 1952, to duplicate the work of cosmic rays.[12]

In 1960, the Alternating Gradient Synchrotron (AGS) was built to surpass the capabilities of the Cosmotron. It was based on a new principle called "strong focusing." High-energy and nuclear physicists from around the world use the AGS to probe the basic structure of matter by examining the behavior of subatomic particles as they smash into targets at the speed of light The Synchrotron eventually yielded many new particles and phenomena, including four Nobel Prize-winning discoveries: 1957, Parity Violation; 1976, J/Psi particle; 1980, CP Violation; and 1988, Muon neutrino.[13]

At the beginning of the 1960s, the laboratory's orientation toward basic research in atomic energy appeared well positioned. The Soviet Union's launch of the first man-made satellite, *Sputnik*, in 1957, instituted a period of rushed American interest in science. From self-scrutiny and apprehension of American shortcomings evolved a military-industrial-educational complex era of adjustment. Following closely behind *Sputnik*, the United States soon led all other nations in spending on scientific research and development. The science-government-industry partnership forged during World War II underwent a renewal in which more money was made available for scientific programs and facilities. However, by the end of the decade, enthusiasm for basic research had crumbled, funds had been forsaken, and the partnership had become detached. Strain between the government and science, as well as between science and the public, created tensions at BNL.[14]

The late 1960s brought a "more troubled" era to the relationship of government and science, when the dangerous side effects of technology became imminent and the assumptions of science policy became subject to intense scrutiny and doubt. The purpose of science was debated, and critics began to view science as the powerful agent of the "establishment" rather than the means to overcome the dangers to humanity. Liberals were critical of scientists at BNL for their perceived indifference to human needs, close ties to the military-industrial complex, and the introduction of new hazards such as radioactive substances and toxic chemicals into the environment. Conservatives also were opposed to science's supposed isolation from human needs, and were suspicious of politically leftist views within the field. After many atomic scientists, such as BNL's Lyle Borst, were instrumental in moving the U.S. atomic energy program from military to civilian control, many members of Congress accused such scientists of being communist sympathizers for backing civilian control of atomic energy and international control of atomic weapons.[15]

The previous rationale for the postwar science-government-industry partnership was based on the concept of basic research and its application as a necessary investment which grows over time. By 1966, however, a more results-driven view held sway, and President Lyndon B. Johnson declared that, "Presidents ought to be more concerned with the specific results of medical research achievable during their administrations." This critical view was echoed by in Congressman Emilio Daddario (D-Conn.):

> When scientists insist that their work is pure and devoid of application motives, they are naive to expect substantial portions of our tax revenues to be devoted to their projects. Within the framework of our political system it is difficult to justify expenditure of large amounts of public funds for the purely personal satisfaction of curiosity-merely for the sake of knowing.[16]

The changing public attitude toward science was increasingly felt inside BNL. The resulting enormous, culture-wide difficulty of establishing consensus on safety issues persisted for decades at the laboratory. During the 1960s, new sensitivity arose to the dangers of radiation and pollution. Accordingly, the AEC mandated its labs to issue regular public reports on the amount of radioactivity at their boundaries, after which BNL began to release quarterly reports to Long Island newspapers on its contributions to environmental levels. The lab soon became one of the most closely supervised sites in New York, but concerns continued to build, complicating relations with the community. Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* (1962) elevated public awareness of environmental effects and the health risks of radiation became a strong weapon in advancing an anti-nuclear political agenda. Ernest Sternglass, a professor of radiation physics at the University of Pittsburgh, opposed the enormous expenditures on BNL and made a career out of finding supposed correlations between low levels of radioactivity and everything from high infant mortality rates to low SAT scores. His efforts, although unsuccessful, were a perfect example of the new "mood" toward science beginning at that time.[17]

By 1968, conflicts about the role and value of science began to divide even the scientific community. A new insecurity arose inside BNL.Not only was federal support openly questioned and the relevance of the work challenged, but the work itself was regarded with suspicion. The role of science in the community generated tremendous cynicism, marked by increased questioning whether so much money should be spent on the lab.

In 1969, a newsletter, the *Brookhaven Free Press*, appeared as an insider instant forum for gripes about BNL. A classic example of countercultural literature of the day, it revealed the continuing existence of a number of "left-of-center" scientists. Articles attacked the absence of day-care facilities, onsite meetings of the Naval Reserve Group, the retirement plan, and the exorbitant spending of the lab. This proved that there were now divisions of opinion within the laboratory itself. The free press would not be silenced, however, on account of civil rights.[18]

Surviving the challenges of the 1960s, BNL emerged in the 1970s and 1980s with public recognition that the results of its work more than supported the expense. The world has continually called on Brookhaven as a national and international center for examining energy resources and classifying optimal uses of each. Nonetheless, environmental concerns continued to plague the laboratory. As of 1989, the site was targeted for cleanup because, however small in size and minimal in extent, its contaminated areas lay within a section of the aquifer of groundwater from which Long Islanders drink. In January 1997, a plume of tritium, the radioactive form of hydrogen, was found present in groundwater levels just south of the High Flux Beam Reactor, from whose spent fuel pool it had been slowly leaking. The issue provoked controversy with the public and led to a shutdown of the reactor. Brookhaven instituted "pump-and-recharge" projects to remove the groundwater and, according to the laboratory, resolved the crisis. Others, however, including some residents who drink from the aquifer, have their doubts as to whether the problem was successfully quelled.[19]

In May 1997, Energy Secretary Frederico Peña terminated the Department of Energy's contract with Associated Universities, Inc., the organization which founded the laboratory. From March 1998 on, the management of BNL was placed in the hands of Brookhaven Science Associates, a nonprofit partnership between the Research Foundation of the State University of New York on behalf of SUNY at Stony Brook, and Battelle Memorial Institute.[20]

Brookhaven National Laboratory was founded in order to pursue a peaceful means to continued study of nuclear energy. Its original purpose was to provide international and national user facilities that contain complex, expensive centers where tools could be used and supported. What began as a postwar attempt at peaceful research, not defense work, and intersected with the changing emphasis in scientific research and the emerging environmental concerns of the 1960s, has since evolved into a multidisciplinary organization that interacts with the community around it and other labs to serve the nation as a repository of basic science to provide a firm foundation for America's future.[21]

NOTES

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2."BNL Historical Highlights," 27 February 1999, *http://www.bnl.gov/bnlweb/history.html*, 1; Marsha Belford et al., *BNL: From Fifty to the Future* (Upton: BNL Public Affairs Office, 1997), 4.

