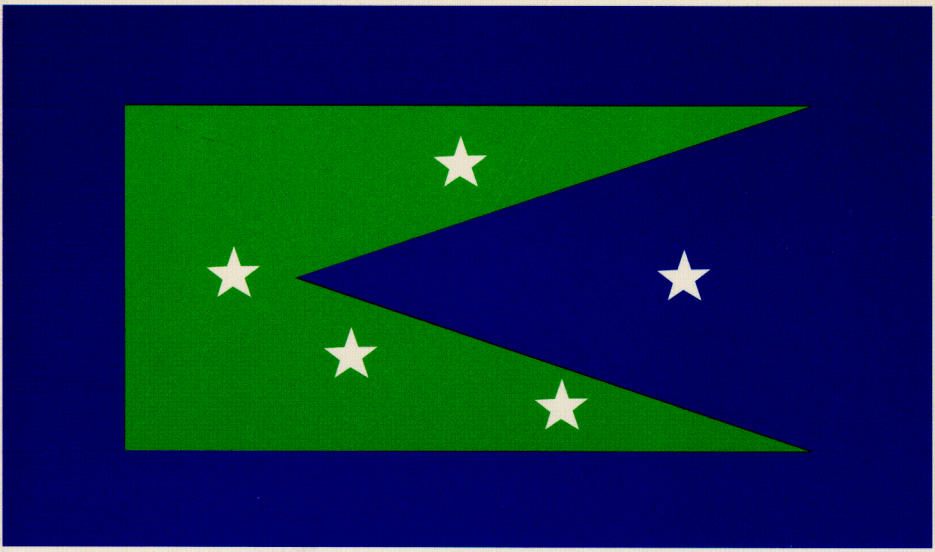
THE LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL JOURNAL



The Peconic County Flag

Spring 1997
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LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL JOURNAL

LONG ISLAND AS AMERICA

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

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THE LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL JOURNAL

Cover: The Peconic County flag. Courtesy of its designer, John B. Rusch.

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EDITORIAL COMMENT

A cluster of problems illumines this swiftly moving year of history in the making. Will we remove the albatross of Shoreham from around Long Island's neck? Will we settle the $1.1-billion judgment for over-taxing LILCO that hangs over the Shoreham-Wading River School District, town of Brookhaven, county of Suffolk, and customers of the utility with the highest rates in the country? Will we cut the onerous cost of energy by some sort of symbiosis between LILCO / Brooklyn Union Gas and LIPA (Long Island Power Authority)? We hope you now have acceptable answers to questions that remained unresolved at the time we went to press. Also high on the historical docket is converting town of Hempstead council elections from an at-large to a judge-ordered district system, to encourage minority representation. Conversely, another court decision mandates reshaping the 12th Congressional District, a Rorschach-blot-shaped pastiche of portions of Queens, Brooklyn, and Manhattan, created in 1994 to facilitate the election of a Hispanic representative.

We await the solutions of these hard cases while focusing on another—the proposal to form Peconic County from Suffolk's five eastern towns, endorsed by seven of ten East Enders who voted last November in a nonbinding referendum. Our State of the Island section offers three articles on the subject: a plea for the new county by one of its foremost advocates, Assemblyman Fred W. Thiele Jr. (R,I-Sag Harbor); an argument against the idea by the distinguished Long Island planner, Prof. Lee E. Koppelman; and a historical preface by Roger Wunderlich, editor of the *LIHJ*.

This issue features the final installment of Charles F. Howlett's study of the Long Island civil rights movement during the turbulent 1960s. Judith Kaslow-Capik examines the crushing impact of AIDS on its Long Island victims. Richard F. Welch sheds light on the Island's little-known role in building the nation's submarine fleet. Walt Whitman's Long Island friend, Elisa Seaman Leggett, is recalled by Joann P. Krieg; Stephen R. Wiist explores the origin and development of the library service at the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy; and Ita G. Berkow evaluates the life and works of Evelina Mount, the last of the Mount family artists, whose paintings currently are on exhibit at The Museums at Stony Brook. An exceptional batch of reviews covers John A. Strong's two new books on Long Island's Native Americans; Suzannah Lessard's controversial biography of

Stanford White; Steve Wick's moving description of North Fork farmers; the history of the town of Smithtown by Noel J. Gish; and John Jiler's account of Hurricane Gloria's devastating attack on Fire Island.

We are now hard at work on the fall edition, which will present, among others, an article expanding our theme of Long Island as America into a long-range theory of Long Island history—how we started, where we have been, who we are and where we are going as we approach a new millennium.

This journal is devoted to honest and thoughtful evaluation of any and every aspect of the history of Long Island. its existence depends on you, its loyal subscribers. Rather than raise our low $15 annual rate, we choose to raise our circulation. Please renew promptly when you receive the brochure for Volume 10. You can significantly advance the cause by subscribing for a friend or dear one in addition to yourself.

STATE of the ISLAND

Editors' note: From time to time we invite concerned Long Islanders to state their opinions of current issues, with or without annotation. This edition addresses the proposal to form Peconic County from the five eastern towns of Suffolk. After a brief introductory article by the editor of the LIHJ, *Assemblyman Fred W. Thiele Jr. (R, I-Sag Harbor) presents the case for Peconic County, and Professor Lee E. Koppelman, director of USB's Center for Regional Policy Studies, explains why he disagrees. We look forward to comments from readers for publication in Fall 1997.*

PECONIC COUNTY: TO BE OR NOT TO BE?

By Roger Wunderlich

To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under heaven: . . .
A time to get, and a time to lose; a time to keep, and a time to cast away . . .
Ecclesiastes 3

Few Long Islanders are neutral to the proposal to form Peconic County from Suffolk's five eastern towns. Supporters hail the project as a long-held idea whose time has come, while opponents scoff at what they perceive as an overpriced delusion. Peconicans (we request permission to use the word) showed their strength last Election Day, when more than seven of every ten people who went to the polls in the five eastern towns voted yes in a nonbinding referendum. However, Peconic County cannot exist until several knots are untied. Will the state legislature authorize a binding vote, as called for by legislation sponsored by Assemblyman Fred W. Thiele Jr. (R, I-Sag Harbor) and State Senator Kenneth P. LaValle (R,C-Port Jefferson)? Would holding this vote require the sanction of the Suffolk County Legislature? And, in the event of a binding referendum, would all Suffolk voters take part or only those in the five eastern towns? Action had not been taken at the time we went to press.

My purpose is not to debate the substantive issues, but rather to set the historical stage. Two disparate principles come to mind. One is the centrifugal force of democracy, the Jeffersonian premise that governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed." Freedom, by definition, endows the five East End towns with the right to depart from their parent county should that be the popular will.

Pulling the opposite way is the centripetal force of unity, the wish for Long Island to speak with the single voice resulting from partial or total amalgam-

ation of Nassau and Suffolk counties. Perhaps progress would better be served by merging our present two counties into one powerful entity, rather than to compound our present fragmentation with still another subdivision and pyramid of bureaucracy.

History provides an ample backlog of precedent to backers of Peconic County, as witnessed by many changes of boundary lines in the more than three hundred and fifty years since Dutch and English settlers arrived at opposite ends of the Island. After the English ousted the Dutch in 1664 and created the province of New York, they combined Long Island, Staten Island, and Westchester into Yorkshire, a shire with three ridings. The first major change occurred in 1683, when the colonial powers abolished Yorkshire, severed Staten Island and Westchester from any link to Long Island, and instituted the county system with Kings, Queens, and Suffolk among New York's original twelve. A second significant change occurred in 1775, in the aftermath of Lexington-Concord, when the patriots of Hempstead Harbor seceded from Loyalist Hempstead to found the town of North Hempstead. New York State, established six days after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, determined that future administrative divisions hinged on special acts of the legislature; accordingly, the de facto separation of North Hempstead from Hempstead was legally approved in 1784. Mainly because of the hardship of traveling from newer to older town centers before the era of paved roads, the legislature authorized Riverhead to part with Southold in 1792, and Babylon to leave Huntington in 1872. In 1898, the three most easterly Queens County towns were excluded when their parent county became a borough of newly formed Greater New York. In response, the three eastern towns—North Hempstead, Hempstead, and Oyster Bay—created the county of Nassau, again by act of the legislature.[1]

One motive for secession is the East End's acute discontent with being so heavily outnumbered by the more densely peopled western towns. Here are the 1990 Census counts for the five western towns of Suffolk, all of which have populations larger than thirty-six of New York State's sixty-two counties:

Babylon	202,889
Brookhaven	407,915
Huntington	181,474
Islip	299,587
Smithtown	113,406
Total	1,205,271

Contrast these with the counts for the five eastern towns:

East Hampton	16,132
Riverhead	23,011
Shelter Island	2,263
Southampton	45,351
Southold	19,836
Total	106,593

Each of the five western towns contains more people than do the five eastern towns combined. Moreover, this greater than ten-to-one preponderance translates into a nine-to-one differential in the Suffolk County Legislature, which has sixteen western members compared with two from the east. Opponents of secession maintain that this imbalance is not an issue, because the Suffolk County government is a responsible, capable guardian of the East End's precious ecology. The Peconic separatists disagree: they believe that they, as residents, are best qualified to protect the delicate balance between development and conservation in their still mainly rural area, which encompasses more than one-third of Suffolk's area.

Obviously, Peconic's population would be small compared to Nassau and Suffolk's, each of which has the much larger-than- normal total of some 1.3 million people. If every county had as many, the number of counties in the United States would be a mere two hundred instead of more than three thousand. Peconic has more than enough inhabitants to qualify for countyhood; like the five western towns, it ranks above the state average, with more people than thirty-six of New York's sixty-two counties.

In their deeply felt conviction that their area is distinctive, Peconicans tend to fasten the label "suburban" on western Suffolk. Although often employed by commentators, "suburban" is an anachronistic word for Long Island, the kind of designation that lingers on long after its meaning is obsolete. Dashing Dan, the symbolic commuter, now represents fewer than one in five Long Islanders, the vast majority of whom work as well as live here. We have been in the postsuburban era for several decades, self-sufficient instead of dependent. Rather than flowing toward the metropolis, traffic originates in the city, with Peconic the destination instead of the point of departure. A growing number of Manhattanites owns or rents East End property, especially in the Hamptons. In fact, a cloud on Peconic's horizon could be the potential imbalance of people and power between its North and South Forks.

Perhaps local pride is the principal engine that powers the drive to secede. The East End has a dramatic mystique, an aura of quintessential Long Islandness, and a deservedly venerated history, geography, and role as the preserver of the ancestral way of life in the face of the western towns' surrender to modernization. Belief in this special identity is shared by Peconic's mixed population of full-time Islanders, summer transients, and occupants of second homes.

Peconicans can credibly claim that its history sets the East End apart. Lion Gardiner, first English settler in the state, arrived on Gardiner's Island in 1639; his friendship with Wyandanch, the Montauk sachem, led to peace between settlers and Native Americans, in contrast to the bloody warfare that characterized the mainland. Southampton and Southold, both organized in 1640, and East Hampton, eight years later, were independent Puritan settlements far beyond the orbit of Dutch or British power. According to the Reverend Nathaniel S. Prime, a nineteenth-century Long Island historian, these eastern towns were "absolutely in a state of nature, possessing all the personal rights and privileges which the God of nature gave them, but without

the semblance of authority one over another." When they linked themselves with Connecticut in the years before 1664, it was not from any doubt that they could manage their internal affairs, "but solely for defence from foreign aggression. And the nature of the union was rather that of an *alliance* than subjection."[2] These scale-model city-states set the tone for the East End's allegiance to freedom, which prompted support for American independence when the break with Great Britain came.

But, as the East End can boast of its heritage, so also can the western towns. The two zones have much in common. Western Suffolk can boast of its Walt Whitman and William Sidney Mount, the East End of its George Frederick Hummel and Jackson Pollock; the west has the grassy Hempstead Plains, the east its Montauk prairie; Sag Harbor and Greenport were whaling ports, and so was Cold Spring Harbor; each side suffered the same British occupation from the end of August 1776 until the late fall of 1783; each can look back to eighteenth-century schools, Clinton Academy in East Hampton and Huntington Academy in Huntington; each witnessed the practice of slavery, each sent its sons to the Civil War and both World Wars, each experienced the Great Depression and turbulent 1960s; each is washed by the same Sound, serviced by the same railroad, plagued with the same high utility rates; each has voted for a Republican in all but three presidential elections beginning with 1900.[3]

If the west is marred by urban-like sprawl, the east is a magnet for outlet stores. Both are intimately acquainted with pollution, high taxes, and the need to provide good jobs and lower housing costs to keep the young on the Island.

The shared experiences that unite us do not preclude a new county in addition to our present two. By the same token, perhaps the oversized town of Brookhaven should be divided north and south. Then again, it is equally reasonable to discuss consolidating our current two counties instead of creating a third.

Before 1898, the history of the Island was that of its three components—Brooklyn, Queens, and Suffolk. An irrevocable schism split the Island when Kings and Queens counties elected to join the city of Greater New York. Never again would Long Island's political and geographical borders coincide. From that time forward, historically speaking, the term Long Island has been applied to Nassau and Suffolk counties, as if our former sister counties had disappeared.

The paramount question may be whether a new county will help or hinder the best interests of non-New York City Long Island. To create Peconic from Suffolk makes enormous sense to the bulk of East Enders, to whom secession and Long Island's advantage are not mutually exclusive. Equally convinced observers cogently argue against the plan. The campaign to found Peconic County is fully in swing but as yet unresolved. We hope that the articles by Messrs. Thiele and Koppelman serve to clarify contending views of this important case history of Long Island as America.

NOTES

1. "General History of Long Island," in *History of Suffolk County* (New York: W. W. Munsell, 1882), 25 26; for North Hempstead, see Adam Herbsman, "His Majesty's Loyal Subjects: Long Island's Tories and the Division of Hempstead Town," *LIHJ* 9 (Fall 1996): 101; for Riverhead, see Richard M. Bayles, "Riverhead," in *History of Suffolk County*, 2; for Babylon, see J. B. Cooper, "Babylon," in *History of Suffolk County*, 1; for Nassau County, see Edward J. Smits, "The Creation of Nassau County, "*LIHJ* 1 (Spring 1989): 178.

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

3. Both Nassau and Suffolk were carried by Woodrow Wilson in 1912, Lyndon B. Johnson in 1964, and Bill Clinton in 1996.

THE CASE for PECONIC COUNTY

By Fred W. Thiele Jr.

There Is No Dispute: The Character Of the East End Must Be Protected

Regardless of your view of the issue of creating Peconic County from the towns of Riverhead, East Hampton, Southampton, Southold, and Shelter Island, one point is beyond dispute: The East End, with its small hamlets, open space, farmland, bays and ocean, and rich history, is a priceless jewel not only for Long Island, but for the entire region. In fact, the Nature Conservancy has designated the East End as one of the twelve Last Great Places in the world.

The East End has truly earned this designation. First, there are the area's vast natural resources. The Central Pine Barrens, with a significant portion on the East End, is New York's third largest state forest preserve. It contains forest lands and endangered and significant species, as well as the region's largest source of drinking water. The East End also is home to thousands of additional acres of open spaces, including farmland, wetlands, beaches, and other open areas. Both the Long Island Sound and the Peconic Bay are part of the federal National Estuary Program. The Peconic River has been designated as part of the state's Wild, Scenic, and Recreational Rivers Program.

The East End is not just rich in natural resources. It is home to the oldest English settlements in the state, as well as to a long history of Native American culture. The area contains significant archeological sites, and an extensive inventory of historic landmarks, buildings, and structures that is unrivalled in the state.

This treasure chest of resources is critical to the unique, rural character of life on the East End. While post-World War II development of Nassau and western Suffolk made those areas synonymous with suburban sprawl, the East End still retains centuries-old traditions, including small rural hamlets and villages, each with its own special flavor and character. Open fields, pine lands, vast expanses of beaches, and pristine waters make the region attractive, not only to Long Islanders but to people across the country and the globe.

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Protecting the Character of the East End Is Critical to the Area's Economy

Consequently, the East End economy still is dependent on the quality of its environment. Suffolk County is first in the state in terms of the value of its agricultural production. Shinnecock and Montauk are the two largest commercial fishing ports in the state. Both generate more value in commercial landings than the port of Boston. Finally, the East End's economy depends on the second-home industry and tourism. Four of every ten residences on the East End are second homes. Second homes represent $10 billion in real estate value on the East End. It is the major reason why the East End generates 23 percent of the county's general fund property tax, although it contains only 8 percent of the county's population. All of these traditional economic bases depend on maintaining open space, water quality, and the beauty of the region.

East Enders Believe That Peconic County Is the Best Way to Protect the Area's Character and Economy

Central to the creation of Peconic County is the issue of what governmental structure will best guarantee that the East End will maintain the unique rural character and environment that are also central to its economic well-being. Is Peconic County the best tool to protect the things we think of as traditionally Long Island, or can Suffolk County do a better job?

East Enders overwhelmingly believe that Peconic County is the best option to protect and maintain the quality of life on eastern Long Island. By a 71 to 29 percent margin, last election day, the territory that would be Peconic County voted to petition the state legislature for legislation that would allow for the creation of Peconic County.

Why? First, we have seen the inexorable easterly march of suburbia across Long Island until it is now at our doorstep. If western Suffolk has not acted to preserve its own open spaces and environment, why do we believe that a different fate awaits us?

In the past decade there have been troubling signs on the horizon. For instance, western Suffolk politicians pushed the idea of a jetport for Calverton as a quick fix for economic recovery, with no comprehension of what the impact would be on the East End's traditional industries. Funding for Suffolk's once nationally renowned Farmland Preservation Program has grown so scarce that the towns have had to pick up the ball and run with it. Twice, the Suffolk Legislature raided the Drinking Water Protection Fund until the voters finally put a stop to it with their own citizen initiative.

For decades, Suffolk continued to press for a four-lane Sunrise Highway extension, long after East Enders had decided against it. In short, Suffolk's focus on East End issues has been intermittent, at best. This is not solely the fault of western Suffolk's politicians. While the East End is a distinct region, it has only 8 percent of Suffolk's population. Legislators are nearly always going to put the needs of their own district first. Consequently, it is inevitable

that the special needs of the East End are going to go wanting when conflicting demands are made for limited resources. When that conflict arises, majority rules.

Peconic County provides the means of ending this unresolvable conflict within Suffolk County government. Home rule for the East End will allow its people to decide its future for themselves, without going hat in hand to the Suffolk County Legislature in which they have only two of the eighteen votes. Suffolk legislators would not have to choose between their own districts and the distinctly different East End when conflicts for resources arose.

Is Peconic County Feasible?

Home rule is a treasured concept in this country. However, East Enders must think with their heads as well as their hearts. We must answer three basic questions. First, can Peconic County attain its goal of protecting the region's unique character? Second, is it financially feasible? Third, will it adversely impact the rest of Suffolk? If these matters can be satisfactorily addressed, democracy requires that the will of the people on the East End be honored.