3. Crease, "The History of BNL Part One: The Graphite Reactor and the Cosmotron," *LIHJ* 3 (Spring 1991): 167-68; Belford, 4-5.

4. "BNL In Brief," *Brookhaven National Laboratory* (Upton: BNL Public Affairs Office, 1993), 1-2; Crease, 171; Belford, 4-5.

5. Belford, 5; Crease 173-75.

6. Crease, 173-75; "BNL Historical Highlights," 1-2.

7. "Ground Is Broken on Atomic Project at Brookhaven Lab," *Smithtown Star*, 13 August 1947, 3.

8. Crease, "The History of BNL, Part Six: The Lab and the Long Island Community, 1947-1972, " *LIHJ* 9 (Fall 1996): 8-9.

9. Dwyer, 3-15.

10. Belford, 8.

11. Authors' interview with Thedore Ginsburg, a BNL physicist, 29 December 1998.

12. Crease, "BNL, Part One": 181-82.

13. "BNL in Brief," 3; "BNL Historical Highlights," 1-2.

14. Paul Boyer et al, *The Enduring Vision* (Lexington, Ky.: D. C. Heath, 1996), 955-56; Crease, "BNL, Part Six": 4.

15. Crease, "BNL, Part Six,": 5.

16. Ibid.: 6.

17. Ibid.: 5-7, 15-19.

18. Ibid.: 18-22.

19. Belford, 35, 48.

20. Belford, 50; "BNL Historical Highlights," 2.

21. Authors' interview with Elaine Lowenstein, head of BNL public relations; Belford, 8-9.

REVIEWS

Jerome Loving. *Walt Whitman, The Song of Himself.* University of California Press, 1999. Illustrations, bibliography, notes, index. Pp. xiv, 568. $35.00.

The history of Whitman biography, beginning when the poet was alive and extending to the present, has been clouded by the apparent frankness of its subject which is contradicted by the "faint clews and misdirections" which Whitman claimed to be all he himself knew of his life. *Leaves of Grass* seems so autobiographical that the unwary reader can be deceived into believing it a record of Whitman's life, forgetting, as Gay Wilson Allen pointed out some years ago, that it is a poetic construct. Not only was Whitman constructing, in *Leaves,* a representative American life rather than his own, he even fashioned a public identity for himself that was not always true to the private man. In *Specimen Days* (1882) he offered some autobiographical sketches of portions of his life—his early years on Long Island and in New York, his Civil War experiences, his recovery from a series of strokes, and his trip to the West in his late years—but it is an inconclusive record.

The earliest biographies, John Burroughs's *Notes on Walt Whitman as Poet and Person* (1867) and Richard Maurice Bucke's *Walt Whitman* (1883), were both collaborations done with the poet and with Whitman's hand heavy on their pages. These were followed in the first decades after his death by hagiographies produced by such disciples as Horace L. Traubel, William Sloane Kennedy, and Thomas Donaldson. Intended as correctives to these, European scholars early in the twentieth century offered reevaluations which eventually led to more critical studies of both the life and work. The pinnacle of scholarly biography was reached in 1955 with Gay Wilson Allen's *The Solitary Singer,* which remained for years the definitive work but is now out of print. Since then we have had, among others, Justin Kaplan's very readable *Walt Whitman: A Life* (1980), David S. Reynolds's cultural study, *Walt Whitman's America* (1993), Philip Callow's popularization, *From Noon to Starry Night* (1992), and Gary Schmidgall's impressionistic *Walt Whitman, A Gay Life* (1998). None of these, however, has been able to fill the void left by the disappearance of Allen's work, nor has any one of them attempted to make full use of the findings of scholars since his book was published. For these reasons this biography by Jerome Loving, a professor of American Literature at Texas A. and M. University, will be hailed both by those for whom Whitman scholarship is of great importance as well as by any reader seeking knowledge of America's premier poet.

Somewhat like Kaplan's telling of Whitman's life, which began with the poet's death, Loving's begins in *medias res,* with the Civil War experiences, which he sees as having given shape to the poetic career begun in 1855 with the first edition of *Leaves of Grass.* Those of us who hold in especially high esteem the pre-Civil War editions of *Leaves* will feel gratitude for Professor Loving's contention that

these early editions "show a keen and penetrating understanding of working-class America and its middle class" (23). Subsequent chapters take a more chronological approach, and the Long Island, Brooklyn, and Manhattan years are covered exactingly. Much attention is given to the early, pre-1855 poetry, some of which the author finds more praiseworthy than have most critics. Whitman's fiction and journalism receive detailed attention, with the authenticity of the latter verified or challenged as the case may be. Here Loving provides a real service since this is an area that has been greatly tangled for many years.

Early on, Loving sets out what he believes to be the important issues for a Whitman biographer to address for readers of the twenty-first century. Among these are questions about the poet's homosexuality and his alleged racism—two of the more topical issues—the facts of which Loving claims have been "Freudianized and historicized to fit current political and literary ideologies" (24). In the matter of Whitman's "racism" the author is quite successful at establishing convincing arguments to contradict the charge, at times using scholarship fueled by interest aroused by the civil rights movement of the past thirty years. Most often, however, his arguments are based on careful juxtapositions of Whitman's journalistic writings which, when taken together, give a fuller picture of the poet's views. In the matter of Whitman's sexuality, Loving takes a more middle-of-the-road position, allowing that Peter Doyle, the companion of some eight years, "may or may not have been Whitman's lover" (297), but admitting that Pete's account of his meeting with Whitman indicates "something unusual was going on here" (298). Katherine Molinoff's narrative of Whitman's supposed disgrace in his early years as a school teacher at Southold (Katherine Molinoff, *Whitman's Teaching at Smithtown, 1837-1836* [Brooklyn: the author, 1942], 10-20), which was based on local oral history and made much of by David Reynolds, is relegated to a footnote. This is probably all it deserves, but a fuller discussion within the text might better have put the matter to rest.

Long Island readers may quibble with Loving's sense of the island's geography, which places Hempstead "in the general vicinity of" Dix Hills (46), and with the offending hyphen which over the years has crept into the original name of Whitman's Huntington newspaper, the *Long Islander*. Nevertheless, these mishaps hardly detract from the over-all accomplishment. The book boasts an extensive general index as well as an index of Whitman's works, and more than fifty pages of notes. It is destined to be the biography of record for many years to come and, while interesting to the generalist, will be a determining factor for all Whitman scholarship. Jerome Loving seems to have been aware of the latter and has carefully taken into account all that has been produced by scholars in the last fifty years. This somewhat burdens the narrative and there are times when one wishes for more interpretation of the factual, but then that too will become the work of scholars to come. We are all indebted to the author for this monumental work.

JOANN P. KRIEG
Hofstra University

Tom Twomey, editor. *Awakening the Past: The East Hampton Lecture Series 1998*. New York: Newmarket Press, 1999. Bibliography, notes, index, illustrations. Pp. xxiii, 463. $39.95. Available from Book Hampton, call 631 324-4939; entire proceeds donated to the Long Island Collection of the East Hampton Library.

The town of East Hampton celebrated its 350th anniversary as a European and American settlement with a remarkable event: a lecture series that included scholarly addresses, local reminiscences, and anecdotal story-telling. The presenters included nationally known historians, material culture specialists, and East Hampton residents. This book is the compilation of all twenty-seven lectures which cover the history of the town and the East End.

The essays concentrate primarily on the colonial history of the region, with twelve of the twenty-seven focusing on the period 1650 to 1770. Two essays discuss Native Americans in East Hampton, two span the history of the region, five focus on the nineteenth century, five discuss the cultural history of the area, and the final essay looks toward the future. The lectures range from case studies of particular individuals important to local history, such as Wyandanch, Lion Gardiner, John Winthrop Jr., the Dominy family, and the first four ministers of the East Hampton Church, to topics on local government, the Long Island Railroad, and the Civil War. As with any edited edition that contains numerous authors, the mix of styles and perspectives makes the contributions uneven. Many are well-written and scholarly, while others are rambling and unfocused. All, however, make interesting reading for those interested in Long Island history.

John A. Strong's essay on Wyandanch and his attempt to preserve an equal place for Native Americans with Europeans in the rapidly evolving society of the 1640s and 1650s is the first in the book. Strong firmly places Montaukett history within the current scholarly literature of Native American-European relations, and presents Wyandanch and other Native American leaders as active players in the development of colonial communities. Not merely passive victims of Niantic and European aggression, the Montauketts tried to shape their own future. Strong clearly and cogently explains these complex relationships, which forces the reader to rethink the long-standing myths about early colonial society.

Also of particular interest are the series of essays on East Hampton as an art colony, and the related lectures on material culture. It was a pleasant surprise to find these topics included in the lecture series book, and the authors all presented fascinating portrayals of this aspect of local history. Dean Failey, speaking about the lives of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century craftsmen, followed by Charles Hummel's case study of the Dominy family in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, provide a social history of the region through the perspective of the middling folk. The lives of these early craftsmen contrast with the nineteenth- and twentieth-century artists who chose to live, work, and play in East Hampton, as outlined by Katherine Cameron, Constance Ayres Denne, and Helen Harrison. The difference lies not so much in the way that these groups lived, but in their relationship to the community. The Dominys and other local craftsmen were

integral parts of the community. They had roots there and participated in the most fundamental duties of community life. Many of the later artists also participated in the community, but apparently as outsiders. They became accepted members of society, but not quite in the same way that lifelong resident craftsmen did. This distinction represents a change in the meaning of community, as well as a different role for artists/artisans in that community.

The most fascinating essay in the book, however, is the one that closes it. Paul Goldberger writes a rumination on the role of architecture in the formation of a sense of place, and what that sense of place means. East Hampton is distinct from the other South Fork towns, Goldberger maintains, and this is so because the town has not given itself ever completely to the rush toward modernization, yet it has not completely stopped change from occurring. Townspeople, however dimly, have realized that not all change is bad: a community must incorporate new ideas into itself to continue to be relevant for modern residents. Goldberger challenges the town to think more specifically about the fine line between preservation and stagnation, and to continue on a path that allows for change while keeping the best of tradition.

Although this essay was written for East Hampton, of course, given the theme of the lecture series, the ideas presented can be adopted by all communities attempting to establish their own sense of place in a rapidly changing world. The preservation of the past is extremely important—the past revealed in architecture, in documents, and in the items of everyday life. Understanding the past is crucial to understanding the present, and to developing the future. But communities cannot exist in the past. People and societies must look toward the future, which means finding ways to fold the modern into the traditional to create a balance. This balance gives a town its distinctive air, its sense of place.

Many of the lectures provoke the reader to think about the ways we view the past and the relationship between the past and the future. Many others are more light-hearted, presenting fun and interesting stories about out predecessors on the East End. All-in-all, this book is a valuable contribution to the study of Long Island as America.

MARSHA L. HAMILTON
SUNY at Stony Brook

Rosalyn Baxandall and Elizabeth Ewen. *Picture Windows: How the Suburbs Happened.* New York: Basic Books, 2000. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xxii, 298. $27.50.

Long Island usually has been regarded as the earliest and quintessential suburban area. Hence it is fitting that this history of the evolution of the suburbs focuses on Long Island. While drawing on the broader history of suburbia and Long Island, this study centers particularly on Levittown, Freeport, and Roosevelt. They were selected to reflect different racial patterns in working- and middle-class communities.

In their introduction the authors confess that they had not realized initially that "suburbia even had a history" (xv), and they had to overcome their own "antisuburban snobbery" (xviii) about the "boring burbs" (xvii). Their students at SUNY College at Old Westbury introduced these Manhattanite professors to the realities of life in the suburbs. The experiences of their students (many of whom were suburban housewives) differed from the myths and stereotypes popularized on television, in novels, and in many earlier studies of suburbia. Realizing that "the human aspect is largely absent from conventional suburban history" (xv), the authors conducted more than two hundred interviews with residents, activists, realtors, and other suburbanites. Their informants are primarily, but not exclusively, women. Indeed, these voices of suburbanites, including African Americans and recent Hispanic immigrants, are a major contribution of this volume. Other sources include articles and books on Long Island and suburbia, writings by and about suburban developers (particularly William Levitt), and newspaper articles.

Although many historians regard early nineteenth-century Brooklyn Heights as America's first suburb, *Picture Windows* begins with Long Island's Gold Coast and the estates the wealthy built on Long Island's North Shore in the early twentieth century. The vision of the Gold Coast persisted in popular culture and continued to influence the image of Long Island for many decades. Whether the baronial estates can be blamed for suburban sprawl and decentralized government, however, is more problematical.