Peconic County proponents have worked for several years to address these matters. An independent financial feasibility study, completed in 1995, addresses these issues in great depth.

Protecting the East End's Quality of Life

First, can Peconic County protect the quality of life? Some would argue that towns and villages control zoning, and that county government has little to say about quality of life. Any such assertions are dead wrong. County government's role in quality of life is multifaceted. County government is normally the focus of regional development projects such as jetports, ferries, four-lane highways, and other growth-inducing decisions. County public health regulations have a major impact on land use. Further, the county planning commission reviews and acts upon major land-use decisions, which greatly affect the final decisions of town and village governments. Finally, county governments have engaged in major land acquisition programs. Clearly, county government is deeply involved in every community's quality of life.

The proponents of Peconic County have demonstrated a major commitment to the environment. Most important is the recommendation that the Peconic County Charter contain a provision establishing the Peconic Environmental Protection Fund (PEP Fund). The charter would provide that at least $5 million a year be devoted to environmental protection through a dedicated fund. Coupled with the proposed Peconic County Capital Budget, the proposal would guarantee a minimum of $200 million over the next twenty years for open space, pine barrens, farmland, and clean water. The PEP Fund, coupled with town and state commitments, would provide the financial resources to protect the quality of life on the East End. This ironclad legal commitment provides a substantial and consistent source of funding. In contrast, the recent

record of Suffolk has been spotty. The Pine Barrens Fund was raided twice; Robins Island, Fort Corchaug, and the Dwarf Pine Plains are a few examples of open space purchases never completed. The county's commitment to farmland preservation over the past five years has been almost nonexistent. In short, Peconic County has the political will and the resources to protect the quality of life, without the presence of other competing and often conflicting goals. For example, will farmland preservation really get funded when Suffolk County again is forced to bail out its sewer districts by the year 2000?

We can not say for sure that Suffolk will provide the necessary resources to protect the East End. The record is certainly not encouraging, and the current crop of county legislators, with one or two exceptions, is the most anti-environment County Legislature in decades.

The political will of the East End to do the job has clearly been demonstrated. East End towns this past election day voted to spend $14.6 million in town funds for open space. This is on top of nearly $40 million invested on the East End since 1975. The public, with a smaller, more responsive county government, will demand that the commitment to the environment be substantial and consistent. The fact is, they already are doing so on the town level.

Does Peconic County Have an Adequate Tax Base?

Opponents of Peconic County often say that East End home rule is laudable but not affordable. Two reasons are often given. First, it is argued, the East End is so small and rural that it would not have the financial resources to survive as a separate county. In short, the tax base is not available to pay the bills.

The truth is that while the East End does not have heavy industry and large commercial centers, it does have vital second-home and tourist-based industries. Because second homes have a full value in excess of $10 billion, the East End pays 23 percent of the general fund property tax bill. Southampton Town, with 46,000 people, pays more property taxes than either Babylon or Smithtown. The five East End towns, with a combined total of 110,000 residents, pay more general fund county taxes than Brookhaven, with a population almost four times larger. The sales tax situation is nearly as compelling, with 12 percent coming from the East End. The sales tax is a major factor towards determining financial feasibility, because it generates $540 million for the general fund, as compared with about $150 million provided by the property tax.

On the expenditure side of the budget, second homes generate substantial revenue while requiring less in county services. The bottom line is that the East End annually contributes $20 million more in taxes than the cost of providing East End county services.

Peconic County, if created, would have a population larger than thirty-nine of the fifty-seven New York State counties outside of Greater New York. Peconic County's property tax base would rival that of Erie County, which has

a population nine times its size. Peconic County's tax base would be not only viable, but one of the strongest of any county in the state.

Division of Suffolk Assets and Liabilities

The second primary reason why opponents dispute the financial viability of Peconic County is that it would cost the East End too much to buy its share of county property from Suffolk. The truth is that the East End, by paying 23 percent of the property taxes and 12 percent of the sales tax, has an equity in all of the property of Suffolk, not only that on the East End. Peconic County does not have to pay twice for what it already has purchased once.

Peconic County is not seeking a refund of the $20 million annual overpayment of taxes. On the other hand, it does not expect to pay again for assets it already paid off as part of Suffolk. Yet Suffolk officials, without any supporting documentation, argue that Peconic County would have to pay $500 million as part of a division of Suffolk County. Peconic proponents argue the number is closer to $75 million.

The fact is that when Peconic County is created, the division of assets and liabilities will be determined by the state legislature. This body will have 120 years of case law and precedent to guide it in making the division.

What is the state of the law? The United States Supreme Court established the formula for dividing a county way back in 1876, in the case of *Laramie County Commissioners v. Albany County* (92 U.S. 307 [1876]). In that case, Laramie County, Wyoming, was an existing county which had incurred "very heavy expenses," according to the Court, with a debt of about $40,000. The Wyoming Legislature subsequently created Albany and Carbon Counties out of Laramie County, by two separate acts. Laramie was reduced to less than one-third its original size, and lost more than two-thirds of its tax base. Laramie paid the debt and sued the two new counties for reimbursement for their share.

The U.S. Supreme Court stated:

> The rule is that the old corporation owns all the public property within its new limits, and is responsible for all debts contracted by her before the act of separation is passed. Old debts she must pay, without claim of contribution, and the new subdivision has no claim to any portion of the public property except what falls within her boundaries, and to all that the old corporation has no claim.

This 120-year-old case is still the law of the land, cited by a federal district court only last year.

In short, unless the state legislature provides to the contrary, the U.S. Supreme Court would hold that Peconic County would keep all the property within its boundaries, and make *no payment to Suffolk for existing liabilities.*

Regardless of the fact that Peconic County has no constitutional responsibility to assume any of Suffolk's liabilities, Peconic County proponents have

stated they will keep Suffolk whole for liabilities already incurred by paying Suffolk the amount the East End would have paid towards these liabilities if the East End were still part of Suffolk.

This method of division is virtually identical to that set by the New York State Legislature in cases of municipal annexation. There is no reason to believe that a new county would be treated differently.

Thus, based on the East End's 14.4 percent contribution to the payment of liabilities, Suffolk would get a $75 million one-time payment from Peconic County on its first day of existence, financed by a twenty-to-thirty-year bond. There is no legal basis or precedent for the $500 million number pulled out of the air by some Suffolk officials, which would be much more than half of Suffolk's general fund debt.

Peconic County Would Reduce Property Taxes

When an operating budget, capital budget, and the asset/ liabilities division are prepared for Peconic County, it would have a budget of about $130 million as compared with Suffolk's $1.7 billion; 850 employees as compared with Suffolk's nearly 10,000; and a property tax levy of about $17 million a year as compared with the $30 million paid to Suffolk in the study year.

In short, not only is Peconic County financially feasible for the East End, it is financially desirable. The East End could fulfill its goal of protecting its rural character while establishing a lower property tax rate. How? The second-home owner, who represents nearly half of the East End's residential tax base, while requiring minimal county services, provides the money to fund the environment and reduce taxes, instead of subsidizing western county services that are never used on the East End.

Impact on Suffolk County Residents

From a fiscal point of view, the impact on remaining Suffolk taxpayers would be virtually negligible. First, remember that Suffolk would get a one-time $75 million payment, rather than waiting fifteen to twenty years to get the money from taxpayers to fund annual debt service. Second, the net loss of $20 million because of the division represents about 1.2 percent of the total budget of Suffolk County, and about 7 or 8 percent of the total Suffolk property tax levy.

This does not even factor in the opportunity for the remaining area of Suffolk to focus its county government on western Suffolk services. The opportunity for consolidation and other efficiencies could give Suffolk a leaner, more efficient, and cost- effective government if it seizes the opportunity.

In summary, the impact on the Suffolk taxpayer would be minimal. First, county taxes represent only about 10 percent of the total tax bill, with schools, towns, and special districts making up the remainder. Second, even the worst-case scenario for Suffolk would have a single-digit impact on county property

taxes. The bottom line is that Peconic County's impact would be imperceptible to remaining Suffolk taxpayers.

The other benefits to western Suffolk residents and other Long Islanders would be substantial. First, they could be assured that the things that attract them to the East End such as swimming, fishing, winetasting, or pumpkin picking would be protected by a focused county government and determined citizenry.

The *Peconic County Financial Feasibility Study* (1995) provides that all Suffolk residents would continue to have access to Peconic County parks, with the same fee structure that applies to Peconic County residents. Further, the study provides that the East End properties such as the jail and eastern campus of the community college could still be used by Suffolk, if it so desires. Again, the creation of Peconic County should have a minimal effect on the county services and programs they receive, even those that are East-End based.

Conclusion

The best way to protect the environment and economy of the East End is to create Peconic County. This will eliminate the constant conflict for resources between the different and conflicting regions of Suffolk. Not only is this goal attainable and desirable, it can be accomplished while maintaining affordable and stable tax burdens for both affected counties.

Finally, it must be emphasized that Peconic County proponents want this division to be amicable. We believe that cooperation, not conflict, must govern the actions that lead to the creation of Peconic County. This cooperation must live long beyond the creation of the new county, if Long Island as a region is going to thrive.

To date, western Suffolk politicos have expressed a knee-jerk opposition to the creation of the new county. Why? Unfortunately, the answer is that they have been motivated more by a desire to maintain their political turf and power base. This blatant self-interest has prevented them from taking an objective and fact-based analysis of the issue of Peconic County. For no matter how good Peconic County may be for the public, they cannot get beyond their own petty political considerations.

Average Suffolk residents are not burdened by the cancer of political self-interest. They can weigh the pros and cons objectively. When they do, they will conclude that there is nothing to fear from the creation of Peconic County. Rather, by letting go, which is sometimes hard to do, we can see a part of our region reach its full potential without any harm to the rest of the region. For the same reasons that western Suffolk residents consistently support Pine Barrens preservation by a more than 80 percent margin, they should support Peconic County.

For once, let us hope that the merits triumph over politics as usual. If they do, Peconic County can help make this region a better place for all Long Islanders.

PECONIC COUNTY: THE MYTH and the REALITY

By Lee E. Koppelman

Introduction

The recent general election of November 1996 contained a nonbinding referendum which allowed the voters of the eastern five towns of Suffolk County to express their sense of whether or not a new county—Peconic County—should be created by secession from Suffolk County. A resounding three-fourths of the electorate were affirmative.

Since all election responses are in some degree expressions of self-interest, enlightened or otherwise, it is a matter of significant concern for observers and practitioners of government to understand why certain preferences are chosen. Motivations of the initial proponents of a particular public policy must be discounted. It is immaterial if the end sought is to satisfy personal political objectives, or venal attempts at financial gain, or spring from the highest altruistic commitments of dedicated visionaries. The issues of real consequence are to fathom and understand why the unafflicted private citizens pursue a new direction.

In 1978, Proposition 13 in California, first proposed by Howard Jarvis and Paul Gann, passed overwhelmingly because the property taxpayers anticipated a reduction or at least a cap on the assessment levied on their homes. It did not matter that Jarvis was fronting for a segment of the real estate lobby.[1]

Secession from Suffolk County was promoted on the grounds that the cost of government would be less expensive and the retention and enhancement of quality of life of the eastern rural towns is not possible within the existing county structure. It is impossible to discern whether the tax issue was definitive in the majority of voters choices. The wording of the referendum did not ask if the voters would be positive or negative if taxes would increase after separation. In fact, the campaign for passage stressed the opposite.

Nevertheless, the ballot response was clearly a strong expression of preserving the perceived quality of life represented in the ambience of the small historic hamlets and villages surrounded by large areas of farms and undeveloped woods, with easy access to a variety of maritime experiences. The latter concern is indicative of the strength of the environmental movement which has galvanized public opinion for more than three decades. And this leads to the crux of this article.

Does the achievement of such an obviously noteworthy goal depend on secession? If so, then all is lost. Although I believe secession will not succeed,

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fiscally or politically, it is at best a multi-year effort. Unfortunately, time is no longer on the side of preservationist goals. Real estate and development pressures are strongest in eastern Suffolk than anywhere else in the Nassau-Suffolk County region.

The political genesis for the secession of Suffolk County's five eastern towns was entwined with the debates over the impact of *Baker vs. Carr*, and the attempts to reconstitute the board of supervisors according to population. Concerns were expressed by elected officials and political activists that in place of fifty percent of the vote then in place, the power of the eastern towns with less than 10 percent of the population would, in effect, amount to disenfranchisement. After the creation of the Suffolk County Legislature, this problem was exacerbated in that the individual towns were not only not represented in county governance, but the legislators chosen would further erode even a 10 percent representation since all eighteen legislators could, in fact, be chosen from the western five towns, with Brookhaven-based choices representing eastern geography within their districts.[2]

County Executive Peter Fox Cohalan appointed the chair of the Reapportionment Committee following the 1980 Census, with only one instruction. He felt every effort had to be made to insure that two of the eighteen legislative districts be designed to cover the North and South Forks. Since each district was to represent 70,000 persons—give or take 10 percent—it was possible to achieve this goal by extending each East End district into the town of Brookhaven. This effort succeeded and the active striving for secession was significantly, if only temporarily, halted.

Another factor giving currency to the move towards separation was the urbanizing pressures affecting Suffolk County since the end of World War II. Throughout the more than three centuries' passage from the mid-seventeenth century until the post-World War II period, Suffolk remained a mostly bucolic, rural, agricultural set of communities, predominantly in the eastern towns. The total population of the county by 1940 was 197,000 persons. Much of western Suffolk was undeveloped. The county seat was at Riverhead, and with the exception of the war-induced growth in the town of Babylon near the aerospace firms, the other towns were sparsely populated. Then the floodgates opened. Favorable FHA and VA mortgaging, coupled to the pent-up demands for housing occasioned by the almost two- decade Great Depression and the end of the war, with the return of more than ten million service people moving into civilian life and anxious to normalize their lives, transferred Suffolk into the fastest-growing county in the U.S. between 1950 and 1960. The growth went from 276,000 to 667,000, or 141 percent, in just one decade. The transformation was dramatic and resulted in an inescapable shift of power and perspective.

A western seat of county government was created at Hauppauge, which immediately eviscerated the importance of Riverhead as the focus of county government. Pressures from the new citizens, used to urban services they received in New York City, placed new demands on the western towns and

their supervisors, who began to make the county board of supervisors more responsive to new programs. The resulting increase in county spending was anathema to the eastern supervisors, whose towns generally lacked a growing real property assessment, and whose conservative citizens were generally opposed to tax increases or expanded government.

In short, Suffolk was, to some observers, two disparate halves—the West End and the East End. Indeed, to some at that time and to the present, the thought "and never the twain shall meet" was and is a truism. Thus, one of the realities is that there is a sincere and dedicated segment of East End citizens who are convinced that their optimal possibility for retaining what they perceive to be a venerable and historic quality of life, and the physical entities inextricably bound to that objective, can be obtained only through secession.

Proposals for the secession of the eastern five towns of Suffolk County in order to create New York State's sixty-third county have periodically surfaced during the past four decades. However, the first in-depth attempts occurred in 1979, when a Five Towns Peconic County Committee was established. Irving Miller, a former auditor for the Suffolk County comptroller's office, was retained to produce a fiscal analysis which hopefully would indicate not only the viability of the new county but that county taxes for the eastern towns would decrease. It was not a great surprise when the Miller Report, released in October 1979, reached both conclusions.

A subsequent report, dated 28 November 1979, by New York State Assemblyman John L. Behan (R-Montauk), supported the secession movement. Behan soon thereafter introduced a bill in the state legislature on 25 March 1980 to amend the county law to facilitate the creation of Peconic County.[3] The attempt failed to clear committee consideration and was dropped.

Several explanations account for the failure. There was little enthusiasm from the members of the assembly and senate from Long Island—particularly since the Suffolk County Legislature did not adopt a home role message resolution supporting the breakup of the county. Another factor was the long held antipathy against secession movements by the New York City government, including their state representatives.

More locally, Suffolk County Executive Cohalan, while paying lip service to the eastern residents by ostensibly taking a neutral stance, declared that, "I have stated on several occasions that I firmly believe in the right of our citizens to have a voice over their government's structure." He nevertheless emphasized the seriousness of such a move and strongly cautioned that the citizens should have all the facts before them so that they may exercise their vote in the most aware fashion. He then directed the planning director to work jointly with the county executive's budget office and county attorney's staff to undertake a study to independently examine the legal and fiscal consequences of secession on the new county. In addition, the legislative budget review office was simultaneously examining the potential fiscal impact on a remaining Suffolk County in the eventuality of a split.[4]

The inescapable fiscal conclusion of the county executive's study was that separation would result in a substantial 40 percent county tax increase for the

new county. One could reasonably wonder how nonpartisan professional technocrats could reach such diametrically opposite conclusions. Were the numbers being "cooked" by either or both sides? After all, numbers pertaining to the same services should be expected to coincide. The answer lies not in the statistical methods chosen, nor in the unit costs per governmental service, nor in some nefarious scheme to make or break the issue. Quite simply, the sizeable differentials occur due to the basic assumptions chosen on which the hypothesis of fiscal savings or increased costs would result.

The Peconic County advocates assumed the new county would be a "bare bones" entity with fewer functions, fewer employees per capita, and differentially lower salary scales. Major flaws in the analyses that flow from this minimal model is the scarcity of data on issues of first year start-up cash needs, the equitable resolution of existing long and short term debt, the lack of provision in the Miller budget for general fund transfers to a capital fund, the provision of adequate staffing and level of services, and the rights and salaries of existing county employees who would be affected by the separation. In short, the Miller budget was based on an earlier age that is not applicable to twentieth-century governmental operations or requirements already mandated by federal and state laws. Another shortcoming was the lack of a multiyear budget. Even if the first year would be one of severe budgetary constraint, how would Peconic County cope with subsequent years? A proper treatment of these issues alone indicate the necessity of a county tax increase.

An even more formidable cost obstacle the new county would have had to contend with, that perhaps outpaces all the other shortcomings in the Miller budget and the Behan introductory legislation, is the matter of equitably dividing the assets of Suffolk County. Behan proposed that county real property shall be owned by the county in which it is located. In the case of property located in Peconic County for which there is limited, or no need, it is assumed that joint ownership or leasing agreements would suffice. Such an approach is obviously in Peconic County's favor. A further assumption was that separation would be friendly and harmonious, and that Suffolk County would amiably concede all issues in order to facilitate the separation. The assumption by Peconic proponents of a non-contentious disposition of assets was hardly realistic.