The development of mass production in the 1920s, which they call the "second industrial revolution," brought automobiles, electricity, and appliances to the middle classes, resulting in the "partial democratization of the 'good life' in America" (14). The chapter on "Suburban Birth Pangs" in the 1920s focuses on Freeport, which was attracting entertainers as well as African Americans from the South, though its residential areas were segregated. The Ku Klux Klan was active in Freeport and elsewhere on Long Island. In the photograph section, a Klan parade is wrongly identified as "Stonybrook" [*sic*] in 1933, but was probably in Freeport or Patchogue in the mid-1920s when Klan activity was at its peak on Long Island (and elsewhere in the North).

In describing the evolution of suburbs, the authors discuss the ideas and work of such housing pioneers as Edward Filene, Clarence Stein, and Lewis Mumford, as well as pioneering suburban communities including Sunnyside Gardens in Queens and Radburn, New Jersey. During the 1930s, the federal government established the Home Owners Loan Corporation (1932) and the Federal Housing Administration (FHA, 1934), which encouraged single-family homes in the suburbs for the middle class by guaranteeing mortgages and establishing construction standards. More controversial were the government programs for subsidized low-income public housing. The contrast between public and private housing is exemplified by a comparison of the Resettlement Administration's Greenbelt community in Maryland and Levitt and Sons' Strathmore-at-Manhasset development, each launched in the mid-1930s. Town houses and apartments were the dominant housing stock in Greenbelt where the renters developed an active

community life. The Levitts in Strathmore sold custom-built houses to upper-middle-class families and imposed regulations on cutting lawns and hanging wash, which they incorporated later in their more famous postwar Levittown developments of affordable housing.

Baxandall and Ewen maintain that "World War II had an even greater impact on the housing industry" than the depression years (78). The National Housing Agency and the Lanham Act not only provided millions of housing units, but also encouraged streamlining the production of houses. Levitt and others throughout the country built low-cost housing to meet the needs of the military personnel and defense workers.

The debate and tensions between public and private, communal and commercial housing resumed in the postwar years, exacerbated by the housing shortage. The GI Bill facilitated home ownership for veterans by guaranteeing mortgages with little money down. Senator Joseph McCarthy led public hearings on housing throughout the country in 1947-1948, which the authors characterize as "the most important housing battle" (90). The senator's attack on public housing included a visit to the Rego Park Veterans Housing Project in Queens, which he proclaimed was "a deliberately created slum area, at federal expense . . . a breeding ground for communists" (91). In numerous excerpts from the hearings, the authors demonstrate how McCarthy identified public housing with poverty and branded it as socialism. The housing battles also involved the construction trade unions, building codes, real estate lobby, private developers, and the modernization of the housing industry.

A significant shift occurred in the postwar years. Earlier, the majority of families had been renters, but now home ownership was becoming identified with democracy and the American dream. Levitt and the other master builders moved from rentals to sales when federal government policies made it more financially profitable for them.

It is almost midway through the text before the authors deal with "The Master Builders and the Creation of Modern Suburbia." As they note in an apt phrase, "William Levitt would become the Henry Ford of housing" (122). The role of the FHA, GI Bill, and other federal legislation, and details about the development of Levittown will be familiar to those who have read Kenneth T. Jackson's *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1985), and Barbara M. Kelly's *Expanding the American Dream: Building and Rebuilding Levittown* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1993). Nonetheless, their analysis of suburban critics, the treatment of suburban segregation and battle for integration, and recognition of diversity of families are significant contributions. Their analysis in the broader context of a mass production culture provides important insights. A quotation from William Levitt, "for many families, the choice lies between a so-called 'tract house' and none at all" (164), is telling.

While the broader context of suburban and national history throughout the book is appropriate for their case study of Nassau County suburbs, the authors do not always clarify when statements are Long Island-specific (e.g. a quotation on

blockbusting [185] is from a book on the Boston suburbs). The final chapters are important contributions to the literature about suburbia in recent decades. "Utopia Revisited" focuses on postsuburban Long Island—the suburban metropolis or so-called technoburb, with not only shopping malls, office complexes, and industrial parks, but also traffic congestion, crime, drugs, homelessness, environmental concerns, and a decentralized labyrinth of government entities. In their last chapter the authors briefly discuss gated and cohousing communities, and such planned communities as Columbia, Maryland, and Seaside and Celebration in Florida.

Unfortunately, there are a number of factual and careless errors, some of which reflect the unfamiliarity of the authors with Long Island history and geography. A few examples will suffice. "Before 1898 Nassau County was still part of Brooklyn" (8), whereas it was part of *Queens* County until 1899. Sag Harbor (rather than its Eastville neighborhood) is described as a "predominantly black" community (30). Thousand Lakes (rather than *Lanes)* is cited as the name of a Levittown periodical (145). Roosevelt Field (in East Garden City) is described as on "Long Island's South Shore" (148), but Garden City is characterized as "a North Shore community" (181). Hence, the book must be used with care as a source for Long Island history. There are many useful references in the extensive notes for Long Island history, but whenever possible, careful researchers will want to consult the original source.

Nonetheless, this book provides insights into twentieth-century Long Island and the broader history of American suburbia. It is a welcome corrective to the more traditional overly negative view of the suburbs. *Picture Windows* highlights the importance of the suburban migration and the development of the concept of decent housing as a right for all Americans. As the authors assert in their introduction, "the history of suburbia is at the heart of twentieth-century American history," and housing has played a "pivotal role in the evolution of American society" (xxi). At the turn of the millennium, Baxandall and Ewen enable us to understand these significant themes and Long Island's last century with enhanced perspective.

NATALIE A. BAYLOR
Long Island Studies Institute, Hofstra University

Editorial note: The LIHJ *has been informed that needed corrections were made in the 2d printing of Picture Windows, as well as in the forthcoming paperback edition.*

Richard A. Winsche. *History of Nassau County Community Place-Names*. Interlaken, N.Y.: Empire State Books, 1999. A Long Island Studies Institute publication from Hofstra University. Bibliography, maps, notes, index. Pp. 160. $25.00.

Richard A. Winsche's *History of Nassau County Community Place-Names* is another valuable historical reference work produced under the aegis of the Long Island Studies Institute at Hofstra University. Covering some 118 Nassau community names, the volume's initiation was a master's thesis from C. W. Post College in 1958. Subsequently, as historian for the Nassau County Museum system, Winsche continue his research, attempting to authenticate the origin of Nassau place names. Many local accounts provide fanciful origins of names, but Winsche's authoritative summaries rely greatly on original sources. His prodigious efforts included review of daily and weekly newspapers, village clerk records, town records, general and local histories, and original documents.