Active attempts to create Peconic County went through a hiatus of almost a decade and one-half until Governor Mario M. Cuomo provided financial support to conduct studies of the economic and fiscal impacts of secession. An East-End Economic and Environmental Institute, Inc., commissioned the firms of Public Financial Management, Inc., Beveridge & Diamond, P.C., and Hawkins, Delafield & Wood to prepare a financial feasibility study.[5]

The financial feasibility portion of the report was comprehensively well done from a professional and technical point-of-view. However, similar to the Miller Report of 1979, the conclusions were foregone. The consultants satisfied the desired outcome expected by their clients. One of the major findings is that Peconic County taxpayers would achieve a 50 percent

reduction in the property taxes they currently pay. This is based on the following assumptions:

1. Peconic County would provide fewer services than those provided by Suffolk County.
2. There would be reduced costs of salaries and benefits.
3. They would contract out services, either through privatization or with Suffolk County.
4. There would be reduced insurance and indemnity costs.
5. There would be an elimination of any East-to-West subsidy.
6. There would be a restructuring of debt payments.
7. The resolution of the issue of the equitable distribution of the costs of lands and buildings would be achieved by the divestiture method of allocation.

The integrity of the feasibility consultants is evidenced in their concluding paragraphs in the Summary & Conclusion portion of the report:

> This report reflects a vision of what an independent Peconic County can be. It is by no means the only vision of a sustainable and financially feasible County. It provides a framework for continued progress toward the formation of Peconic County and raises issues that need to be revisited in order for an orderly secession to be achieved.
>
> It is believed that the underlying assumptions provide a reasonable basis for these estimates. *However, any forecast is subject to uncertainties. Inevitably, some assumptions will not be realized, and unanticipated events and circumstances may occur. Therefore, there are likely to be differences between the forecast and actual results and those differences may be material.*[6]

Despite these caveats, Assemblyman Fred W. Thiele Jr. (R, I-Sag Harbor) and other Peconic County partisans attempted to rush the process by promoting a nonbinding resolution placed before the voters of the eastern towns in the November 1996 election. The promoters stressed the issues of home rule and the anticipated tax reduction. It was therefore not surprising that the response was strongly positive. What did not occur, however, was a placement before the voters of all the facts.

One of the key elements in tax reduction is the division of assets and liabilities. The consultants recognized this impediment by stating, "The ability to create an equitable division of assets and liabilities is critical to the success of any allocation and valuation method."[7]

They further recognized that either the historical method or the accounting valuation method is fraught with complications and would be difficult if not impossible to achieve agreement. Therefore, they recommended the divestiture method. Although this is a slight improvement over Behan's approach, there is absolutely no incentive for Suffolk County to accept this method. (It is

analogous to the concept that if a wife put her husband through medical school and invested $10,000 to do this and then the doctor divorced her after twenty years of marriage, the wife would be entitled to only the $10,000 back.)

Suffolk County's assumption would be that lands and buildings in the eastern five towns be appraised at current market value, and that Suffolk would be reimbursed for that amount less the contributions made by the eastern towns for those costs and for eastern towns' contributions to land and buildings in western Suffolk. Under this assumption, taxes in Peconic county could increase over existing conditions substantially. To avoid this obvious dilemma, it was also proposed that of all the fixed assets of lands and buildings, and equipment, Peconic County would take only those assets which it found absolutely necessary to operate. Why should Suffolk keep assets in Peconic County just to benefit Peconic County? The county executive and legislature are obligated to fully protect the interests of their citizens.

Recognizing the validity of this position, the consultants sought other remedies. They suggested that Suffolk County could sell the assets to recoup money to purchase similar assets in the remainder of Suffolk County. Moreover, the parks and P.D.R. farmland would belong to Peconic County—but they would only pay Suffolk County a portion of the debt; or 14.39 percent of the value.

They further suggested that Suffolk County would share facilities, e.g., the Forensic Science Laboratory Medical-Legal Investigations and Suffolk Community College, with Suffolk retaining ownership of buildings and lands in Peconic county. *Why?* What possible incentive is there for Suffolk County to retain facilities that serve Peconic County?

Another area of contradiction is their claim that Peconic County would be fiscally sound due to the anticipated strong growth in property-tax ratables from the great growth in second homes. This claim is a true conundrum. The desire to control growth, maintain the rural ambience and provide "bare-bones" government is diametrically in opposition to promoting more growth in housing and population. No consideration was given to the fact that seasonal housing has shown a tendency to be converted to year-round use. Even if more houses would be viewed as a plus, any increase in permanent residents inescapably would result in the need and demand for more public services. Without a commercial/industrial tax base, taxes would inescapably increase.

Under existing current conditions any reductions in county services would more than likely shift the burden to the towns. Every instance of the federal or state government cutting programs or support for programs has produced a shift of these costs to the local units of government.

The concluding portions of the consultants report contains a debate and proposed structure for Peconic County to be ruled by a weighted board of supervisors. Without wasting time on this issue, suffice it to say that such an arrangement would not be immune from judicial attack. This could be costly, and, if Peconic County lost, it would be forced into a county legislature system.

In any event, from a fiscal point of view this is not a linchpin concern.

In summary, it is truly unfortunate that the political proponents of creating Peconic County did not attempt to provide the citizens with a more complete presentation of alternative concerns and costs upon which the voters could have arrived at a more informed decision. Suffolk County, one of the original twelve counties of the state of New York, has not been subject to a boundary change in more than three centuries. A venerable history indeed. Furthermore, Suffolk County has never in its history benefited from its political clout through its legislative delegation, population size, and political party strength as it currently achieves. Secession of Peconic County, with one assemblyman and limited population, would lose some of the existing advantages of combined strength.

Several of the facts cited to support the difference between the eastern and western towns include the relatively low density of population per square mile for the East End in contrast to the heavier population per square mile for the western five towns. The different nature of the economic structure is also identified. The western five towns have a diverse commercial economic base, while the eastern towns rely predominantly on tourism, local governmental services, and agriculture.

However, the two strongest issues raised by the proponents of secession are the desire and the need to control the destiny of development in order to preserve their perceived quality of life. Coupled to this desire is the claim that the creation of Peconic County would result in a lowered county tax burden commensurate with a bare-bones rural style government.

Both of these issues, as presented by the proponents of secession of the East End, are certainly subject to severe examination. While the objectives must be accepted as a sincere desire, their realization falls more in the path of myth than reality.

Control of Land-Use Decisions

Proponents of Peconic County pursue the argument that if the patterns of development that represent their perception of what must be preserved is to be achieved, they must separate from Suffolk County. This argument is totally fallacious, as seen from a historical recitation of the efforts to preserve the East End, and a legal examination of which governments, in fact, control the destiny of development in the eastern towns.

On the first point, it must be understood that if there is a desire to preserve the rural, bucolic ambiance of the eastern towns, strong measures have to take place to acquire large tracts of open space for conservation and recreation purposes. A second requirement is to insure the control of density in order to avoid transforming a rural area into a suburban one.

A realistic examination of what has occurred over the past thirty-seven years clearly demonstrates that Suffolk County's open space program, initiated by County Executive H. Lee Dennison and supported by every succeeding executive and members of the Suffolk County Legislature, who predominantly

represent the western five towns, has been committed to the same objectives voiced by the proponents of secession—namely, to maximize the quality of life and bucolic setting found in the eastern towns. In fact, western Suffolk County residents have overwhelmingly supported massive funding programs to achieve these objectives, despite the resistance from the East End communities to virtually every one of the county's efforts to preserve parks and farm lands. An examination of tables 1, 2 and 3 clearly indicates that the preponderance of lands saved by Suffolk County's efforts were of direct benefit to the eastern towns. It should be noted that in the majority of instances it was the eastern towns who initially resisted these programs by arguing that these lands would be taken off the tax rolls, and that these massive county programs were unnecessary since the eastern communities had plenty of open space. The fact that these open spaces were in private hands, subject to development, did not deter the resistance to these vital programs.

One of the linchpins of preserving the quality of life of the East End would be to maximize the preservation of the extant farms found in four of the five eastern towns. After all, it is these agricultural lands that provide the setting for a rural set of communities. Here again, it was Suffolk County's efforts, launched by County Executive John V. N. Klein in 1974, which led to the seminal farm preservation program, including the concept of the purchase of development rights, which has now been copied by more than half the states in the nation. It was also Suffolk County which encouraged the towns of Southampton, East Hampton, and Southold to piggy-back the county's program with their own funding resolutions in order to maximize the effectiveness of the program. Table 4 once again demonstrates how western Suffolk County was willing to fund the farm preservation program, in which the majority of acquisitions are in eastern Suffolk County. Analogous to the open space program, representatives of the Farm Bureau initially mounted strong opposition to the county's efforts to save these farms. Fortunately, Suffolk County fully recognized the symbiotic relationship between tourism, which is the overwhelmingly major part of the economic base, and the need to preserve farms. It is the rural setting, in addition to the marine resources, that make the East End so desirable.

It can categorically be stated that if the East End had to fund these programs independently, it would not be able to provide the capital resources for accomplishment. In fact, if secession were to take place, and Suffolk County insisted on an equitable refund for their investments, that issue alone would guarantee a sizeable tax increase for the eastern five towns. On the claim that secession would provide better control over development, the reality is that the towns and villages of the eastern five towns, as well as all similar municipalities in the entire state of New York, are in virtually absolute control over the pattern of development within their borders.

Table 1
Inventory of County Parks
Five Eastern Towns
1994

Name	Acreage
East Hampton	
Cedar Point County Park	608
Hither Woods	558
Koppelman Preserve	777
Montauk County Park	1,069
Northwest Harbor C.P.	365
Six Pole Highway Preserve Area	12
Stony Hill Woods	42
Airport Preserve	110
Underwater Parkland	348
Total	3,889
Riverhead	
Indian Island Golf Course	156
Robert Cushman Murphy Park	1,841
Wading River Nature Preserve	1
Indian Island County Park	274
Total	2,272
Shelter Island	
Ram Island	16
Total	16
Southampton	
Clam Island Nature Preserve	23
Cranberry Bay Park	359
Dwarf Pine Plains	958
Flanders Preserve	101
Hampton Hills	2,144
Maple Swamp	1,396
Meschutt Park	9
Old Quogue Road Nature Preserve	13
Old Squires Road Nature Preserve	19
Peconic River Park	265
Poxabogue County Park	35
Sabin Property	154
Sears Bellows County Park	979
Shinnecock Canal	217
Shinnecock Canal Marina	7

Shinnecock Beach County Park (east)	89
Shinnecock Beach County Park (west)	475
Suffolk Hills	1,281
Shinnecock Indian Fort	8
Sagaponack Greenbelt	99
Noyack Greenbelt	7
East Quogue Watershed	20
United Artists	371
Hubbard County Park	1,815
Long Pond Greenbelt	67
Total	10,911

Southold

Cedar Beach	68
Deephole Creek	2
Goldsmith Inlet	55
Great Pond/Peconic Dunes	68
Inlet Point Pond	39
Orient Point County Park	49
Wicopesset Island	2
Total	281

Grand Total 17,369

Table 2
Summary: County Parks
Five Eastern Towns

Name		Acreage
East Hampton		
County Parks	**Total**	3,889
Nature Preserves		19
Acquired by special ¼ of 1 percent sales tax		929
Open Space		568
Riverhead		
County Parks	**Total**	2,272
Nature Preserves		118
Acquired by special ¼ of 1 percent sales tax		265
Open Space		752
Shelter Island		
County Parks	**Total**	16
Southampton		
County Parks	**Total**	10,911
Nature Preserves		1,320
Acquired by special ¼ of 1 percent sales tax		3,538
Open Space		1,873
Southold		
County Parks	**Total**	281
Open Space		51
	Grand Total	**17,369**

Note: County Parks denotes total acreage.

Nature Preserve, Acquired by special ¼ of 1 percent sales tax, and Open Space represent those portions of the county park acreage by those special programs.

Table 3
County Park Acreage by Towns
Western vs. Eastern
1994

Western Towns		Eastern Towns	
Babylon	348	East Hampton	3,877
Brookhaven	8,326	Riverhead	2,272
Huntington	1,455	Shelter Island	16
Islip	1,596	Southampton	10,889
Smithtown	1,034	Southold	280
Total acres	12,759	**Total acres**	17,334

Table 4
County Farm Development Rights Acquired by Towns
1994

Western Towns	Acres	Eastern Towns	Acres
Huntington	51	East Hampton	124
Smithtown	64	Southampton	693
Islip	11	Riverhead	3,473
Brookhaven	47	Southold	1,083
Total	173		5,373

All zoning actions, whether the creation of new zoning elements, the rezoning of properties, all the standards set forth in such zoning codes, can only be initiated by the towns and villages. The county of Suffolk may review such actions, but the ultimate decision is in the hands of local government. The same is true for subdivision actions. In short, Suffolk County except by influence, can not override the local decision process. With rare exceptions, neither can the state of New York. There are only two classes of action that can be taken by the state, other than regulating environmental management as conducted by the department of environmental conservation, where the state can exercise control separate from the elected town boards. The first instance was the result of the Tidal Wetlands Act of 1972, whereby NYSDEC can stop development in the tidal and freshwater wetlands, and the second instance was the creation of the recent pine barrens legislation affecting Riverhead and Southampton, wherein the Suffolk County Pine Barrens Commission has the ultimate jurisdiction over development patterns within the defined core area of the pine barrens. But even in this instance, two of the five members of the state-appointed commission include the supervisors of Riverhead and Southampton, who, in effect, are able to maintain local control over the decision process.

The history of zoning in the eastern communities, similar to the resistance experienced in the open space and farm programs, was one of strong resistance to Suffolk County's efforts to preserve the eastern communities by pushing for five-acre zoning and mandatory clustering, in opposition to the general practice of developing properties as small as 20' x 100' up to a maximum of one acre. If the county had not been successful, after many difficult years of promotion, the density patterns in the eastern communities would be just as suburban as found in the western communities.

In fact, the density argument that is cited by the proponents of secession, while numerically correct, is somewhat misleading. Calculations of the population per square mile were arrived at by dividing the number of people into the total square mile area of the East End. If the open space lands are subtracted from that total area, and the density is calculated on the actual suburban communities that exist in the East End, where in many instances—e.g., Shelter Island, Southold, Southampton—the average property-lot development is half-acre, then the actual suburban development pattern would be no different than that found in western Suffolk County.

Therefore, it must be recognized that secession would not add one iota of control over local development practices than exists now. In fact, the eastern towns right at the moment could take a number of steps that have been recommended over the years by county and regional planners to enhance the objective of preserving the quality of life.

Action Steps to Preserve Eastern Suffolk County's Ambiance

The following nineteen actions can be initiated without secession.

1. East Hampton could take steps to purchase the development rights for Gardiner's Island, so that that unique and priceless 3,400-acre environmentally and historically important property could be preserved in its present status in perpetuity.

2. Pending such action, the town of East Hampton could limit the development potential of Gardiner's Island by increasing the zoning requirements in order to reduce development potential.

3. The town of Riverhead, which is still zoned one-acre residential whereas western Brookhaven is zoned five-acre residential, should immediately upzone to two acres.

4. The wineries located in Riverhead and Southold should immediately be upzoned to a minimum of five acres, similar to actions taken for five-acre zoning the towns of Southampton and East Hampton.

5. The Special Groundwater Protection Area created by the Long Island Regional Planning Board's Special Groundwater Protection Area Study for the town of Southold should immediately be upzoned to five acres.

6. In addition to the farmlands protected by the Suffolk County program, there are thousands of acres of farms in eastern Suffolk that are in state agricultural districts. This program is basically a holding action which gives the farmers a tax reduction for an eight-year period. Efforts immediately should be taken to acquire the development rights in order to insure the protection of these valuable lands in perpetuity.

7. Residential development in East Hampton, Southampton, Riverhead, and Southold should be constrained in the existing hamlets, rather than to be allowed to sprawl through the entire towns.

a. The Ramapo process, which allows for time zoning, should be considered and acted upon. This would mean the towns should identify those areas that they wish to see preserved, and rezone those properties to ten acre zoning in order to discourage leap-frog development practices.

8. All commercial zoning should be severely limited. All vacant, currently zoned commercial lands should be analyzed and reverted to a zoning category more compatible with the desire to preserve a rural setting. The town of Brookhaven, to the west, has completed such an analysis and has acted upon hundreds of parcels.

9. The concept inherent in the pine barrens program should be extended by the towns of Southampton and East Hampton, to include the maximum preservation of the 34,000 acre Pine Barrens Forest that straddles the border of the two towns.

10. Housing development, to the extent possible, should be designed through clustering principles to maintain a strong buffer between the housing and the farmers in order to avoid the incompatibility of irrigation, fertilization, and the

use of farm equipment practices that tend to conflict with nearby housing developments.

11.The resistance to highway widening, except for highway safety purposes, is another factor in preserving a rural atmosphere.

12. The continued growth of the South Fork, with the impact on highway congestion and accidents, requires additional capacity. The only new corridor that can be utilized without a negative impact on existing communities would be to utilize the existing Long Island Rail Road right-of-way with perhaps some additional width for the creation of a new limited access road that could provide direct limited access from western Southampton to the village of East Hampton. This road perhaps could be east-bound on Friday and Saturday, and west-bound on Sunday and Monday if there is not sufficient room for it to be a two-way road.

13. In order to maximize farm preservation, a revolving fund should be created so that any farmer who is inclined to sell to developers could, instead, find immediate purchase from the farm bank fund program.

14. Utility poles should be eliminated with the burying of all electric, cable, and telephone lines, which would be an aesthetic improvement and a protection from storm events.

15. The commercial fishing industry could be further bolstered, beyond Suffolk County's efforts in spending several million dollars to provide facilities at Shinnecock and Greenport, by providing additional facilities and encouraging the acceleration of mariculture development.

16. Fort Pond Bay could be considered as a major tourist opportunity in terms of seaport-type attractions.

17. Control of non-point source runoff to Peconic and Flanders Bays can be achieved in part by creating a beaming program, particularly on agricultural lands, so that irrigation and storm water effects would be retained on-site instead of leaching into the marine environment.

18. Further open space acquisitions such as at Long Pond, Breakneck Hall, etc., should be completed.

19. Consideration should be given to absolute population limits based on the shallow groundwater aquifers found in the eastern towns, in order to prevent draw-downs, protect surface streams, and prevent saltwater intrusion.

Of course, the implementation of many of the above nineteen recommendations requires a strong infusion of funding. It is more than doubtful that the eastern five towns, acting on their own, could achieve these objectives. Thus, secession would in fact work against the very objective of "saving the East End."

NOTES

1. For Proposition 13, see Douglas Jeffe,"Prop 13 Ten YearsAfter, Currents 307 (Nov. 1988):20-23.

2. Lee E. Koppelman, "The Quest for a Suffolk County Legislature," *LIHJ* 8 (Spring 1996): 177-87; *Baker vs. Carr*, 369 U.S.186 (1962) was the landmark case in which the U.S. Supreme Court established the "one person, one vote" principle.

3. S.8887/A.10984

4 Suffolk County Executive Peter F. Cohalan, *Impact of Proposed Peconic County: A Report to the Suffolk County Legislature* (Hauppauge, May 1980), 52 pp. and appendix.

5. *Peconic County Financial Feasibility Study*, August 1995, East-End Economic & Environmental Institute, Inc.

6. Ibid., 21.

7. Ibid., 147.

THE LONG ISLAND CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT In the 1960s, PART THREE: MILITANCY and BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

By Charles F. Howlett

In the aftermath of antiwar protests and racial riots in the late 1960s, a special presidential commission composed of Governor William Scranton of Pennsylvania, James E. Cheek, president of Howard University, retired Lieutenant General Benjamin O. Davis, the nation's first African American general, and Bayliss Manning, dean of Stanford Law School, offered the following observation on the civil rights movement:

> In the mid-1960s, with the dawn of black consciousness, a new generation of young Blacks began the pursuit of social justice—the pursuit of equity and parity in the American society. They began to demand access to, and participation in, all of the opportunities, rewards, benefits, and powers of America—not on the basis of race or even of citizenship but on the basis of their very humanity. In the movement for civil rights, one could say that the battle was fought largely in terms of being American citizens, but in the new and developing struggle for social justice, it is regarded as being waged in terms of being human beings.[1]

The premise that racial rights were human rights served to escalate the movement from "awakening" to "militancy" and "black consciousness." Although the 24th Amendment (1964) prohibiting the poll tax, the Voting Rights Act (1965) eliminating literacy tests, and the Civil Rights Act (1968) barring discrimination in the sale or rental of housing marked "a watershed in the transition from segregation to civil rights," African Americans "rebelled in the mid-1960s with unprecedented violence." According to Robert L. Harris Jr.:

> From 1964 to 1968, there were some 329 riots in 257 cities across the nation. In the worst outbreaks—Harlem, 1964; Watts, 1965; Newark,

1967; and Detroit, 1967—the precipitant was the "routine arrests of Negroes for minor offenses by white people." The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, in a survey of attitudes held by residents in riot cities, reported that police practices were the major grievance followed by unemployment and inadequate housing.

For many African-Americans "it was clear that much more was required than the legal definition of their status as American citizens." The civil rights historians August Meier and Elliott Rudwick conclude that, paradoxically, "the trials and success of the integrationist protest movement after 1960, by producing heightened self-esteem among black men, also encouraged nationalist tendencies."[2]

Those nationalist tendencies were already apparent on Long Island. In early January 1964, an African American from Hewlett expressed his dissatisfaction: "You the white men are very quick to point out the advancements of other ethnic groups who have experienced discrimination...Somehow you always leave out the basic difference between the two groups—color. Some ethnic groups are discriminated against because of religion, the spelling of one's name and so on, most of which can be changed if desired. The Negro enjoys no such privileges. One's color can never be changed."[3]

A significant battle was fought to integrate volunteer fire departments. In early 1964, an African American (who was president of the Wyandanch Republican Club) accused the local department of "negligence and prejudice," contending that two of ten men who wanted to join were told there were no vacancies. Wyandanch, a predominantly African American community, did not have one black in its fire department. Lincoln Lynch, of CORE, wished "these people every success in their efforts" and promised that CORE was ready to help. A *Newsday* survey found that "of 15 fire department officials throughout Long Island, all said their departments did not discriminate though none...had a Negro member. Each of the chiefs said no Negro had ever applied to his department." Perhaps that was because none was encouraged to apply. There were no African Americans in Nassau's seventy-one volunteer departments, and, aside from the all-black Gordon Heights department, only one (in Southold) among Suffolk's 110. The state NAACP director, Dr. Eugene Reed, replied that his organization would press the legislature to compel the objective selection of firemen.[4]

Such allegations led to renewed efforts to halt the practice of blackballing. In 1966, eighty demonstrators picketed the Selden Fire Department protesting the recent "rejection of a Negro's application for membership." Counter-pickets distributed leaflets saying: "How Can the Other Group Move Up? Improvement, not Integration Should Be the Objective." This year generated increased militancy. At a meeting of the Nassau Firemen's Association, fifteen demonstrators picketed the East Norwich Firehouse on Oyster Bay Road in a

protest organized by the Long Island Coordinating Committee for Civil Rights. The picketers' signs read "Stamp Out Fires and Bias," and "Extinguish Racial Bigotry." One protestor stated: "This is a problem statewide, not a local problem. I'm seeking to make the point that if I weren't black I could get into a fire department."[5]

Civil rights groups recognized the esteem each community gave its fire department, a volunteer service based on sacrifice and patriotism. Racial prejudice had no place in an organization trained to save lives and protect property. At the June 1966 Merrick Fire Tournament, sponsored by the Southern New York Volunteer Firemen's Association, two members of CORE staged a dramatic protest. In front of three thousand horrified spectators. Lincoln Lynch and Harold Trent interrupted the competition:

> At about noon they vaulted a waist-high wire metal fence and lay down face-up in the path of a truck of the Hempstead "Yellow- Hornet" team, about 300 feet away and approaching at an estimated speed of 70 MPH for a ladder climbing time trial event. [T]he truck screeched and skidded and barely made it through a 15-foot space between Lynch's feet and a five-inch curb... No arrests were made.

Lynch maintained that, "What they're doing is killing the hearts and souls of thousands of us. We resent this last bastion of the bigot north of the Mason-Dixon line."[6]

Despite mounting protest, by 1966 only four of the Island's 182 volunteer departments accepted African Americans. State Supreme Court Judge D. Ormonde Ritchie refused to dismiss the NAACP's suit seeking elimination of the Deer Park department's requirement for prospective members to have two sponsors who belonged to the department, and other "membership tests which every applicant, regardless of color, would be required to take." In winter 1967, the Hempstead Village Board clashed with rights groups over blackballing, with angry words and threats exchanged by Mayor Walter B. Ryan and CORE chairman Mel Jackson. CORE insisted that no progress on integration had been made for the past eighteen months. At the heart of the issue was Hempstead's requirement that six firemen sign an application in support of a candidate. After a shouting match, Ryan had Jackson removed by the police. Gerald Taylor, of Harlem, a student at Staten Island Community College and state president of the NAACP Youth Division, threatened to bring four hundred people to "tie up Hempstead in boycotts and demonstrations." Ryan, incensed, warned that any disorder would be put down with "guns if we have to." After Ryan called Taylor "a little punk," Taylor challenged him to "come down here and say that." Rights activists warned that the attitude of the mayor and village board risked Hempstead's being "made an example in the North like Selma was..in the South." Some thirty people, mostly "young Negroes, then marched from the room singing, 'We shall not be moved.'"[7]

As pressure to integrate the department mounted, the Hempstead Human Rights Commission charged that the Fire Council "has shown disregard for the

concerns and recommendations of the village leadership or what, in the opinion of many, is in the best interests of the village." The Fire Commission was not pressing the 425-man, all-white fire department "sufficiently hard to desegregate." Mel Jackson, who replaced Lynch when the former assumed a position in CORE's national council, insisted that "The only thing that will impress me is positive action. I've heard words too long." Shortly after the commission's report, the Hempstead Fire Department recommended that its ten companies change their method of membership selection, including

> publication in local papers of notices of openings in specific fire companies, the rules and regulations of membership application and an assertion that membership is open to all [prospective new members need not find five sponsors], and orientation meetings for prospective applicants to meet firemen and learn what is expected of firemen.

Jackson remained skeptical: "Nothing short of the acceptance of a black man in the department is acceptable."[8]

Despite its overture, the Hempstead department remained segregated through 1969. Four African Americans, Thomas Watts, Howard Young, Robert N. Johnson, and Albert Brown charged discrimination. Watts, the manager of a men's furnishings department in Westbury, went to several firehouses but "they couldn't sponsor me because they did not know [the] men that well." At a State Division of Human Rights hearing all four testified that

> they were able to obtain applications...with no difficulty but were frustrated in their attempts to find members of the department who would act as their sponsors. The department requires new members to have the endorsement of five firemen and three property owners of the Village of Hempstead. All said that they had no trouble getting the property owners' signatures.[9]

As in housing, integration of the Island's fire departments took a long time and acts of prejudice were hard to forget. Dr. Eugene Reed, presently the federal compliance officer for affirmative action in the town of Babylon, recalled a dispute concerning his bank balance.

> The clerk...told me to recheck my figures because "You people are always messing up your accounts." I refused to leave before a review...and it wound up the bank had made a mistake.... A few years later I went to cash a check and was asked for my welfare card. I demanded a letter of apology which I never received. I withdrew my accounts from that bank, but the treatment...drove me to become so active in the civil rights movement. [9]

Elsie Owens, a past president of the Brookhaven NAACP, recalled "a tremendous amount of discrimination in employment. I myself was discriminated against. There was more racism on Long Island than there was in New York City." While a SUNY maintenance worker, she decided to take a stand:

> There were very few blacks on the staff...Even those that were really weren't teachers, they were aids or something like that. The other black employees were afraid to do anything about the treatment because they didn't want to lose their jobs. The supervisors would use scare tactics to stop them from affiliating with me.

The State Division on Human Rights, however, found insufficient evidence of alleged discrimination.[10]

Throughout the 1960s, workplace discrimination was monitored carefully, with earlier efforts by CORE involving Sealtest and various banks setting the tone. At the Bourbon House Restaurant in Syosset, a veteran labor relations consultant, Clayton F. Mugridge, noted that the nation's largest corporations had made little progress toward "offering blacks equal job opportunities 'on any level but the lowest.'" Yet Joseph Fitzpatrick, chairman of the Personnel Directors' Council of the Long Island Association, observed that the biggest problem was finding "Negroes with appropriate education and experience for white-collar jobs." He added that Long Island "companies have had minimal success in recruiting such persons, seeking leads from current Negro employers and from civil rights groups and the Nassau Human Rights Commission." Persistence succeeded. In 1967, the newly created Hempstead Employment Opportunity Corporation's chairman, Clarence Newallo, announced that "A private undertaking...to find at least 400 new jobs for village Negroes. The $36,000 program is operating without government help of any kind, depending completely upon money contributed by local business leaders." Some of the bigger firms participating were LILCO, Abraham & Strauss, and New York Telephone.[11]

Affirmative action programs opened the door but did not guarantee job security or advancement. At the end of the decade the Island's largest employer, Grumman Aircraft, symbolized African American frustration over job security. In August and September 1969, Grumman faced protests by its own employees. Robert Caupain, chairman of a black watchdog group called Big Brothers, urged that the "principle of seniority [be] waived in layoffs until the number of Negro employees at Grumman increased, particularly in skilled positions." At one lunch-hour demonstration, "as many as 40 Negroes were called to back charges that blacks and other minority group members have been disproportionately represented in the number of workers laid off since mid-May." Demonstrations continued into the end of September. At one gathering, some fifty demonstrators at the employment office carried signs reading: 'How the hell can we get seniority if we get laid off?' and 'At

Grumman blacks are last to get hired and the first to get fired.'" Grumman 's only response was that seniority was "a major factor in the layoffs."[12]

Such factors drove the civil rights movement into a militant stance by the middle of the decade, combining traditional strategies with new forms of aggressiveness. On 10 March 1964, six thousand people joined an NAACP-sponsored march on Albany urging new civil rights legislation. Eugene Reed called on legislators to: "Increase to $1.50 the state's minimum wage; legalize rent strikes; guarantee free tuition at state and city colleges; prohibit discrimination by fire departments receiving state financial aid; and eliminate the literacy test for voting and substitute a sixth-grade education as a requirement." Lynch announced that CORE would "launch a voter registration campaign in Westbury, New Cassell, Manhasset, Great Neck, Roosevelt, Freeport, Lakeview, Rockville Centre, Glen Cove, and Hempstead." The way to power was still through the ballot box.[13]

The momentum quickened in 1965. In March, Catholic dioceses across the nation presented "a chain of Christian indignation against the human misery" inflicted on Negroes in Selma, Alabama. Priests and nuns from the Diocese of Rockville Centre joined religious protestors from all over the country to march against racial discrimination. Father John Henry noted: "Although I protested in Selma, this was not only directed against the events there, but also against the racial injustices found right here...on Long Island." Sister Marie Eucharia added: "I can hope that the presence of Sisters in the confrontation with the armed forces of the law will arouse locally and throughout the country the consciences of Catholics who feel no concern for underprivileged people."[14]

Spurred by events in the South, "More than 3,500 Negroes and whites demonstrated in seven LI communities...in a memorial to the Reverend James J. Reeb, who was killed last week in Selma, and in support of civil rights in Alabama." At the largest demonstration, in Hempstead, fifteen hundred persons including Nassau County Executive Eugene Nickerson, marched from Hofstra University to a rally at President Street Mall. Nickerson told the marchers that it was not enough to condemn Alabama,

> for Nassau County itself is not a paragon of virtue....If there are citizens deprived of their right to vote because of the color of their skin, there are also citizens who are deprived of decent housing in Nassau County and for the same reason. If there are citizens in Alabama condemned to lives of grinding poverty because of the color of their skin, there are also citizens of Nassau County condemned to a similar future and for the same reason.

At Mitchel Field, Lynch told a crowd that, "The time has come for us to get off our knees and stand on our feet." Some seven hundred rallied in front of the FBI Office in Garden City to hear Dr. Lloyd Delaney declare: "[T]here's a basic flaw in the doctrine of nonviolence...If the first Jew in Germany had shot

the first Nazi to come to his door...the world would not have witnessed the extermination of six million Jews." Delaney's **provocative** remarks signified the shifting temperament of the civil rights movement. However, some in the crowd shouted, "No, No," and "You're wrong." Rabbi Harold Saperstein of Temple Emanuel, Lynbrook, "was greeted with loud applause when he disagreed with Delaney." In East Northport, five hundred persons marched to the public library "carrying placards deploring the treatment of Negroes in Selma." Another 150 in Commack "sang hymns and...heard the Reverend Theodore Boe of Holy Cross Lutheran Church say, 'the only way to love God is to love people.'" In the largest of Suffolk's three demonstrations, some 275 people marched five miles from Bay Shore's South Shore Mall to a rally in front of Islip's town hall, bearing signs proclaiming, "Help Selma Win the Fight," "Selma Is a Disgrace to the Nation," and "In Memoriam, James Reeb, 1965." Other rallies took place in Patchogue and Riverhead.[38]

The highlight of 1965 was the May appearance of Martin Luther King Jr, arranged by CORE both to show him the slums and segregated schools and apartment houses in one of the most affluent parts of the country, and to continue the focus on civil rights. Also, in the government's expanded military involvement in Vietnam, "proportionately more Negroes (30 percent) than whites (18 percent)...were drafted." According to the historian, John Hope Franklin: "Negro Americans assumed a strong moral position as they became more articulate in the area of peace and freedom for the world. They praised America's goal of a world community of peaceful nations. They were quick to point out, however, that in order to achieve such a goal, discrimination, race hatred, and segregation must be replaced by equality for all citizens at home."[16]

Greeted by cheering crowds, King toured the communities of Inwood, Long Beach, Rockville Centre, Lakeview, and Hempstead. In Lakeview, the center of the Malverne School crisis, he proclaimed that, "Racial segregation is evil whether it is in Selma, Alabama, Atlanta, Georgia, or Malverne, Long Island." At Long Beach, he stated that, "We are tied together in a single garment of destiny...We cannot continue to perish on a lonely island of poverty in a sea of prosperity. we are tired of de facto segregation in the North and legal segregation in the South...We want all the rights any other citizen has." By the time his motorcade reached the Island Garden Arena on Hempstead Turnpike, a tired and hoarse King told an audience of more than five thousand: "There are people even in the state of New York living in slum conditions. There is much work to be done if justice is to be a reality." Joining him on the speaker's platform was Bayard Rustin, organizer of the 1963 March on Washington. Rustin told the audience that, "We should not be sending the U.S. Army thousands of miles to the east, sending men to Vietnam to defend democracy which Congress has the chance to do but is not doing, is not only hypocrisy. It is the utmost stupidity." His views were supported by Lynch: "It is significant that this country spends more than one and a half billion dollars to support a...pointless war in Vietnam and less than half that amount to fight the real war, the war against poverty." Finally, John Lewis, National Director

of SNCC and now a Georgia congressman, put the finishing touches on the rally: "We're saying we want free elections in Saigon, in Vietnam and Santo Domingo, but we need free elections in Alabama."[17]

King's appearance called attention to the race problem. Throughout 1965, there were numerous reported allegations of discrimination. In one case, some white children "were arrested for burning a cross and taping fire crackers to the windows" of an interracial couple's home. The culprits simply stated: "We learned it by watching the KKK on TV and hearing about the devastations they have done in the South, on the news." A barber in Smithtown told an African American woman who had taken her son for a haircut, "I don't know how to cut blacks' hair." He proceeded to cut it, charging more than the regular price. The boy's hair was a mess, so the mother took him to another shop, only to be told, "We are closed." Shortly, a white male entered the same shop and had his hair cut. One of the main indignities occurred when the Massapequa school board refused to allow a popular off-Broadway production, *In White America*, to be performed at the high school, on grounds that it might provoke controversy. The play, by a former Princeton history professor, Martin Duberman, was "a series of vignettes featuring the readings of historic documents dealing with the agonies and aspirations of the Negroes from days of slave ships to the integration struggle at Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas." The school board claimed it had "the job of providing education for children and not to get embroiled in controversy where it is possible to avoid it." However, Judith T. Marechal, the producer, claimed the play had been shown in high schools and colleges throughout the nation: "It's the type of play that people won't buy tickets for unless they are interested in the Negro's problem. If this is a policy of the board, then I think the policy ought to be changed...The only controversy seems to be on the school board."[18]

These incidents, coupled with civil rights complaints alleging police brutality and insensitivity, ultimately transformed the movement. In an earlier signal of militancy in February 1965, Lynch urged leaders of national civil rights groups to permit members to defend themselves if attacked during demonstrations:

> After having been stripped of every right in American society is the Negro now to be stripped of this last basic, elemental right, the right to defend himself, his loved ones and his property?....It is still my feeling that we should never, on any account, initiate any form of violence. But where attacked we should defend ourselves. It should be made clear to racists that they can no longer attack picket lines...with impunity.[19]

Simultaneously, white skepticism regarding black separatism and militancy increased. The widow of the late Rabbi Walter H. Plaut withdrew her endorsement of a benefit honoring her husband's role in a 1961 "Freedom Ride." She criticized SNCC, in particular, for limiting participation of white

persons and aiming for political power instead of integration. Denying the argument that "Only black people can understand the problem of the black community," she noted a "change in SNCC's program...I just feel there's a trend toward racism, a separatism."[20].