The study covers incorporated villages, localities, post offices, and school districts that have individual names. It includes the date a village or locality was settled, present place name, and the chronology of any names prior to the present. In many listings the identity of the person who suggested the name and the reason for it are also included. Review of the place name entries not only provides a thumbnail history of the locality, but the pattern and evolution of the county is revealed through the listings. The determination of locality names involves natural history, local economic and political influences, settlement patterns, ethnicity, etc., in effect the whole panorama of local life.

Winsche points out the geographical origin of many places, such as Oyster Bay which David Pietersz De Vries recorded in 1639: "there are fine oysters here, whence our nation has given it the name of Oyster Bay or Harbor " (78). Only a few Indian terms, including Rockaway and Merrick, remain from colonial times. Real estate development in the mid-1800s contributed many of today's names, such as New Cassel, named in 1870 after Cassel in Prussia to attract German immigrants as did nearby Hicksville. The Long Island Railroad's naming of stations often conflicted with local sentiment, as in Baldwin where the station was called Milburn. After 1897, the railroad depots used the same name as the post office. While specific historical events frequently determined naming, such as Roosevelt after President Theodore Roosevelt in 1902, Winsche uncovers some highly unusual derivations, such as the Pennsylvania developer William Brown who purchased a portion of Alexander T. Stewart's 1869 Hempstead Plains acquisition and named Stewart Manor in 1907 after Stewart Avenue. Every reader will enjoy his tale of the events in Seaford that led to its naming due to the theft of a horse. A few mysteries still exist, including origins of Harbor Hills and Harbor Isle—two localities whose existence this reviewer, with some forty years of local study, had never realized before.

The book's usefulness is enhanced by its exhaustive notes of the sources for each village description, a bibliography, and a thorough index. This will be the definitive work and regular reference for Nassau place names, and all future

Nassau researchers will be grateful for it. As a bonus, it is also an entertaining insight into the variety of local village life and history, as revealed through their place names.

EDWARD J. SMITS
Nassau County Historian

Mark Linder and Lawrence S. Zacharias. Of Cabbages and Kings County: Agriculture and the Formation of Modern Brooklyn. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1999. Illustrations, bibliography, notes, index. Pp. x, 299. $32.95 (cloth), $21.95 (paper).

To current Brooklyn residents, Kings County of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries would have seemed like a long-lost world. The authors, in their wittily titled *Of Cabbages and Kings County: Agriculture and the Formation of Modern Brooklyn,* begin by citing a visitor's description of the unobstructed southern view atop a ridge near Prospect Park circa 1870: "the rich farmlands...with their ancient homesteads standing out here and there in quite rural beauty."

It was not until the very end of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth that Kings County changed from a mostly agricultural community to a dense, residential, urban one. This work is the first major detailed chronicle of the impressive history of farming in old Kings County, and the "deagriculturalization" that led to its demise after more than two centuries of prosperity.

The book is divided into two major sections. The first part describes the county's productive Dutch agricultural tradition and history until the 1880s. The second part analyzes the reasons for the decline and ultimate destruction of the Kings County farms at the end of the nineteenth century. Resource materials include thirty-eight statistical tables, a comprehensive bibliography listing a great variety of resources, and ninety-seven pages of notes which incorporate valuable additional information, usefully annotated with cross references to the relevant pages in the text. There are also several maps of both farmlands and train routes, reproduced in the body of the text, and a few photos of nineteenth-century Kings County farmland and their owners.

Nearly all Kings County farmers traced their origins to Dutch ancestors (the only exception to Dutch hegemony was the English settlement of Gravesend). Up until the American Revolution, farming involved mostly grains and livestock to feed and supply the residents of Manhattan. However, construction of the Erie Canal in the 1820s and the establishment of the Long Island Railroad in the 1830s changed the nature of farming to the raising of vegetables, as it became more cost efficient for Manhattan residents to import grains and livestock from other areas. Subsistence agriculture gave way to market-oriented agriculture, which was the cultivation of standard vegetables or truck crops. By the 1880s, the variety of vegetables and fruits raised were expanded to include those of a more perishable nature. As the authors demonstrate, using statistics and accounts from the period, Kings County farmers toiled on the fourth most valuable farmland in the country, using the best equipment available, to become the nation's second-largest

producer of vegetables (after Queens) by 1880. Intermarriage created concentrated wealth among the major farm families as they tried to maintain their traditional way of life and ties to the land that went back over two centuries.

The second half of the book explores the question of why such a rich heritage seemed to vanish in a relatively short period (1890 to 1910). One of the major reasons for the denouement of farming in Kings County was the rapid population increase—mostly of immigrants—within the burgeoning manufacturing city of Manhattan. The congestion caused by an emerging immigrant working class created a need for an affordable and healthy environment where the multitudes could live.

Among businessmen, Kings County was perceived as a "bedroom" for the city, ripe for habitation. Government policy and political exigencies encouraged residential construction for the masses. The profitable building boom that helped to destroy farming was viewed by many as the resolution of the struggle between city and country, modernity versus nostalgia, and prosperity versus stagnation.

Advances in transportation and related civic improvements accelerated the Kings County real estate boom. Steam railroads were built in the mid 1860s and 1870s, ultimately serving the purpose of opening up the country to residential building. Railroad companies paid high prices to secure adjoining lands for access and facilities. Some farmers even donated rights of way to railroads in anticipation of increased land values that would result. Coney Island became a magnet for railroad lines as people began to flock there in increasing numbers for recreational purposes. Urban transportation was thereby extended to the most rural areas of southern Kings, making farmlands there more attractive for housing. The opening of the Brooklyn Bridge in 1883 further hastened residency in the county, because it provided a direct link to Manhattan.

Kings County had become well prepared for colonization. Speculators and investors saw the land as a gold mine, proceeding to make deals with farmers who were willing to sell their land for the high prices that were offered. Farmers, increasingly aware of the inevitability of suburbanization, had become more than eager to sell. The mid 1890s saw the mass conversion of farms into lots as lands were "skinned and leveled." By 1910, the borough of Brooklyn (an integral part of Greater New York since 1898) had been converted almost entirely into urban residential sectors. The land had become too expensive for farming.

Other factors that contributed to the demise of farming included higher taxes, competition from year-round southern markets, and increased payrolls and expenditures. Expectations of further declines made farmers wary of exploring long-term investments. By the 1890s, farms suffered labor shortages due to competition for jobs from industry and public improvement projects. The immigrant workers and tenants did not consider farming a viable long-term occupation when compared to the opportunities presented by industry.