As African Americans "grew in racial pride, they displayed a sharply rising interest in...the call for black leadership within the civil rights movement, based upon the growing belief that Negroes through their own power, could bring about dramatic changes in American society." Black-power consciousness was expressed "in numerous ways from creating black caucuses in religious, professional, and political organizations to adopting handshakes, hairstyles, and African dress. Black writers, poets, artists, and musicians fostered Black consciousness in their work." After becoming CORE's associate director, Lynch proclaimed that "Black Power is here to stay," announcing ambitious plans for all-black trade unions, farm co-ops, and work training programs from Baltimore to Watts. According to Meier and Rudwick, CORE "became predominantly black as it expanded in 1962-64. Its 1965 convention adopted a constitutional amendment that officially limited white leadership in the chapters; by 1967 all of its national executives were blacks, and a year later whites were totally excluded from active membership in the organization."[21]

By 1966, some African American communities on Long Island took matters into their own hands as frustration with police reached the boiling point. In the three-hundred-home Carleton Park section of Central Islip, an area "carved out of flat, dry bush field and potato farms...to provide neat, inexpensive housing for employees of nearby Central Islip State Hospital," a riot broke out during which "a group of Negroes shot and wounded one white policeman and beat another who went to his rescue." An African American driver had been arrested for speeding near the home of his sister, where a party was going on. When a crowd gathered and some from the party "grabbed the revolvers from the policemen and started shooting," the sister was arrested "for allegedly leading twenty persons...in an assault on two policemen." She, in turn, charged the police with "beating my brothers for the last six years." To calm matters, Suffolk Police Commissioner John L. Barry informed the county's Human Relations Commission that he "would begin assigning veteran police officers to attend courses on problems of minority groups now given only to rookies." W. Burghardt Turner, the NAACP leader, seemed reassured, declaring, "This is something I have been urging for the past two years or more and I'm glad to see the commissioner moving in that direction."[22]

Yet nothing prepared the police for the mid-summer riot in North Amityville, the object of many problems, including poverty, crime, and racial insensitivity, compounded by the school integration issue. The emerging "new-style riot," symbolizing black militancy, involved few whites except for the police and National Guard. Meier and Rudwick attribute the changing climate to "raised...expectations" of the "black masses...[who], disillusioned by the relatively slow pace of social change...have become more restless and militant than before." That applied to Amityville, where, at a shopping-center

rally sponsored by an anti-poverty agency, "an angry crowd of more than 300 Negroes gathered at the arrest of two Negroes." The purpose of the rally, attended by Police Commissioner Barry, Suffolk County Executive H. Lee Dennison, and Babylon Town Supervisor Gil Hanse, was to "open up lines of communication between the Negro community and police and civic officials." The meeting featured by complaints about the school system, abusive language by police, including the word "nigger," ghetto conditions with nearby white neighborhoods "deliberately excluding Negroes," and that "A Negro has to be a superman to get an ordinary job." When the meeting ended and "bands of young Negroes" began chanting "black power,"

> about 20 youths moved toward an Associated Food Store in the shopping center, kicked in the glass-paneled door, and smashed a plate glass window with a trash can. As the few police on hand moved toward the disturbance [arresting two youths] they were showered with rocks and bottles and called for reinforcements. Within minutes, extra police began arriving—150 officers wearing riot helmets.

Throughout the evening, "rocks, bottles, and Molotov cocktails were thrown at patrol cars in scattered incidents."[23]

By 1967, the black power movement was popular among the Island's younger African Americans. Calvin Cobb had proclaimed himself leader of a new Black Panther group in North Babylon the previous fall. "We want our own police, our own mayors, our own schools where they teach the black man's point of view," he told the press. In August 1967, a three-day riot broke out in Wyandanch, another high-poverty, high-crime area, when strained relations with the police exploded. On 1 August, eleven fires were set, widespread destruction to storefronts took place, and numerous cars traveling on Straight Path were stoned, among them vehicles driven by police and firemen. Seven African Americans were arrested during attempts to restore order. By the end of the year, a group called the Invincible Black Militia, which was pressing for a traffic light at Allen Drive and Northern Boulevard, Manhasset, "marched into the Valley School gymnasium in step and took up positions in three lines at one side of the room." After the group had taken over a meeting attended by seventy-five people, including North Hempstead Supervisor Sol Wachtler and engineers from the State Highway Department, its vice president, Benny Beck, announced: "We are black people. They don't intend to give us nothing unless we show we demand it."[24]

Early 1968 before King's assassination witnessed only one major confrontation. when Westbury High School was closed for three days, and the junior high for two. The Westbury schools had been the subject of a less acrimonious integration debate than Malverne's or Amityville's, but racial tensions peaked late in March in a "fight between 20 white youths playing ball in the Westbury Junior High School field. Six or seven Negroes walked across

the field threatening the white boys and arguing with them." Two black teenagers were arrested for slashing two white boys. African Americans accounted for about 36 percent of the student body, yet felt woefully under represented in school. After the incident, classes were dismissed "to allow community leaders to meet with the students to cool off some tempers." School board president Carl Lindborg, after meeting with community groups, at once authorized the district to: "Seek qualified Negro teachers (about 30 now employed); create two new posts, dean of students and guidance counselor, and offer both positions to qualified blacks; expand vocational training and more guidance counselling for those not college-bound; and offer a course in Afro-American history next fall." A biracial student organization was also created as liaison between student body and administration.[25]

On the same day that Westbury High School reopened, an assassin's bullet felled Dr. King in Memphis, Tennessee, where he was organizing the Poor People's March,

> a last attempt to shame the national government into paying attention to the black plight, which new legislation had failed to ameliorate. Housing was still segregated, and schools as well as jobs were hard to come by; black hopes, roused in the preceding decade of struggle, seemed once again to have been dashed on the rock of some more pressing priority—this time, the war in Vietnam...diverting money from the war on poverty.

The following week, "Riots broke out in 125 cities nationwide; Washington, D.C., was the worst, although Chicago and Detroit and Philadelphia were also hard hit." Stokely Carmichael "led a march down 14th Street [which] swelled into a riot." In all, "Forty-six people died; more than twenty thousand were arrested, and fifty-five thousand federal troops and National Guardsmen were called out to deal with the emergency."[26]

White Long Islanders reacted with shock and disbelief. Ralph Hess, of Valley Stream, "felt that he was one of the few guys trying to look after the problem without violence. Its going to hurt. I'm afraid there's going to be a lot of trouble." Mary Ann Domin of Hempstead remarked, "I think all hell will break loose, if it hasn't already." An Oceanside housewife, Kay Sanker, expressed dismay: "Horror, just horror, that's my reaction. It's a disgrace. No, I can't say that I was a great admirer of his but he was a man of peace and this is a terrible, terrible thing that has happened to him." Among African Americans, John Head, a Hofstra student, commented that, "King had a lot planned for the summer. I would look to him when I felt I was being wronged and he would hold me back from violence. The same thing was true for Kennedy. They were both killed because they did not believe in white supremacy." Ottley Holmes, of Wyandanch, sounded the alarmist note: "They said it would be a long, hot summer. Well, this is fuel for the fire."[27]

Except for scattered incidents, the fire did not spread. Long Island was home to large numbers of middle-class African Americans, who did not

experience the same conditions as those in the cities. Ironically, rioting suddenly stopped as the African American "protest movement became increasingly fragmented and ineffective...the growing disunity...rooted in the frustration of radically heightened expectations, and in the extraordinary problems involved in achieving genuine equality for the black poor." Another reason was a series of reforms, which, although lacking genuine substance, created a perception of change. Among them were "more political power for blacks, police review boards [and] a variety of job programs." In addition "was the realization that ghetto blacks were the chief victims of ghetto violence." With the assassination of Robert Kennedy in June, coupled with presidential candidate Richard Nixon's call for "law and order," the populace turned to alternatives shunning violent protest.[28]

The year 1969 began on a note of remembrance as students celebrated King's birthday. In schools, youth centers, churches, and neighborhood poverty centers in Nassau and Suffolk, "speeches were read, prayers were said and tributes were paid to the slain civil rights leader." Nine school districts closed—Roosevelt, Freeport, Hempstead, Westbury, Glen Cove, Wyandanch, Amityville, Central Islip, and Copiague. In a show of defiance, two hundred white students at Long Beach High School, "angered by a school board decision that only Negro students could be excused to attend memorial services at the [Martin Luther King] youth center [left school and] went to the youth center where black students put on a two-hour memorial program." At Manhasset High's planned forty-minute ceremony, 220 students walked out, half of them white, and "marched down Northern Boulevard to Community Drive, linking up with about 100 Great Neck South High School students, most of whom were white, who had left classes with permission to attend services at Mount Olive Baptist Church."[29]

Racial tension in high schools escalated in 1969. By this time, black consciousness had taken hold of younger African Americans, now ready to defend racial pride and racial justice regardless of the consequences. Malverne, no stranger to such controversy, became embroiled in a lengthy conflict in February and March. The trustees and the superintendent, James S. Carnrite, left the 11 February meeting

> when students requested that they discuss their proposals for more courses in black literature and history; two or three advisory seats on the board for Negro student representatives; the closing of the district schools each year to commemorate the birthday of the late Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., and more black teachers and a black guidance counselor in the school.

Forty percent of the students in the building were African American. During the second week of March, some 350 students joined in protest. On the third day, "black students walked into the cafeteria at 8:45 A.M., sat down, and

vowed they would not let anyone eat. They played records by African singer Miriam Makeba...though warned by the police that they would be arrested if they did not leave." Carnrite suspended 150 student protestors. The following week, "about 75 Negro students assembled in front of the school before classes began and performed a voodoo ceremony by sticking pins into a dummy which represented...Carnrite. They went to classes after the 20-minute ceremony."[30]

Efforts at reconciliation at Freeport High School were of no avail. An eighteen-year-old white senior, Eugene Goldman, established an "All-White Action for Racial Equality." Seeking to institute more black literature and history courses, an issue district administrators argued had been addressed, Goldman felt rebuffed by African-American classmates: "When the whites ask the black students what we can do, they tell us to leave them alone and just do our own thing. So we will. May be this way we can really show them that we do care." He was naive. One unmoved African American senior stated: "I can't see white and black students working together. I would prefer that they form their own group rather than work with us." By the end of the month, racial discord had struck. On 24 April, "two black males were stabbed and one white male was beaten during a rumble. On the 25th another incident took place. Blacks and whites fought in the cafeteria, hurling tables and chairs, injuring several students and a Freeport Village policeman." Black students threw rocks through the windows, and numerous students were suspended.[31]

Colleges and universities had made more headway in establishing Afro-American history departments and introducing more black literature courses, yet they, too, experienced ugly moments. On 28 May, during the evening meal in the Hofstra University student center, a "group of blacks challenged a white student, [varsity football player, Jeff Firestone] over a racial leaflet that had been distributed on campus." More than a dozen people were injured, none seriously. The anonymous leaflet that led to the fight was mailed to some faculty and posted on campus: "Attention! the black students at Hofstra are DEAD!!! Negroes are not Hofstra! Hofstra is full of NEGROES!!! Beware! The pig has them in his pen and is feeding them." Forty African American students went to Firestone's table where he sat eating with other football players:

> Punches were thrown and plates, cups and saucers flew. Then the students spilled outside onto the main mall, where about 300 whites and 150 blacks confronted each other while faculty members and student leaders circulated, eventually bringing calm. About 40 Nassau policemen were called to the campus to aid college security police.

Part of the cafeteria was "left in a shambles with several windows shattered, chairs and tables broken and china smashed."[32]

Black and white students at Central Islip squared off at the school, armed with tire irons, chains and sticks. Police were called and a patrolman fired three warning shots to disperse the crowd in what "apparently was the first

time that shots have been fired on Long Island school or university grounds during disturbances." Eleven black and white students were suspended for three days. The source of contention was Soul Village, an African American youth center in the heart of the business district. A number of white homes and businesses had been hit with fire bombs, leading many residents to lodge complaints citing the center as the source of black violence. From late May throughout the summer, community groups worked hard to quell tensions. On 28 August 1969, the Central Islip Task Force, composed of forty community organizations reached agreement with the school board to head off "renewal of racial tension" when the new school year began. Proposals implemented included: a noncompulsory black studies program; hiring eleven new black teachers, raising the number to twenty-seven out of a total of ninety-six at the school; hiring a black guidance counselor; establishing a student involvement committee; listening to black students' concerns at board meetings; more access to and availability of college prep courses for black students; and a free lunch program.[33]

Nonetheless, the fall term began on a sour note. On 11 September, classes at Amityville Memorial High School were interrupted after an African American student, Ronald Welden, "suffered severe lacerations when his arm broke a section of glass in a door." Welden claimed that a social studies teacher, Kerry Doran, threw him into the glass door, prompting African American students to demand that Doran be suspended and, ultimately, fired. Ignoring Irwin Quintyne, CORE's Suffolk chairman's call for an investigation, student protestors took vigilante action.. After a confrontation in which the principal, Ed Cap, was "punched in the face, scratched and kneed by a single assailant," many students were suspended. Hoping to ease the tension, civil rights activists met with village leaders. Following three hours of discussion, the mayor and trustees contended that it was a school jurisdictional matter. During one board of education meeting "a group of about 150 black parents and students...gathered...to protest what they called a lack of response to their demands for Doran's suspension." The principal's car was "vandalized in the school parking lot. Windows were broken, tires were slashed and the antenna was broken off." Understandably, Cap took a leave of absence for health reasons. In early October, the board reached a compromise solution by finding "no cause for action against either the teacher or the student." Protestors were not satisfied and continued to call for disruption of classes and vocal demonstrations during board meetings. Francis Conlon, the exasperated president of the board, commented that "we've been playing games, but now we have to get drastic." The board was granted an injunction barring Quintyne, twenty suspended students, and five parents from going on school property to "demonstrate, picket or interfere with the administration of the school." Throughout October, "renewed and vigorous protests.... interrupted the 'routine' school day." According to the student newspaper, the *Echo*, "Bomb threats, false fire alarms, a vandalized car, harassment of teachers,

broken windows, minor fires in lavatories and on the stage, enthusiastic demonstrations, suspension of students, and almost daily meetings of either Board of Education, Faculty, administrators or community groups highlight the intensifying activities." By November, with a new principal in charge, order finally was restored.[34]

Conclusion: Beyond the Sixties

Rising racial tension, especially in public schools, symbolized the arrival of black power consciousness. Civil rights protests lingered in 1970, and racial conflict persisted, especially in the high schools. In January, Bellport High School was closed "after a series of fist fights and scuffling broke out among 100 black and white students." In March, when a fight erupted in the cafeteria at Hempstead High, fifteen hundred students were sent home and the school closed. At Glen Cove High, the start of the 1970-71 school year was greeted by fighting between blacks and whites.[35]

The issues of zoning and housing also captured headlines, most obviously in the ongoing struggle in the town of Oyster Bay. Eyebrows raised when Nassau County Executive Eugene Nickerson supported NAACP demands "for a state zoning appeals board that could override local zoning in communities that refuse to make housing reforms. Nickerson's plan would also have the state reimburse communities, school and tax districts, for their loss in property taxes." Though Nickerson claimed his plan would "guard against the creating of new ghettos and depressed areas,'" communities were reluctant to accept such a **sweeping** proposal.[36]

The length to which certain communities would go to avoid dealing with the race issue was exemplified in September 1970, when both the Massapequa and Amityville school boards "turned down a request from residents in a small slice of southeastern Nassau County that their school district be changed from Amityville to Massapequa." The Massapequa district was all-white, and the area in question—a strip between Carman's Road and County Line Road and the Southern State Parkway and South Oyster Bay—was predominantly white. The East End Civic Association had written to State Education Commissioner Ewald P. Nyquist, requesting that "the 1,500 students in the area be transferred into the Massapequa School District because 'We are a geographical part of Massapequa and pay taxes to the Town of Oyster Bay and feel we should be part of the Massapequa School District for practical reasons." Although East End's vice president, James W. Reed, maintained that "most of the residents live closer to the schools in Massapequa than to those in Amityville. Changing districts would cut transportation costs," the Amityville board president, Robert Hammel, rejected the request: "[The] board voted against such a change because it meant a loss of 1,964 taxpayers and some school property while upsetting the racial makeup of the district. About half of Amityville's 4,700 students are black." The Massapequa board, fearing the prospect of some black students in their schools, skirted the issue by arguing that it would overcrowd the district. The board did not say it

rejected the request in the name of racial justice for Amityville.[37]

Meier and Rudwick conclude that,

> Behind the revolutionary phrases of the black power militants is a profound desire for an equal share and an equal status in American society...[The] central thrust of Negro protest, aiming at the inclusion of black men in America on a basis of full equality, is not truly radical at all. For black protest has always been firmly embedded in the basic values of American society. It aims not at their destruction but at their fulfillment.

According to Robert L. Harris,

> The transition from segregation to civil rights, which began after World War II, reached a turning point in 1954 with the *Brown* Supreme Court decision, and a watershed in the mid-1960s, when the citizenship rights of Afro-Americans were written into law. On paper, there had been a transformation from second-class to first-class citizenship. In practice, however, the struggle to enjoy the fruits of first-class citizenship remained."[38]

In 1990, *Newsday*'s ten-part series, "A World Apart," pointed out that "almost all of Long Island's black neighborhoods exist quietly segregated from white Long Island." Lee Smith, a Lakeview resident and retired New York City detective, observed: "Lakeview is a nice community and I enjoy living here but it is not good for race relations on Long Island simply because we are living in a segregated society." Segregation still exists, despite legislative and judicial successes, and prejudice drives segregation. A respiratory care practitioner from Central Islip, Blondelle Taylor, stated: "I think so long as you're black, no matter how much money you have, you can never get away from it. I don't think you can ever get away from it." A survey showed that "most blacks said that conditions for blacks have gotten better, not worse, in the past 10 years and will get better in this decade. Yet, slightly fewer than half the blacks in the poll rated current conditions as good or very good. Whites on each of these questions, were substantially more optimistic about the conditions of blacks than blacks were themselves."Some 57 percent of African American children were concentrated in eleven of the Island's 126 school districts. School segregation "is caused by Long Island's housing patterns, coupled with its independent, community-based school districts. Because most blacks are segregated in a few communities, the public schools serving those communities are predominantly black." During the past twenty years, "many black districts have become blacker and some white districts have become whiter."[39]

Underpinning this is the historic problem of racism. Hugh Wilson, Adelphi

University's director of suburban studies, provides the central theme to race relations on Long Island:

> It's important for people on Long Island to see there is segregation and there is racism—to be faced with the reality of it, the documentation of it. There is an assumption by white suburbanites that they are, in the main, moderate and not bigoted. They either refuse to admit or do not understand the extent to which bigotry has become pervasive..