There was no collective enterprise among the farmers of Kings County. There were no institutions in place to foster the dissemination of new techniques and scientific methods. As the authors, Linder and Zacharias explain, Kings County farmers were an isolated breed—provincial, individualistic, and inbred. They represented a society described as an "insular Eden" which excluded the outside

world. Yet, this ancestral, communal culture was crumbling because of urban encroachment. This type of individualism had impeded efforts within the farming community to form a workable apparatus in which to sustain credit, and was largely responsible for the chronic lack of organization in produce marketing.

In the ensuing years, as more and more of the old-time patriarchs died or became ill, their offspring were less inclined to maintain ancestral ties to the land, and instead sought more urban pursuits. By the late 1880s, only a handful of old-line Dutch farm owners remained. Those who did survive as farmers became more economically diversified, participating in urban-oriented business endeavors. They became "landed aristocrats," with other sources of income.

In fleshing out the story of agriculture in Kings County, the authors, Marc Linder and Lawrence S. Zacharias, professors at Iowa State University and the University of Massachusetts at Amherst respectively, touch upon many other related aspects of its history. The many Dutch families are discussed throughout the book, along with the actual location of their homes and farms. Most of these families left a legacy in the street names and neighborhoods that were later created. The reader learns that Green-Wood Cemetery is one of the few vestiges left of what was once original farmland in Kings County. The authors catalogue the great variety of produce, besides the main ones—cabbage and potato—that were raised during the farm's heyday, along with the differences in the soil that existed in various parts of the borough. Descriptions of the many types of animals that inhabited the woodland farmlands of the past are provided.

There is a fairly complete narrative chronology of the establishment of the steam railroads and their respective routes. Also discussed are the Coney Island Jockey Club of Sheepshead Bay, the birth of neighborhoods, Prospect Park, and the growing emphasis on the aesthetic importance of park land, which Prospect Park's creators, Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux, helped bring to the public consciousness.

As a backdrop to help understand the economic changes that occurred in the nineteenth century, the authors cover the Panic of 1837, pro and con arguments concerning the city of Brooklyn's absorption of the other Kings County towns; and the ultimate consolidation of Brooklyn with Greater New York in 1898.

A most significant chapter covers the impact of slavery and its aftermath on farming in Kings County. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Kings County had the highest proportion of slave holders and slaves in the North, greater than the amount that South Carolina had during the same period. One third of the county's population were slaves, owned by 60 percent of farmers and averaging four or five slaves per farm. Slaves, used as agricultural laborers, had been the main work force before the influx of immigrant labor. The authors state that during the eighteenth century, the Dutch farm owners of Brooklyn were perhaps the largest slave holders in the North. After a decision to free slaves that originated in 1817, New York State's emancipation of 1827 finally made it unlawful. Many former slaves and their descendants remained on farms until the latter part of the nineteenth century, some becoming servants and eventually

integral parts of family households. Others continued to work on their former masters' lands, while some farmed on property that they actually owned.

The final chapter examines the following questions: Is urban agriculture an oxymoron? If not, then could anything have been done in past and present day Kings County to prevent the disappearance of such agriculture? In answering these questions, the authors first take the reader on a tour of some European cities where urban sprawl has been arrested, and where land has been reserved for cultivation within the city environs. Regarding our own country, we are told of how government, taking into consideration the environment, ecology, rising energy costs, and the nutritional benefits of fresh produce, has passed legislation to assist farmers in many cities, formulating successful plans in support of farm enterprise.

The authors conclude that Kings County was a lost agricultural community, a remnant which, with proper planning and initiatives, could have survived, prospered and coexisted with the inexorable forces of urbanization. Instead, the whole process was "rigged" in favor of congested land development, a policy that lasted through the Verrazano Bridge era. Late nineteenth-century planners and policy makers, lacking the necessary vision, ignored the problem by asserting that land set aside for agriculture within the city was an anachronism. The authors question why previous histories of cities rarely focused on what was lost to urban development, preferring a "city waiting to happen" approach.

As a former Gravesend resident, I would have enjoyed reading more about the farms of the southern part of the borough, including Gravesend and neighboring Sheepshead Bay. The emphasis in the book seemed to gravitate to farming in the northern part of the borough, especially Flatbush, the first town to become "citified." Part of this may be due to the heavy reliance on statistical data that was available to the authors. However, this reliance always presents some risks in analysis, since statistics are not always accurate. This aside, *Of Cabbages and Kings County*, a recent winner of the Agricultural History Society's annual award for the best book on agricultural history, seems to leave no resource or reference stone unturned. It is difficult to find any fault with a work in which the authors are so thorough and pay such meticulous attention to detail. Because many previous histories have tended to ignore or overlook the extent of Brooklyn's agrarian character, *Of Cabbages and Kings County* stands out as a valuable, much-needed contribution.

GARRY WILBUR
New Hyde Park

Donald A. Petrie. *The Prize Game: Lawful Looting on the High Seas in the Days of Fighting Sail.* Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1999. Illustrations, bibliography, notes, index. Pp. xiii, 217. $25.95.

Not the least of the excellences of Donald A. Petrie's *The Prize Game: Lawful Looting on the High Seas in the Days of Fighting Sail* is its size. The Naval

Institute Press handsomely produced this scholarly work on the modest scale of Dava Sobel's *Longitude* rather than on that of Walter McDougall's elephantine *And the Sea Shall Roar.* Whereas the latter requires block and tackle to move from shelf to reading desk, the former can be carried about in an outer pocket. Binding, production, and typography are exemplary, with a dozen strategically placed and accurately labeled figures and maps a welcome bonus.

What makes the book more than a bibliophilic treat is that it brings together fascinating and elusive subject—the economics and international law of prize taking in wartime at sea—and just the author to illuminate it. Donald A. Petrie has been a merchant seaman, soldier, businessman, politician, and publisher, and currently resides in Wainscott, Long Island. But it is as a lawyer and an uncommonly fine writer that commends him here.

The heart of *The Prize Game* consists of four chapters on specific prize takings, case studies really, in which the reader is made privy to a specific action at sea and what followed in court. The basis of selection seems clear enough: the existence of a wealth of primary materials in the form of first-hand accounts of the encounter; a full court record of the legal proceedings; and the opportunity that both present the author for careful explication. Each of these chapters, therefore, combines the often exciting story of naval combat (or at least naval intimidation) and what proves to be an equally absorbing analysis of the ensuing litigation. Each chapter can stand alone, indeed, several have, as articles appearing in *American Neptune* and *Log.*

And what a complicated business that of prize taking often was. There is the not always clear matter of the respective nationalities of those involved, as in the case of the privateer (pirate?) Luke (Luc?) Ryan in 1779, whose ship *Calonne* had the misfortune to be boarded by the British man-of-war on his way to a French port to register his prize. Was the twenty-nine year old Luke Irish, where he seems to have been born? And if so, was he not a subject of His Majesty George III, which made his capture of the English merchant brig *Nancy* and the holding of her Scottish captain for ransom acts of piracy? Or was he French, as he contended, and thus sailing as an ally of the recently declared United States of America and properly operating within the rules of prize-taking as a privateer? An English court declared him Irish—and a pirate—and his sentence to hanging was stayed with the end of the British-American conflict in 1782. So, Luc Ryan was saved to sail another day or, more precisely, another seven years, dying in 1789 at the ripe old age of thirty-nine in debtors' prison.

Still more tangled cases elaborated in *The Prize Game* make one reader grateful to be in the hands of an author who can sort them out with the clarity, assurance, and humor that these all too human transactions merit.

An introduction, an epilogue, and an appendix consisting of "The Rules of the Game" all provide the author with ample opportunities to go beyond the specifics of his case studies to offer generalizations about the origins of prize taking, the evolution of the rules of the sea that governed such takings, and finally the decline

of "the prize game" in the nineteenth century. I highly recommend *The Prize Game*.

ROBERT A. McCAUGHEY
Barnard College, Columbia University

Gene Horton, *Blue Point Long Island New York, Then and Now*. East Patchogue: Searles Graphics, 1999. Illustrations, maps. Pp. 191. $24.95

Gene Horton has published four books on Blue Point, Long Island. They are *Blue Point Remembered* (1982), *A History of Our Lady of the Snow* (1985), *A History of the Blue Point Fire Department, 1890-1990* (1990), and *Blue Point Long Island New York, Then and Now* (1999). His works are shaped by his conviction that "to preserve our past is to enrich our future." They are clear evidence also that "all history is local history." Even as his latest book went to press, Gene had to arrange for a second printing of *Blue Point Remembered*. His work is proof of the increasing human desire to know about the streets where we live.

The author's refreshingly laconic introduction to *Blue Point, Long Island New York, Then and Now* invites us to "take a walk through Blue Point with this book in hand." What you will find are pictures then and now, with brief comments culled from local newspapers, postcards, and old-timers' stories which make each house, building, and scene come alive. There are three maps to guide you along the way: two real estate maps (1873 and 1888), which indicate land ownership at the time, and one 1999 map which clearly locates the streets and boundaries of present day Blue Point.

What could have happened in Blue Point to merit a book and a walking tour? Everything which affected the nation was reflected in Blue Point: the population explosion between 1950-1990 (see the aerial views on page one); the escape to the seashore for a summer vacation at the turn of the century (9); the expansion of the railroad in the 1860s (32); and the paving of roads and the coming of the automobile.

Gene Horton knows the people, the places, and the events which shaped the history of Blue Point, and his presentation captures the spirit of a small rural community involved in the American experience. He also has given us a model of how we can do the same for the streets where we live.

S. JOAN RYAN
St. Joseph's College

Frances Roe Kestler. *Never-Never Land: The Saga of Westmoreland Farm*. Flushing: the author, 1999. Illustrations, index. Pp. vii, 245. $24.95 (paper).

Frances Roe Kestler's charming memoir amounts to a love letter to the 166-acre plot on Shelter Island acquired by her father, James A. Roe, an insurance broker and politician, in 1938. Inspired by *Peter Pan*, she thinks of herself as a real live

Wendy abroad for much of her life in a geographical Never-Never Land. This historical memoir, in the author's words:

> principally starred three men who...wished, as most people do, for a place where dreams are made yet possessed the foresight and capability to make the dreams come true...Thomas Morgan Turner's vision initiated the story, the Branders embellished the plot, but it took a man like "Jimmy" Roe to complete the picture.

In 1895, Turner, a wealthy entrepreneur, purchased the overgrown and neglected tract and gradually transformed it into an estate—a private retreat and gentleman's farm. After Turner's death, Never-Never Land was put on the auction block in 1919 and soon was purchased by the Brander brothers, John, Lewis, and Thomas. They renamed the estate Westmoreland and lived there on a grand scale during the Prohibition era, but following the stock market crash of 1929, their fortunes dwindled and ultimately they had to file for bankruptcy. Once again Westmoreland faced the auction block. James Roe became the next owner, and from this point on we get on-the-scene reports from the author.

Over the years, her father and mother considerably enlarged the area of Westmoreland, made considerable improvements to the property, and added the word Farm to the Westmoreland title. They entertained lavishly for decades. Among their guests were notable politicians and other celebrities such as Babe Ruth, Lou Gehrig, William O'Dwyer, Herbert H. Lehman, James A. Farley, Robert F. Kennedy, and Mary Higgins Clark.

History comes alive in these pages. No heavy, stolid prosing for Frances Roe Kestler. She colorfully explains how some significant part of Shelter Island came to be the way it is.

FRANCIS L. KUNKEL
St. John's University

Book Notes

To be reviewed in Fall 2000:

William Sidney Mount: Family, Friends, and Ideas. Elizabeth Kahn Kaplan, Robert W. Kenny, and Roger Wunderlich, eds. Setauket: Three Village Historical Society, 1999. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. 97. $15 (8½" x 11" paperback). Available at The Museums at Stony Brook Gift Shop (631 751-0066) and the Weathervane Shop, Suffolk County Historical Society, Riverhead (631 727-2881).

A handsomely illustrated collection of essays on people, places, and themes associated with the nineteenth-century Long Island artist William Sidney Mount, a resident of the Three Villages and the nation's foremost genre master.

Tracing the Past: Writings of Henry P. Hedges, 1817-1911, Relating to the History of the East End. Edited by Tom Twomey. New York: Newmarket Press, 1999. Notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xix, 394. $40.00. Available from Book Hampton, 631 324-4939; entire proceeds donated to the Long Island Collection of the East Hampton Library.
The first indexed, chronologically presented collection of the sixteen extant speeches on East Hampton, Southampton, Sag Harbor, Bridgehampton, and Southold history, delivered over a span of sixty-two years (1849-1911) by the insightful East End political leader and jurist, Judge Henry P. Hedges

Nassau County: From Rural Hinterland to Suburban Metropolis.
Edited by Joann P. Krieg and Natalie A. Naylor. Interlaken, N.Y.: Empire State Books/Hofstra University, 2000. Illustrations, bibliography, notes, index. Pp. 336. $35,cloth, $19.99. paper.
This book includes more than thirty papers presented at the Nassau County Centennial Conference held at Hofstra University in March 1999. For further information, contact the Long Island Studies Institute, 619 Fulton Ave, Hempstead, NY 11549, phone 516 463-6411.