He adds: "White suburbanites on Long Island would be greatly surprised at how much bigotry, outright racism, exists here."[40] Middle-class African American families trying to move into integrated neighborhoods have faced the same "discrimination, hostility, rejection. Some have been able to persevere, but most have been unwilling or unable to fight the system." The majority has been shunted to communities that amount to black reservation with inferior schools and services, that "soon become dumping grounds for welfare families and breeding grounds for crime." Long Island mirrors the experiences of America. As the issue of affirmative action takes center stage, one fact remains startlingly clear: "Black America is still a substantially separate world. Blacks are by far the most residentially segregated ethnic group [in the United States]." The 1960s' civil rights struggles on Long Island provide testimony for this tragic fact.[41]

Yet, tragic as prejudice may be, Long Islanders should neither wallow in self-guilt for past injustice nor compromise present movement toward racial cooperation. For the past two decades, educational programs have sensitized a new generation to believe in and practice tolerance. Correspondingly, victims of discrimination are learning not to alienate potential supporters by lumping bigots with decent folk and charging all whites with racism. The premise of Long Island as America applies especially to the issue of racial harmony: we Islanders can play a special role in proving our devotion to the heritage of democracy.

NOTES

Author's note: Students in my American History Honors Class at Amityville Memorial High School, and in my Main Themes in American History and Twentieth-Century Protest in America courses at Adelphi University, greatly facilitated the research and writing of this article.

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[see Natalie A. Naylor, ed., *Exploring African-American History* (Hempstead: Long Island Studies Institute, 1991), passim]; "Prejudice: A Fact of Life," *Newsday*, 17 Sept. 1990; "Education," *Newsday*, 18 Sept. 1990.

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AIDS on LONG ISLAND: THE IMPACT of CATASTROPHIC ILLNESS

By Judith Kaslow-Capik

The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 abolished federal entitlement programs, thus ending an era of commitment to social supports dating back to the New Deal. As welfare and social services systems are dismantled at both the federal and state levels, only programs most voters demand, such as Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid, are being retained. Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and AIDS provide a microcosm for examining the past failures and future restructuring needs of these programs.

Providing for the care and support of the disabled and elderly will continue to be a concern for taxpayers into the twenty-first century. HIV/AIDS is now the leading cause of death among Americans twenty-five to forty-four years of age, and persons with AIDS (PWA's) are major users of health care and social support systems. How these systems have failed PWA's on Long Island during the early 1990s illustrates the importance of supports in a middle- class, postsuburban environment, with nation-wide implications for restructuring and improvement.[1]

This analysis of both the private and public meaning of HIV/AIDS for the middle class begins by summarizing the current epidemiology of AIDS on Long Island, and then furnishes a brief history of those federal benefits which still exist and are generally accessed by PWA's. Interwoven are case studies compiled from 1993 through 1995. Finally, the article examines the impact on the middle class, individually and collectively.

Middle class, an amorphous term which researchers have struggled to define, is used here in its broadest sense to include persons from a wide income and occupational range *who think of themselves as middle class*. They work at steady jobs and live a consumerist life style. The case studies show that whether blue- or white-collar workers, they are or desire to be homeowners, are subject to payroll and real estate taxes, own cars, and purchase goods on credit.

The case studies represent many conversations over the course of months or even years, as well as knowledge of the personal lives of PWA's and their families obtained through home visits and contacts with medical and social service providers. The studies show what HIV/AIDS service providers know,

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but statistics tend not to reflect: the face of AIDS is *not* solely that of a homosexual or a poor person of color. The face of HIV is also that of a middle- or working-class person, white, black, or Hispanic, male or female, who *becomes* an impoverished person with AIDS. This work explores the problem of AIDS, both in terms of personal tragedy and of its impact on the public tax base for services.[2]

Middle-Class AIDS

AIDS can quickly transform the most comfortably well-off person's status to that of financial ruin. Most work as long as possible after being diagnosed HIV+ in an attempt to maintain continuity and a sense of purpose and normality. For many Long Islanders, such as Sam, the prime motivation is to hide their health status as long as possible from coworkers, friends, and family. Sam lived in a good neighborhood with his wife and preschool son, earning about $60,000 per year. He found out he was positive in 1990, when he was thirty-one years of age, but he was healthy and kept on working. He told his wife, but not his family and friends.

Life changed for Sam and his family in April 1994, when he had to stop working because he hurt his back on the job. Suddenly, worker's compensation and his wife's part-time paycheck were insufficient to pay the mortgage of $1,540 a month, the LILCO bill, car installments and insurance premiums, taxes, telephone, and food. After he was told that a back operation was too dangerous because he only had 33 T cells, Sam applied for Social Security in November, eight months after he left work.

Sam's bills piled up. His boss demanded to know when he was coming back to work. His family wondered why he did not get better. He was always fatigued and depressed, had memory lapses, and suffered from chronic diarrhea and nausea. He developed carpel tunnel syndrome, shingles, and kidney stones, and his T cells dropped to 20. Then he received the denial from Social Security, stating that, "You had an infection and back problems, but you are better now and can stand most of the day and carry 10 lbs. frequently."

Sam appealed in June. A week later, he was hospitalized with Pneumocycistis carnii pneumonia (PCP), severe back pain, and constant numbness in his fingers and feet. His family was told he had cancer, a socially acceptable way of saying he was terminally ill. Then Sam really did develop cancer and underwent chemo treatments. His doctor said that depression and the anxiety over money were destroying what was left of Sam's immune system. His T cells dropped to zero, visitors stopped coming, the roof was leaking, and no one would lend him money.

In September 1995, Sam was approved for Social Security, retroactive only to March 1995 although he had stopped working in April 1994. Under the rules, he would not be entitled to Medicare until March 1997. His benefits totaled $1,689 per month, only a little more than the mortgage payment. Sam filed an appeal for his retroactive money, but died before the hearing was scheduled. In August 1996, six months after his death, Social Security

awarded Sam's missing year of retroactive money, paying his widow and child $20,000, a substantial sum but less than one-third of his annual salary.[3]

Sam's case illustrates the dual turmoil faced by middle-class persons with AIDS, and their families: the stigma of AIDS, and the financial crisis precipitated by the sudden, severe drop in income during peak earning years. The financial crisis, exacerbated by our consumerist, credit-based lifestyle, extends beyond the death of the person with AIDS to affect the future social and financial status of his or her dependents.

AIDS on Long Island

The HIV epidemic on Long Island is now fifteen years old. In 1989, Emily Thomas and Daniel Fox chronicled the HIV epidemic on Long Island, pointing to the impact of the suburban environment on both the incidence and response to AIDS. Thomas and Fox raised issues which are of even greater importance eight years later: the demographics of AIDS on Long Island which signaled a swing in the demographics of the newly infected; the nature of suburban, middle-class drug use; the reliance of PWA's on a full spectrum of health and social service providers which increases with long-term chronicity of disease; the inadequate response to these demands by Medicare, Medicaid, and the acute-care health system; and the limitations of the national response to the need for intravenous (IV) drug treatment. Thomas and Fox questioned whether Long Island, and the nation in general, would have the political will to address these chronic, expensive concerns for a disease popularly characterized as one of sex, poverty, and race when tied to IV drug use.[4]

HIV infection leads to a breakdown in the immune system with an accepted latency period of approximately ten years from initial infection to AIDS diagnosis. Throughout the epidemic, only AIDS cases have been statistically reported to provide information regarding area of residence, means of transmission, and racial, ethnic, and gender information. Because statistics are not kept on HIV cases, the number and needs of HIV-infected persons on Long Island can only be estimated, by extrapolating information from AIDS statistics.[5]

Between 1988 and 1994, cumulative AIDS cases on Long Island quadrupled, as shown in table 1. The number of women rose from 15 percent to 20.9 percent of the total during that period. Separate analysis reveals that women represented 22.5 percent of new AIDS cases in the region from July 1993 through June 1995, and 24.7 percent of newly reported cases in 1994 alone. These data reveal that women constitute the fastest-growing category of new cases of AIDS on Long Island. This trend is reflected in national figures as well, which indicate that the number of women's cases rose from 9.1 percent to 14.3 percent of all cases.[6]

Table 1
REGIONAL/NATIONAL AIDS CASES COMPARISON
1988 v. 1994[7]

	1988 Long Island	1988 United States	1994 Long Island	1994 United States
Estimates of HIV-infected population	11,000 - 21,000	1-1.5 million	6757-10,500	Not Available
Cumulative AIDS cases Reported	909	81,000	3,870	476,899
Women as Percentage of AIDS cases	15.3%	9.1%	20.9%	14.3%
Children as Percentage of AIDS cases	2.4%	1.6%	1.8%	1.4%

In 1988, Long Island statistics regarding the principal mode of transmission revealed a rising percentage of intravenous drug users (IDU's), and a falling percentage of men who have sex with men (MWSM's—see table 2). Furthermore, heterosexual transmission constituted 4 percent of Long Island cases at a time when U.S. figures did not even categorize this mode of transmission separately. Thomas and Fox predicted that the Long Island region foreshadowed a national swing from MWSM's to IDU's. They also pointed out that the larger IDU and heterosexual numbers on Long Island explained the higher AIDS figures for women and children, and ominously predicted similar increases nationwide.[8]

National figures for AIDS cases through 1994 reflect the shift in transmission modes predicted by Thomas and Fox. MWSM transmission had fallen to 52 percent, while IDU had increased to 25 percent, with 7 percent MWSM/IDU. Nationally, exposure by heterosexual contact rose to 8 percent. Pediatric cases were relatively steady at 1.4 percent, but those of women had risen to 14.3 percent of U.S. AIDS cases. On Long Island, the trends continued through 1994, with IDU cases exceeding MWSM. Total heterosexual transmissions climbed to 8 percent and accounted for 33.9 percent of women's cases.[9]

Table 2
REGIONAL/NATIONAL AIDS CASES by TRANSMISSION MODE, 1988 v. 1994[10]

	Men Who Have Sex with Men (MWSM)	Intravenous Drug Users (IDU)	MWSM and IDU	Hetero-sexual	Other
1988 L.I.	41%	35%	5%	4%	15%
1988 U.S.	61%	19%	7%	*	13%
1994 L.I. Total cases Women	 33.6% N/A	 41.5% 52.6%	 4.2% N/A	 8.1% 3.9%	 12.62% 13.6%
1994 U.S.	52%	25%	7%	8%	8%

*In 1988 US, heterosexual was included with "other"

On Long Island, in excess of five hundred new AIDS cases have been reported each year since 1992, with 3,870 cumulative adult cases as of December 1994. Of these, 48 percent (1,875) were from Nassau, and 52 percent (1,995) from Suffolk, whose five East End towns of Riverhead, Southampton, East Hampton, Southold, and Shelter Island had only 6 percent of the cases, a figure smaller than their 8 percent share of the county's population; the vast majority of cases in Suffolk County were from the heavily populated western towns (see table 3), where more than half of the cases occurred among white people (see table 4).

Table 3
1994 CUMULATIVE LONG ISLAND AIDS CASES by TOWN[11]

	Number of Cases	% of Long Island Cases*
Town of Hempstead	1227	32%
Town of North Hempstead	248	6%
Town of Oyster Bay	257	7%
Town of Brookhaven	529	14%
Town of Islip	468	12%
Town of Babylon	380	10%
Town of Huntington	200	5%
East End Towns (Total of Riverhead, Southampton, East Hampton, Southhold and Shelter Island)	245	6%

*8% of cases were not reported with zip codes N=3,870

Table 4
1994 CUMULATIVE LONG ISLAND AIDS CASES BY RACE[12]

	Number of Cases	% of Long Island Cases
White	2221	57.4%
Black	1278	33.0%
Hispanic	346	8.9%
Other/Unclassified	25	0.6%

N = 3870

By far the most infected age group was that between thirty and thirty-nine years of age, representing 46.75 percent of the region's cases (table 5). Among 1991 and 1992 deaths (the latest figures available), the average age was 39.4 years. Of 681 deaths in those years, 300 were of people between the ages of thirty and thirty-nine, with another 218 between forty and forty-nine.[13]

Table 5
CUMULATIVE LONG ISLAND AIDS CASES by AGE in 1994[14]

	Number of Cases	% of Long Island Cases
Age < 13	69	1.8%
Ages 13-19	14	0.4%
Ages 20-29	567	14.7%
Ages 30-39	1810	46.8%
Ages 40-49	972	25.1%
Ages 50+	438	11.3%

N=3870

These statistics indicate that AIDS cases among women in Nassau and Suffolk continue to rise at an alarming rate. The shift in transmission rates is also dramatic. In 1988, IDU factored into transmission in 40 percent of Long Island cases. In 1994 the IDU factor was 55 percent. Heterosexual transmission accounts for approximately 8 percent of all cases, but 33.9 percent of women's cases. With 57.4 percent of the cases occurring among white people—72 percent of whom are from thirty to forty-nine-years of age and 94 percent in the town of Brookhaven and west to the Queens County border—and 63 percent of transmissions through IDU/heterosexual contact, AIDS on Long Island is clearly a disease primarily afflicting the white, baby-boomer community.

Weaving a "Safety Net" for the Disabled: Poverty and Disease

The demographics of AIDS on Long Island challenge the popular notion that those who contract the disease from needles used for drugs are swept up in the historical "synergism of plagues": poverty, poor health and lack of health care, inadequate education, joblessness, hopelessness, and social disintegration.[15]

The synergism of plagues theory provided the underpinning for much of modern public health policy. Urbanization created a new association between

poverty and epidemic disease. Inhabitants of the poorest sections, who suffered from the worst conditions, were blamed not only for disease but for the conditions themselves. Societal norms labeled the sick as negligent or possibly deviant. Public health strategies, particularly the anti-tuberculosis campaign, emphasized individual behaviors. Responsible behaviors prevented the spread of infection while irresponsible behaviors acted as a cause of disease.[16]

Meanwhile, improvements in diet, sanitation, public health, and, especially, scientific triumphs over many common infectious diseases raised middle-class expectations of a longer, disease-free life. These expectations were eventually categorized as rights, and government increasingly was assigned the role of assuring the right to medical care.[17]

Meanwhile lower-class health and life expectancy failed to keep pace. In *The Undeserving Poor*, Michael Katz describes the popular concepts of the "deserving" and "undeserving" poor. The deserving are persons poor through no fault of their own, including the elderly and the chronically ill, who bravely work until it becomes physically impossible. Conversely, the undeserving are people who live in intergenerational poverty or become impoverished through willful violation of societal norms (most notably the failure to work), caused by self-inflicted indolence, alcoholism, or drug addiction.[18]

The Aging of America and Social Security

These moral distinctions were reflected in public policy ensuring the right to medical care. Universal health assurance has been intermittently proposed and rejected since the Progressive Era. Strongly opposed by the American Medical Association, accessible government-supported health care did not occur until Medicare/Medicaid programs were approved in 1965. Coalitions for passage of these programs were built by focusing on the health-care needs of the aged.

Sharply increasing hospitalization costs in the 1950s, and the beginning of the "Aging of America" intensified the self-interest of the middle-class in providing medical care for its parents. During the 1960s, the middle class became painfully aware that the vaunted Social Security System did not provide security against inflation. (S.S. rates have been indexed to the CPI for some time, providing some, but inadequate, adjustment for inflation). Retirees found their benefits, if not below the poverty level, to be far below their accustomed standard of living. Furthermore, they found themselves without medical insurance or the ability to pay for the health-care needs of old age. Middle-class children, with families of their own, could not afford to support their parents or pay their medical bills. The aged, whom most Americans believe to be needy and deserving, became the recipients of the Medicare program, which is tied to receipt of Social Security benefits.[19]

Social Security for the Disabled

Today's Medicare program is also open to the chronically disabled, who qualify for Social Security benefits early under Title II (SSD). To apply for SSD, an individual must earn less than $500 per month and be declared medically disabled by the Social Security Administration. The opinion of a treating physician is considered as evidence, but is not determinative. To be declared medically disabled, a person must meet the "listing" (Social Security's medical description for that condition), or be declared without Residual Functional Capacity (RFC) to do other work in the national economy.

The listings do not necessarily correlate with the standard medical definitions of illnesses set by the Center for Disease Control (CDC). For instance, T cells have been used as primary indicators of the progression of HIV throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Persons without compromised immune systems may have blood T (specifically, T4 or CD4) cells ranging from 1,000 to 1,300. With HIV diagnosis, lower T cells indicate a proportionate inability to resist infection. The CDC defines HIV+ persons with fewer than 200 T cells as having an AIDS diagnosis. However, Social Security does not recognize T-cell- count as an AIDS-defining condition.[20]

Many applicants are found ineligible under the listings. The evaluation then moves on to the RFC determination, applying a grid which assesses a person by age, education, and remaining physical stamina. The grid is weighted, so as more easily to find persons disabled as they near retirement age. Younger persons are considered re-educable, with a substantial number of years to contribute to the economy in a lighter work capacity. The grid determines most applicants less than fifty-five years of age to be capable of light or sedentary work. The result is a denial, usually after about six months.

The first level of appeal is performed the same way as an application, evaluating medical records to determine meeting a listing or RFC. Reconsideration, which can take from ten days to eighteen months, often results in denial. Claimants can then request hearings, at which they are often declared disabled. Although by this time claimants may not have worked for two to three years, they are not entitled to benefits until the sixth month after the date on which Social Security declares they became disabled.

Benefits are based on the amount and number of years of contribution to the Social Security system. SSD recipients are penalized in proportion to the number of earning years lost due to "early retirement," thus making their benefit amounts even less of a safeguard against impoverishment. While Medicare is immediately available to people of retirement age, SSD recipients (who have immediate health-care needs because they are disabled) must wait two years before coverage starts. Still, the standards for Medicare coverage are nationally uniform, and tied to participation in the Social Security system throughout a working career.

Social Security benefits, which include payments to survivors of the disabled, were expanded to include the Supplemental Security Insurance (Title XVI or SSI) program in 1974. As an income- and resource-tested program, it

essentially provides welfare for the blind, disabled, and elderly. SSI was enacted to supplement inadequate benefits to elderly and SSD recipients, and provide for persons who meet the medical criteria of SSD but have an inadequate earnings record to entitle them to SSD benefits. This program is federally funded with optional state supplemental participation. Accordingly, while there is a federally mandated SSI income floor, benefits vary from state to state. Medicare does not attach either to survivor's or SSI benefits. Medicaid is attached to SSI, distinguishing these "undeserving" disabled recipients from the disabled SSD Medicare-eligible population. In an ironic twist, despite SSI's stigmatizing nature, many Social Security applicants hope they will be eligible for a combination of SSD and SSI. Because there is no waiting period for SSI recipients to receive Medicaid, many SSD recipients rely on Medicaid to cover their medical needs while they are waiting for Medicare.[21]

Medicare and Medicaid

Medicare includes two parts, with part A covering hospital (inpatient) insurance, and part B providing physician (outpatient) coverage. Part B is voluntary and requires payment of a premium, currently $43.80 per month, which normally is deducted from benefits. Medicare encouraged physician participation by allowing charges to exceed amounts covered under Part B. The consumer is responsible for these excess amounts in addition to the premium. Most retirement-age recipients cover these costs through Medi-gap insurance provided through private insurers and senior citizen's associations, or through Medicaid. Medi-gap insurance is generally not available for SSD recipients less than fifty-nine and one-half years of age.[22]

Medicaid, on the other hand, provides federal assistance to the states for medical care for the poor. Originally, the only federally mandated group for coverage was Aid to Dependent Children recipients—mothers and children receiving federal support payments under the Social Security Act of 1935. Eligibility criteria for all other potential recipients were left to individual state discretion and led to wide discrepancies in coverage. Moreover, Medicaid dictated fees for service which could not legally be exceeded. Predictably, physician participation and the level of care provided were low.[23]

Although the 1996 Personal Responsibility Act abolished cash benefits under Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), it continued to mandate Medicaid coverage for families who would be eligible for the program if it still existed, and for SSI recipients. At their discretion, states variously provide Medicaid for other income-tested groups, among them the General Assistance or Home Relief (single adults or couples without children) and the medically disabled populations. In all cases, Medicaid carries the social stigma of an income-based program for "undeserving" persons.[24]

In 1997, and under Governor George E. Pataki's welfare reform proposal, New York State provides Medicaid to the medically needy. To qualify, disabled persons must have incomes below state-determined levels, which, as shown in table 6, are significantly below the poverty line.[25]

Table 6
1996 FEDERAL POVERTY LINE v. NY MEDICAID INCOME LEVEL[26]

Monthly Income	Family of 1	Family of 2	Family of 3	Family of 4	Each Additional Person
FPL 1996	$645	$863	$1081	$1300	$218
NY Medicaid	$559	$809	$817	$850	$142

Public and Private Costs of AIDS: Health Care Costs and Impoverishment

In 1994, the Census Bureau reported that thirty-three million Americans (13 percent of the population) were completely uninsured. Another fifty million, who had some form of insurance, did not have complete coverage. For many, the most terrifying aspect of losing a job is the loss of health-care coverage. For those who find themselves barely above the Medicaid level, or waiting (often for years) for a Social Security determination entitling them to Medicaid/Medicare coverage, health-care costs can create a financial crisis.[27]

For George, a Suffolk County commuter who worked in Manhattan's financial district, impoverishment was the direct result of medical costs and the long wait for Social Security. In July 1992, George had a stroke at work, which ended his career. Five months later he was hospitalized for emergency surgery and went into a coma that lasted for four weeks. He was diagnosed as HIV+ and hypertensive, suffering a series of small strokes and internal bleeding that caused a blood clot in his brain.

Released to home care in February 1993, he continued receiving weekly transfusions and learned to walk again. Despite being hospitalized again in May and June, Social Security denied him in August, stating that: "You said you were disabled because of a disease. The medical evidence shows you have had near normal test findings. Based on your description of your job, your condition does not prevent you from performing this work." With only 30 T cells, CDC-defined AIDS, hypertension and high blood pressure which required constant monitoring and transfusions, George did not feel capable of returning to work.

Instead, he appealed. In February 1994, Social Security awarded him SSD but declared him disabled only as of July 1993, despite his being out of work since July 1992. With the five-month waiting period, George was eligible for payments beginning in January 1994. It not only cost him $12,000 in retroactive benefits but penalized him one year in qualifying for Medicare. He appealed again, and finally, in November 1994, received a disability onset

date of July 1992, which qualified him for Medicare.

However, George's medical insurance did not cover $70,000 of his total hospital procedures, and his combined income from private disability and SSD now made him ineligible for Medicaid. George was receiving more than $34,000 a year, but living below the one-person poverty level because he was being garnisheed by the hospital's bill collectors and paying insurance premiums, deductibles, prescriptions, and uncovered charges for his continuing treatment.[28]

HIV as Chronic Disease

George's case illustrates the tremendous burden placed both on individuals and institutions by chronic disease. Chronic diseases are those which cause degeneration over time, either in strict progression or with periods of remission punctuated by acute distress. The U.S. health-care policy and its system for the provision of medical services was constructed at the turn of the century to focus on the care of acute infectious disease, such as diphtheria. Isolation through hospitalization and intensive research in prevention are its hallmarks. Insurance programs, including Medicare and Medicaid, reflect the emphasis on acute care in their coverage structures. As acute infectious disease has declined because of medical advances, the incidence of chronic disease has increased during the twentieth century, due to aging of the population and the appearance of HIV.

Diagnosis with HIV/AIDS originally resulted in death within twelve to eighteen months. With new treatments, including protease inhibitors, current estimates of life expectancy are ten to twenty years, or more. With the evolution to chronic disease status, HIV costs continue to rise. Remembering that official statistics are kept only on AIDS, the elongated period of treatment for non-AIDS HIV patients translates into unknown costs for prophylaxis.[29]

One method of measuring increased chronicity is through hospital discharge data. There were 22,759 total discharges for HIV-related illnesses for Nassau and Suffolk residents, or from Nassau and Suffolk hospitals, from 1982 through 1994. From fifteen total discharges in 1982, annual discharges for the bi-county region have exceeded three thousand each year since 1991. With chronicity, persons are hospitalized for and survive multiple acute incidences, straining institutions with demands for management and intervention over long periods. However, as chronicity requires increased medical care and services, debilitation decreases production capacity. The costs to society for payments for long-term medical care and for lost production, are quantified respectively as the "direct" and "indirect" costs of illness.[30]

Direct Costs of HIV/AIDS

The cost of actual services is the basis of direct costs in estimates of the economic impact of the AIDS epidemic. The orientation toward hospital-based

services is an expensive and inadequate response to long-term ambulatory care. PWA's' reliance on extensive follow-up, counseling, and services from multiple sources forces hospitals to provide the services which the health-care system historically has undervalued. The ever-increasing demand is stressing the system exactly where it already is stressed the most—the allocation of resources. Substitution of more expensive medical services for cheaper, integrated social-support services is exacerbated by the private insurance and fee-for-service systems to create exaggerated direct costs. Direct costs also are critiqued for their failure to recognize the diversion of money and services from other acute and chronic care needs, or to quantify the effect on blood supplies and insurance rates. CDC estimates of direct costs for AIDS treatment in 1991 totaled $11.8 billion. A 1993 study estimated the lifetime cost of treatment from HIV diagnosis to death to be $119,274. This study was based on an HIV "lifetime" of thirteen years, and treatment as it existed in 1991-92, with monthly prescription costs of $67 to $265. Treatment by protease inhibitor regimen in late 1996 incurred a monthly prescription cost of $572 or more, with revised lifetime estimates of up to twenty years. Additionally, PWA's often take multiple medications, including prophylaxis for HIV-related diseases, such as Mepron for PCP, which costs $946 per month.[31]

New York State's Response

As the provider of last resort, the states find themselves supplying direct costs of medical care for those who do not qualify for federal medical assistance, either through income-tested programs or through public hospitals and clinics. The AIDS Action Council reported, in August 1995, that 40 percent of HIV+ persons rely on Medicaid, including 90 percent of HIV+ children. It further stated that Medicaid covers 60 percent of all AIDS treatment. In other words, as people sicken, they become poorer and lose other health-care resources.[32]

The states have made efforts to limit their responsibility for these direct costs by reducing eligibility for state-funded Medicaid programs, or by creating new programs that shift responsibility to the private sector. New York State, with its exceptionally high incidence of AIDS, has implemented multiple programs to try to curtail its responsibility for the cost of care. AIDS Health Insurance Program (AHIP) is funded through New York State Medicaid to pay COBRA (employment-related insurance continuation) premiums, as well as other private insurance premiums for persons within and above the Medicaid guidelines, in an attempt to retain private insurance coverage as long as possible, thus limiting Medicaid expenditures.

The state's Department of Health AIDS Institute has further tried to limit the use of expensive inpatient treatment by providing an array of outpatient and community services. The AIDS Drug Assistance Program (ADAP) offers outpatient and prescription insurance for HIV-related medical needs to persons above the Medicaid eligibility level. By providing well-care and

prophylaxis, this program seeks to limit inpatient services which would have to be paid by Medicaid. Other AIDS Institute programs include ambulatory and home care services, psychosocial and psychiatric services, case management and housing assistance, legal and financial assistance, and hospice and residential health-care services. All are designed to provide services which are cost efficient in comparison with Medicaid and extensive hospitalizations.[33]

The Spiraling Indirect Costs of HIV/AIDS

The failure of U.S. health-care policy to respond in a deliberate manner to the needs of chronic care reflects both fear and implicit criticism. Widespread fear of catastrophic illness has expanded to include not only the cost of hospitalization for acute episodes, but also of long-term impoverishment through inability to work. Side by side with this fear is the continuing disparagement of chronic illness as deviance or non-legitimate sickness from which patients fail to recover and regain productive positions in society.[34] The loss of working capacity, with its concomitant failure to provide a tax base and contribute to the national economy, constitute the "indirect" costs of the AIDS epidemic.

Indirect costs, which are more difficult to calculate than direct costs, are calculated by attempting to quantify the value of input lost because of morbidity and premature mortality. The figures may be hopelessly inaccurate due to under-reporting of HIV statistics, and the inability to calculate anyone's future earnings capacity, or to quantify loss of talent or ingenuity. Even more serious is the failure to include the cost of increased demand for insurance and public services, as well as the increased cost of credit and other services due to wide-scale repudiation of debt. Even so, CDC studies estimated 1991 indirect costs for AIDS at $55.6 billion.[35]

Lisa's case demonstrates the drastic change which, in a bewilderingly short time, causes severe mental anguish as PWA's become isolated or excluded from their support systems, incur huge medical expenses, and lose their income and often their housing, culminating in financial insolvency. Lisa did not know of her husband's affair until he told her she needed to go for HIV testing. When it came back positive, she was overwhelmed by depression and fear. She lost her $40,000 per-year job, divorced her husband, and moved away from her friends, family, and all the gossip.[36]

Lisa resettled on Long Island, but then discovered that Social Security had lost her pending application in the transfer. Her only income was her $218 monthly alimony, the amount of her car payment. Without money for rent, food, or medical care, she applied for ADAP for medical treatment, and also for welfare. She was eligible for food stamps but not cash assistance, because her car was worth about $7,000, $3,000 of which she still owed. The car was the only thing left from her former life, and her only means of transportation to the doctor. To avoid eviction, she lived on cash advances on her VISA account. Soon she began receiving threatening phone calls from the bank.

When the balance exceeded $11,000, they cancelled the VISA card. It all went around in a vicious circle, making her sicker and sicker with anxiety until she slashed her wrists and was hospitalized in a psychiatric ward.

When she received a favorable decision from Social Security, it was for only $569 a month because she was young, with only a few years of earnings. She finally had to sell her car because she could not afford the insurance. She told the credit card collection agency her whole story, but they continued to harass her and she eventually filed for bankruptcy.

Indirect costs calculations for PWA's, which fail to include the intangible costs of pain, discomfort, or anxiety such as Lisa suffered, historically have been minimized on the assumption that, after contracting their illnesses, most at-risk groups earn nominal, if any, lifetime salaries and have little or no economic value to society. However, it should be remembered that risk groups are categorized by behavior at time of transmission. Some behaviors, such as homosexuality, have no impact on economic value. Others, such as IV drug use, may not be applicable for the latency period, or possibly for the individual's entire working career.

Some, as do functioning alcoholics, maintain full-time jobs despite their addiction. Bill, a suburban Long Island heroin user, had worked for twenty years, supporting his wife and three children. When diagnosed HIV+ when he was thirty-nine years of age, he stopped using, went on Methadone, and worked another nine years as a welder. His memory deteriorated, and he began having constant headaches and blurred vision. He became fearful when he started catching his fingers in the machinery, stopped working, and applied for Social Security in January 1995. For the next six months Bill received weekly New York State disability payments of $170, which, combined with his wife's earnings, resulted in a household monthly income of about $2,000. Their mortgage payment was $1,260 a month, they had two teenagers to support, owed utility and insurance bills, and were expected to make payments on a car loan, a personal loan, and seven credit cards.

When Bill was approved for Social Security in January 1996, he had been out of work for one year and without any disability income for six months. He did not receive his first SSD check until March, and his children did not receive their first dependent check until June. The retroactive money—about $6,000—did not come through until August. Even with his wife's earnings, the household monthly income was only $2,500. It was impossible to make payments on the credit card and loan debt of $29,000, and Bill decided to file for bankruptcy.[37]

Impoverishment of the chronically ill is not new, but it happens particularly quickly for PWA's like Lisa and Bill, in part because their earning years are cut off while they still have young families to support, and before they have compiled significant benefits in any retirement or disability system.[38]

Long Island's extremely high housing, taxes, energy, and car insurance costs mean that for Bill and others like him, decreased income rapidly creates a crisis. Statistics from the Gay Men's Health Crisis, a New York City

organization providing services for predominately middle-class homosexuals, show that while only 10 percent of its clients are eligible for Medicaid at first contact, nearly 60 percent become Medicaid-eligible within one year. Even for those like Bill, who worked for almost thirty years, the consumerist, credit-based lifestyle combines with high medical costs to impoverish middle-income PWA's within one year of their leaving work.

The cost calculations are woefully inadequate in picturing the impact of AIDS on PWA's and society itself. Middle-class PWA's bear the double stigmatization of having contracted the "bad-people's disease," and simultaneously plummeting to society's economic basement, with no way out. Completely ignorant of the public-benefits system, formerly insulated—even arrogant— proponents of self-sufficiency find themselves making choice after choice, which quickly forces them to seek public services. These choices, along with lost input to the economy and tax structures, form the indirect costs of AIDS. As chronicity increases, indirect and direct costs combine to create a spiraling impact. This impact will be a concern for disabled individuals and taxpayers into the next century.

The Shredding of the "Safety Net"

> Better the occasional faults of a government that lives in a spirit of charity than the constant omission of a government frozen in the ice of its own indifference.
>
> President Franklin D. Roosevelt
> Acceptance speech, June 1936

Those who participated in the compromise establishing the Medicare/ Medicaid programs in 1965 believed that the establishment of universal health insurance was imminent. However, universal health insurance never materialized, and the succeeding years have stressed, stretched, and torn gaps in the safety net. Medicaid has become long-term reinsurance for the Medicare population: although AFDC families make up from 70 to 75 percent of the Medicaid population, 75 percent of expenditures provide care for the aged, blind, and disabled, especially those who need nursing-home care. The uninsured and underinsured use of publicly funded hospitals as primary care has resulted in closings and vast operating deficits.[39]

The stresses of Medicaid expenditures led, in 1981, to an overall 25-percent cut in federal health-care programs, together with future rolling Medicaid reductions and decreased eligibility for the poor. Medicare was also revised to provide formulas for limiting care and payments for institutionalized services. Most Americans seemed to believe the fiction that public programs for the indigent were the cause of skyrocketing health-care costs, and were equally convinced that care could be available and affordable for the deserving. Cost containment strategies have continued to be the focus of federal legislation through the 1980s and 1990s. The effect of these cuts has

been to transfer responsibility for provision of the safety net from the federal government to the states, without a concomitant shift in resources.[40]

Today, the short-sightedness of these policies is precipitating a national health emergency. Proposals to further transfer responsibility to states, including more federal cuts and the block granting of federal moneys that remain, tend to camouflage the growing demand for services. Fueled by the previous decade of inaction and cuts, the safety net is breaking down under the weight exerted by new needs. Required by their own laws to balance their budgets, the states must either cut services or tax to provide them. However, cutting health care does not eliminate the need. The states will eventually pay the cost, by providing shelters or prisons for the desperate or by bearing the cleanup costs as the final baseline of poverty becomes death through abandonment. As AIDS continues to swell the ranks of those in poverty and requiring chronic care, the net will be completely torn apart without a cohesive federal policy.[41]

New Meanings of Infected and Affected

The spread of AIDS on Long Island has shown that societal prejudices can create a false sense of insulation from the effects of the epidemic. Risk behavior, particularly unprotected sex and sharing needles by injection-drug users, are connected in the public mind with socially disvalued groups. Injection drug use is normally associated with poor, nonworking, black and Hispanic males. Promiscuity is attributed both to homosexuals and to poor women who, presumably, bear additional children by absentee fathers to maximize welfare benefits. The perception that many PWA's are not members of main stream American society serves to minimize concern regarding the social and economic impact of the epidemic.[42]

In fact, the risk behaviors exist throughout the general population. AIDS is beginning to disclose what Narcotics Anonymous has known for years, that I.D users exist in large numbers in the middle class. The excess of disposable income in the 1970s and early 1980s, together with changed social mores among the generations born after 1950, combined to encourage widespread recreational drug use. Likewise, acceptance of new rules regarding human sexuality has had a major impact on the lives of many Americans. The result has been a rise in visible alternative lifestyles, in nontraditional family structures, and in soaring birthrates among single women at all economic levels. It is no longer unusual to have multiple sexual partners over the course of one's lifetime. These behaviors, especially in combination, have created opportunity for the spread of HIV in every stratum of society.[43]

Contrary to the theory that HIV/AIDS is not among what Albert R. Jonsen calls the "democratic epidemics," on Long Island the disease attacks the community at large, cutting across class, racial, and ethnic lines.[44] HIV/AIDS on Long Island demonstrates the fragility of membership in the middle class, as it reduces monetary and social resources, eventually consolidating most PWA's at the lowest economic level. The result is a fundamental contradiction

of perception and reality. Middle-class persons with HIV remain largely invisible, both through private secrecy and public statistics. By the time PWA's become sick enough to be noted socially or statistically, they have lost their jobs, homes, earning capacities, and middle-class status. As the number of the impoverished grows, requiring more public supports, it will simultaneously contribute to the shrinking of the economic base from which these supports are funded.

Long Island has been a reliable indicator of future national trends in AIDS populations. Because AIDs infects and affects so large a potential "at risk" group, AIDS awareness takes on a new dimension . Long Island is also a study in the effects of disabling chronic disease in a postsuburban, consumerist environment. As the tax basis for services, the middle class—which itself is likely to need services for chronic conditions and old age—will sustain the greatest impact from the direct and indirect costs of AIDS and other catastrophic chronic illness. Planning a coherent national policy which focuses on provision of long-term care, services, and income supports will help to alleviate personal tragedy, as well as to control public costs in the twenty-first century.

NOTES

1. New York State Executive Summary/Assembly Memorandum in Support of Legislation Bill A.2810/S.1998 1995/6 Regular Sessions:9.

2. Identities of persons involved are protected by New York State Public Health Law confidentiality. Names and identifying details have been changed to protect confidentiality. Verification of information in any case study may be requested from the author, provision of which depends on releases by the subjects or their survivors.

3. T cells may be replaced or supplemented in the near future by other testing means, including viral load testing, but during the period of these case studies they were the primary indicators of the progression of AIDs, other than AIDS-defining opportunistic infections (T cells below 200 are a CDC AIDS-defining condition);.Sam and his wife, interviews by author, May 1995-Aug. 1996.