The following are three recent releases of Dover Press, a distinguished Long Island publisher:

Lewis Copeland, Lawrence W. Lam., and Steven J. McKenna, eds.. *The World's Greatest Speeches.* Mineola: Dover Press, 1999. Index. Pp. xxii, 944. $15.95 (paper): add $5 s/h, from Dover Publications, Inc., 31 East 2d Street, Mineola, NY 11501. This comprehensive, updated source book makes available scores of historically significant speeches.

Carl Holliday. *Woman's Life in Colonial Days.* Mineola: Dover Press, 1999. Index. Pp. xiv, 336 $9.95 (paper): add $5 s/h, from Dover Publications, Inc., 31 East 2d Street, Mineola, NY 11501.Holliday's study shows that colonial women knew love and passion, felt longing and aspiration, and led rich and fulfilling lives, dispelling the notion that they led dull, cheerless, and sober lives.

Alfred T. Mahan. *Mahan on Naval Warfare.* Mineola: Dover Press, 1999. Pp. 416 (paper): add 5 s/h, from Dover Publications, Inc., 31 East 2d Street, Mineola, NY 11501. Admiral Mahan's close reading of history, analysis of naval events, and predictions and prescriptions for the conduct of naval policy contributed powerfully to the shaping of twentieth-century policy. Navy personnel, laymen, armchair sailors, and students of world history will quickly grasp the essence and far-reaching impact of Mahan's ideas.

COMMUNICATIONS

Dear Editor,

We wish to inform your readers that the Cedar Swamp Historical Society has placed a rare collection of 1,100 books, pamphlets, historic flags, maps, wills, deeds, and other documents with the library of C. W. Post College of Long Island University. The collection will be kept in its entirety, and items may be be taken from the library's rare book rooms only with professional care and security for exhibit.

The vast majority of items were owned by the late John B. Shiel, a distinguished former member of the society's board of trustees. In addition, John G. Peterkin, the founder and recently retired president of the Cedar Swamp Historical Society, has donated his collection of twenty-five historic flags that flew over Cedar Swamp from the 1590s to the early 1800s. The collection includes two poems by John Howard Payne (who wrote the lyrics for "Home Sweet Home") in his own inked manuscript. Revolutionary War documents include a commission signed by Nathaniel Woodhull, president of the Provincial Congress of New York, commander of Long Island militia, and martyred hero of the Revolution; many personal documents of William Floyd, a Long Island signer of the Declaration of Independence; a British military map; a payroll roster of Long Island soldiers; and a Long Island soldier's letter to General Clinton requesting leave for husbands and fathers. Among other items are Washington Irving's comments on the Revolutionary War; a passport belonging to Senator Rufus King; a Cedar Swamp map; old Northeast maps; 1695-1812 deeds, wills, and documents (mostly of Southampton); some of the oldest newspapers of New York and Glen Cove; old advertisements; Civil War posters; and the Duryea Starch insurance policy (Glen Cove's largest fire in 1850).

We hope that your readers and other scholars of Long Iland history will make use of this new resource.

John G. Peterkin
Founder and Former President, Cedar Swamp Historical Society

Editor's note: We salute recently retired John G. Peterkin for his twenty-three years of service as founder, president, and trustee of the Cedar Swamp Historical Society, for his valued contribution as a member of our advisory board, and for his devotion to the cause of preserving the heritage of his beloved "Long Iland."

We also extend our best wishes to Beatrice Schimoler and Peter Rapalje in their continuing efforts as the recently installed cochairs of the Cedar Swamp Historical Society.

Dear Editor,

This letter concerns Mary Petrie's Fall 1999 review of *From Sea to Sea: 350 years of East Hampton History,* by Averill Dayton Geus. I concur with Ms. Petrie's excellent opinion of this work and am pleased to have it in my personal library. However, the review contains one small section which is glaringly inaccurate. I refer to the Civil War activities of the 127th New York Volunteer Infantry Regiment.

I quote from the review: "The 127th Regiment, with 435 men recruited from the East End, fought at Bull Run, Gettysburg, and was part of Sherman's march to the sea." Nothing in the foregoing statement is correct except the regiment number and "East End," and it is important to note that the author made no such statement: it is a conglomeration of statements taken out of context. Yet, there are interesting connections between the 127th New York and the actions listed.

The following commentary relies on *The History of the 127th New York Volunteers* by Franklin McGrath and on the quasi-bibles Frederick Phisterer's *New York in the War of the Rebellion* and Frederick Dyer's *Compendium of the War of the Rebellion.* The first is available at the Suffolk County Historical Society and some libraries and the latter two at almost all libraries.

Both battles of Bull Run were history before the 127th New York was organized. The first battle was fought in July 1861 and the second in August 1862. The 127th was organized in September 1862. However, from its inception until April 1863 the regiment was deployed in the Northern Virginia countryside in defense of Washington. It was a brutal winter and men died of disease and exposure, some probably in the vicinity of Bull Run creek.

The Battle of Gettysburg was fought the first three or four days of July 1863 while the 127th New York was on the Virginia Peninsula in the vicinity of Yorktown. However, immediately following that battle their division was sent to Maryland to aid in harassing Lee's retreat. A month after Gettysburg the division was sent to the barrier islands south of Charleston harbor where it participated in the siege of Fort Wagner, the siege of Fort Sumter, and the siege of Charleston. In December 1864, as General Sherman neared Savannah, the 127th New York became part of a special task force formed to break the Charleston and Savannah railroad in order to help isolate that city. When Sherman reached the sea the 127th New York was there to greet him.

Since the misinformation contained in the review is far from trivial, and both the author and your subscribers have been done a disservice in the bargain, I trust you will offer a correction in the next issue.

Charles E. Squires
East Northport Dear Editor,

Dear Editor,

In my article on Long Island academies in the Fall 1999 *LIHJ*, I cited two 1843 clippings from the *Republican Watchman*. Subsequently, I found an extensive article in the *Watchman* on Clinton Academy, reprinted in an unlikely source. The *East Hampton Trustees Journal* (East Hampton , 1926), 1: 1725-72, includes in an addendum (190-200) an open letter by "J. D. G.," which it designates "Decline of the Academy."

Natalie A. Naylor
L. I. Studies Institute, Hofstra University

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Department of History
State University of New York at Stony Brook
Stony Brook, NY 11794-4348

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