4. Emily H. Thomas and Daniel M. Fox, "AIDS on Long Island," *LIHJ* 1 (Spring 1989): 91-110.

5. Dr. Peter Mariuz, Univ. Hospital, SUNY at Stony Brook, lecture at Brookhaven Memorial Hospital, 10 September 1996; Thomas and Fox, 93-96.

6. Nassau Suffolk Health Systems Agency (HSA) 1996; plan citing New York State Department of Health Bureau of HIV/AIDS (NYS DOH) Epidemiology Cumulative AIDS cases (excluding prison inmates) reported to the CDC through 12 Dec. 1994, as of 6 June 1995: 5-12 .

7. 1988 statistics: Thomas and Fox, 93-96; 1994 statistics: HSA, 5-9.

8. Thomas and Fox, 93-96.

9. HSA, citing U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Public Health Service, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) *HIV/AIDS Surveillance, 1995*: 5.

10. 1988 statistics: Thomas and Fox, 93-96; 1994 statistics: HSA, 8,11.

11. HSA, 7.

12. HSA, 9.

13. HSA citing NYS DOH, 8-9.

14. HSA, 10.

15. Albert R. Jonsen and Jeff Stryker, eds., *Social Impact of AIDS in the U.S.*(Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 1993),7.

16. Peter Richards and A. M. Thomson, Ed., *Basic Needs and the Urban Poor: The Provision of Communal Services* (Kent, UK: International Labour Organisation, 1984), 94; Thomas E. Jordan, *The Degeneracy Crisis and Victorian Youth* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1993), 31; James Patterson, *The Dread Disease, Cancer and Modern American Culture* (Mass: Harvard Univ. Press, 1987), 51; Nancy Tomes, "Moralizing the Microbe: The Germ Theory and the Moral Construction of Behavior in the Late 19th c. Tuberculosis Movement", in *Morality and Health*, edited by Allan Brandt and Paul Rozin, forthcoming, Routledge, 1997.

17. Patterson, 116-17.

18. Michael Katz, *The Undeserving Poor* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1989), 9-10.

19. Paul Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine*, (New York: Basic Books, 1982), 368-70.

20. Robert Berkow, ed., *Merck Manual*, 16th ed. (Rahway, N.J.: Merck Research Labs, 1993), 78.

21. Katz, 69-105.

22. Starr, 368-70.

23. Ibid.

24. "An Analysis of the New Welfare Law and Its Effects on Medicaid Recipients, " National Health Law Program, National Center for Youth Law, National Senior Citizens Law Center, joint *Newsletter*, August 1996, 2-3.

25. Governor's Program Bill 1996 memorandum Program Bill #163, 22.

26. New York Code of Rules and Regulations, §360-4.7.

27. Nancy McKenzie and Ellen Bilofsky, *Beyond Crisis, Confronting Health Care in the U.S.* (New York: Meridan Press, 1994), 142-51.

28. George, interviews by author, Sept. 1993-Nov. 1994.

29. Thomas and Fox, 93; Mariuz, 10 Sept. 1996.

30. HSA, citing NYS DOH, 13-14; for the U.S. response to the growth of chronic disease, see Daniel M. Fox, *Power and Illness* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1993).

31. Robert F. Hummel et al., eds., *AIDS Impact on Public Policy* (New York: Plenum Press, 1986), 147-57; Fred Hellinger, "Lifetime Cost of Treating a Person with HIV," AHCPR Pub. 93-0080 (Rockville, MD: Agency for Health Care Policy and Research), reprint, *Journal of American Medical Association* 270 (1993): 474-78; Protease Inhibitor average wholesale prices supplied by Edwards Pharmacy, Islandia, NY, as of Nov. 1996: Invirase (saquinavir)$572/270 count; Crixivan (indinavir) $450/360 count; Norvir (ritonavir) $312/240 count, other retrovirals, commonly taken in combination, include: Retriever (ACT) $287/60 count; Exert (stavudine) $233/60 count; Hivid (zalcitabine) $230/100 count; Epivir (lamivudine) $230/60 count; Prophlaxis prices supplied by NYS DOH ADAP as of Sept. 1996: Mepron $942.32/420 count; Diflucan $303.75/30 count.

32. McKenzie, 145: AIDS Action Council, "Medicaid Fact Sheets," Washington, DC, 31 Aug. 1995.

33. Hummel, 75-81.

34. Fox, 65.

35. Hummel, 157.

36. Detlef Schwefel et al., *Economic Aspects of AIDS and HIV Infection* (New York; Springer-Verlag, 1990), 46; Lisa, interviews by author, Apr. 1995-Nov. 1995.

37. Bill, interviews by author, Oct. 1995-Oct. 1996.

38. Jonsen and Stryker, 267-68.

39. McKenzie, 26-31, 150-51.

40. Ibid., 150-58.

41. Ibid., 400-1.

42. Hummel, 95.

43. Rachel Leon, "Single Mothers in Poverty Under Attack," in *Hunger Action Newsletter*, quoting NYS DOH (Hunger Action Network of NYS, Albany, 15 May 1994),8.

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JOHN P. HOLLAND and the CREATION of THE AMERICAN SUBMARINE FLEET

By Richard F. Welch

In the late-nineteenth century, inventors and researchers created the formative designs of vehicles, machinery, and technology which, when brought to fruition, transformed the world and shaped the century which followed. Nowhere was this more true than in weaponry. Machine guns, repeating breech-loading rifles, large caliber cannon, gas, and even experiments in aircraft development consumed the energies of many of the world's most versatile inventors as the nineteenth century drew to a close. Most of these weapons were primitive, even by First World War standards, but they provided the springboard for subsequent improvements and determined the nature of future wars and military strategy. The two most revolutionary new technologies of war were the airplane and the submarine.

The history of the modern submarine begins on another island, three thousand miles away. The great pioneering inventor was John P. Holland, born 24 February 1841 in Liscannor, County Clare. As a member of an Irish-speaking family which survived the great potato famine, Holland grew up with a deep animosity towards England. He was educated by the Irish Christian Brothers, a religious order which specialized in educating boys, and in 1858 joined the order himself. Unfortunately, he was plagued by poor health and resigned from the order on the eve of his emigration to the United States.

Though he never earned a university degree in engineering, which small-minded people later used to slight him, Holland was gifted with prodigious, innate technological talent coupled with a wide-ranging mind. His earliest interest was in flight, but an innovation in naval warfare during the American Civil War soon drew his attention. Like many weaker powers, the Southern Confederacy turned to new, untested, almost revolutionary weapons in an attempt, ultimately futile, to offset the federal government's advantages in manpower, capital and conventional forces. In addition to producing the first successful ironclad, the South also launched a submarine, the CSS *Hunley*. On 17 February 1864, this small vessel sallied forth against the Northern blockading squadron in Charleston Harbor and sank the USS *Housatonic*, making its foray the first successful submarine attack in history. However, the fragile, unstable vessel disappeared beneath the waves as it returned to its base.[1] Nevertheless, the *Hunley*'s brief career fired the imagination of the young Irishman who devoted the remainder of his life to the

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perfection of underwater craft.

Holland arrived in Boston in 1873, bearing his first submarine design. He later moved to Paterson, New Jersey, which he made his home and where he taught at St. John's Parochial School. That February, he submitted his first submarine design to the United States Navy. The commandant of the torpedo station at Newport, Rhode Island, replied that he could not see where Holland was going with the design, and warned that approaching Washington "was uphill work." The statement was prophetic. The response of the Navy to Holland's efforts was generally skeptical, and its acceptance of his revolutionary vessel was made almost grudgingly after repeated, severe testing. This was not atypical of the attitudes dominant at the upper levels of the American military establishment at the time. While the Navy seemed intent on placing obstacles in the path of the adoption of submarines, the ordinance department of the Army was rejecting such revolutionary weaponry as repeating rifles and machine guns.[2]

In one of the many ironies of submarine history, Holland's first successful models were bankrolled by an Irish revolutionary organization, the *Clan na Gael*, the American branch of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, or Fenians, an organization pledged to overthrow British rule in Ireland by violence. The Fenians frequently look for measures which could be employed against Britain, especially if London were preoccupied by a foreign crisis elsewhere. Holland's politics were certainly anti-British, though he does not seem to have been a member of the *Clan*. However, his brother Michael, who had preceded him to America, had joined the Irish revolutionaries, and he introduced his brother to the American Fenians. The Fenians were intrigued by Holland's proposed new weapon and gave him the financial backing he needed to proceed with his experiments. The shores of Long Island, in this instance Coney Island, provided the setting for Holland's first public demonstration of his brainchild, a fourteen-foot model of "Boat Number 1," built by an iron works on Albany Street, New York City.

Holland moved his enterprise back to Paterson to be closer to home. On 22 May 1878, he launched his first gasoline-driven submarine in the Passaic River. The vessel sank immediately. The embryonic sub was raised, modified, and on 6 June the first successful test of a submarine was completed in the river. The vessel dove to a depth of twelve feet and remained underwater for an hour. Holland considered this boat only a prototype, and, after removing the machinery, scuttled it in the river to prevent its secrets from becoming known to rivals or British agents. He already had learned much from these early trials. The Passaic River runs proved the need for a constant reserve of positive buoyancy, as well as a low, fixed center of gravity.

Armed with new information and bursting with ideas, Holland began work on a new vessel which was launched in 1881. Dubbed the *Fenian Ram* by the newspapers, the new sub was thirty-one feet long, six feet in beam, carried a three-man crew, and was propelled by a fifteen-horsepower gasoline engine which could make nine knots. Holland conducted his earliest sea trial in the Narrows of New York Harbor, and moored the *Ram* at Bay Ridge, Brooklyn. During July and August 1881, the sub dove to sixty-four feet beneath the waters of the Narrows. As usual, Holland piloted his invention throughout the testing.

While Holland busied himself constructing a sixteen-foot replica of the *Ram* to test underwater principles, his backers began to bicker about the cost and efficacy of the project. The Fenian leadership decided to cut its losses and seize the craft its money had made possible. While being towed away by the Fenians, Holland's testing model sank in Long Island Sound, off Whitestone, but the *Ram* completed its journey to New Haven where it was tied up in a boat yard. Disgusted, Holland severed all ties with the Fenians. Nevertheless, the *Fenian Ram* was to underwater technology what the Wright brothers' first airplane was to aviation—the first of its kind and a portent of the shape of things to come.

Innovation was in the air during the late nineteenth century, as various inventors pushed designs for automobiles, heavier than air aircraft, and submarines. On 4 June 1893, the United States Navy Department opened contract competition for a submarine torpedo boat design. Shortly after, the John P. Holland Torpedo Boat Company was founded, made possible by financial backing arranged by a lawyer, E. B. Frost. As the inventor of the submarine, Holland's name was featured prominently but he did not have a majority share in the company. His official position was general manager and designer. Additionally, all his design patents, inventions, and devices were deemed property of the company. No doubt, Holland was so relieved to get solid financial support that the loss of control over his designs may have seemed a reasonable price. However, these conditions were later to prove disastrous for his career.

Because the Navy moved slowly, the new company marketed its products in foreign countries, with some of Holland's designs patented in Europe rather than in the United States. The first Navy contract to the Holland Company was awarded in March 1895. While this netted the company $200,000, Navy engineers foisted a retrograde design on the fledgling concern. Named the *Plunger*, the submarine was a stream-driven, eighty-five-foot-long monstrosity which, when launched in August 1897, proved so unwieldy that it required a total redesign and refitting. Holland, no doubt infuriated that his advice was being ignored and his designs bastardized, may have felt some sense of vindication at the *Plunger's* failings. Whatever his personal feelings, Holland was not a man to waste time on failed projects. Even as the ill-fated *Plunger* neared completion, the inventor was building a new submarine called the *Holland.*[3]

The *Holland,* built at the Crescent Shipyard in Elizabethport, New Jersey, completed its first sea trial on 25 February 1898. The fifty-three-foot ten-inch craft was propelled by a gasoline engine while on the surface, and switched to storage-battery power while cruising submerged. This method became standard for submarines before the advent of nuclear powered boats in the 1950s. The submarine was equipped for firing torpedoes through a bow torpedo tube, and carried a pneumatic deck gun as well.

The *Holland's* first submerged run followed in March. The Naval board sent to witness the *Holland's* tests expressed reservations on its performance. This prompted E. B. Frost to send a three-page letter to Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt. Frost complained that

> The Board positively refused to tell us what they wanted the boat to do saying...that they were there to see what we would do...and that it was the company's test and not the Government's...All the criticisms of the Board...are manifestly unfair for the...reason that no member of the Board took the trouble, either by a personal examination of the boat and its appliances, or being on board during a submerged or surface run, to find out how the boat or anything in it functioned. The fact of greatest importance, which could not be suppressed by the Board, is that the vessel ran a distance of over four miles under water, coming to the surface at intervals of ten minutes for observation.[4]

Roosevelt's immediate response to Frost is not known, but, as the United States moved toward war with Spain, he recommended to his superior, Navy Secretary John D. Long, that the Navy purchase the new vessel which had proved a successful and progressive design. The Navy had other plans, however, and asked for further testing before committing itself. This placed an additional financial burden on the Holland Company, leading its president, W. H. Jaques, to remonstrate with the Navy secretary that "the *Holland* submarine torpedo boat is entirely the work of civilians, carried out at private expense." After recapitulating the submarine's accomplishments, he stated that "We submit that *at this time* there should remain but a price agreement to determine her acquisition, particularly as her armament contains a service 18 inch torpedo outfit, purchased from the Department." Jaques offered the *Holland* to the government for $100,000, along with the company's help in making any modifications the Navy desired. An additional $75,000 would be paid the Holland Company once all work was completed, but Jaques drew Long's attention to the fact that the company would not entirely recover its expenses at this price. Nevertheless, the Navy stood its ground and the company prepared for yet another officially observed sea trial.[5]

Meanwhile, in July, Holland submitted a proposal directly to Secretary Long suggesting that his submarine be used to clear mines and underwater obstructions from Spanish-held ports in Cuba. The Navy rejected his offer as "impracticable."[6]

While the Navy hierarchy proceeded cautiously, support for the *Holland* was not lacking. Lieutenant Nathan Sargent reported in March that the submarine "appeared more efficient than I had imagined her to be before making this inspection, and it seemed to me she promises to be an ultimate success."[7] Additionally, on 25 June 1898, the Navy assigned Chief Engineer John Lowe to act as a liaison with the Holland Company and observe and inspect the boat as the formal trials drew near. Lowe reported to the Holland's base at the Atlantic Boat Basin base in Brooklyn, and, after observing the company's tests, became a staunch advocate of submarines in general and John Holland's craft in particular.

Lowe was present when the board, which included Sargent and Captain Frederick Rodgers of the Auxiliary Vessel Board, attended the official trial on 12 November 1898. The *Holland* left its Brooklyn mooring and sailed towards Sandy Hook. The submarine fired torpedoes while in motion and carried out nineteen dives. Sargent, the recorder for the inspection board, was laudatory but felt

another trial with a crew trained in torpedo firing was warranted. Chief Constructor Hichborn endorsed Sargent's report, adding that, "It is recommended that terms be arranged, if possible, for the purchase of this boat, conditioned upon her being in thorough and efficient shape within a limited time." Lt. Lowe filed his own report, which included a short lecture on the bright future of submarine warfare and concluded that, "the *Holland* is so good a vessel as to deserve consideration from the Navy Department, and to my mind the policy which drove the Whitehead torpedo and the Hotchkiss [machine] Gun, with other inventions, from native to foreign shores for development should not be repeated."[8] The mounting evidence attesting to the *Holland's* efficacy as an underwater weapon finally proved too much for the entrenched Navy conservatives. In February 1899, the Navy decided to purchase two submarines of the *Holland* type, leaving open the possibility of future purchases if tests proved positive. The Navy expected to hold to its $175,000 fee for each sub.

1899 brought major changes for Holland, his enterprise, and his submarines. In February, the Holland Torpedo Boat Company was acquired by the Electric Boat Company Inc., which, in turn, was absorbed into the Electric-Dynamic Company of Philadelphia and the Electric Launch Company. These large, interlocking corporations were owned by Isaac Price. Holland was given the position of manager of the Holland Company, but the real power in the submarine enterprise was held by E. B. Frost, who served as secretary-treasurer. An employee, though relatively well paid, in the company which bore his name and produced craft he invented, Holland was in a weak position to direct the course of events. In fact, what control he had in the company's operations had been eroded by the complex and bureaucratic corporate organization, as well as his own lack of capital.

The year 1899 witnessed one other major change for the Holland Boat Company. It had become increasingly obvious that New York Harbor was too busy for sea trails of submarines, and a new, more placid locality was needed. In spring 1899, the Holland Company's chief engineer, Charles A. Morris, one of John P. Holland's closest friends, was sent to the village of Greenport, on the north fork of Long Island, to scout for a suitable testing sight. He decided to lease the Goldsmith and Tuthill shipyard in the smaller village of New Suffolk, a short distance away. New Suffolk lay along the shores of the Great Peconic Bay, its waters sheltered by Robins Island in the Bay and Little Hog Neck (now Nassau Point) immediately eastward.. On 6 June, the *Holland* was towed to the village and many of the company's workers and engineers began to arrive shortly after. As far as the locals were concerned, the arrival of the submariners meant money. As Morris recalled, "The boys were put out when they learned that the folk of this sleepy little town saw a chance to make some quick money by raising the rates on room and board."[9] In fact, the expansion of the company's operations in New Suffolk created a local mini-boom which lasted until operations were transferred to the mainland in 1905.

In the meantime, Frost contacted the Navy Department and arranged to move the next sea trials from the Sandy Hook area to the Little Peconic Bay. The

Holland was prepared for trial by Morris and an electrician, Frank Cable. To satisfy the Navy, a civil engineer, Erastus Post of Quogue, was contracted to lay out a test course for the submarine. John P. Holland arrived on the North Fork and lodged at the Wyandank Hotel in Greenport, traveling the short distance to New Suffolk to watch the preparations of his boat. No doubt, the bespectacled inventor sensed trouble. He was, in fact, being eased out of any real position of control by Frost and the conglomerate's president, Isaac Rice. Many of the men he had trained felt they no longer needed him, while the Holland Company, controlled by Frost, took over his foreign patents. More demeaningly, Frost ordered Morris not to report to Holland because, as he put it, "Holland forgets."[10] At the beginning of his submarine career, Holland captained his vessels during all their trials. But now, as his submarines verged on the brink of total triumph, command of his craft was pulled from him and F. T. Cable was made skipper of the *Holland* for the pending sea test.

While the company's crew practiced and trained for the Navy trial, occasional diversions allowed the submarine's inventor to sample some of the attractions of an East End summer. On 23 July 1899, the *Holland* sailed across Peconic Bay on a visit to Sag Harbor. Among the numerous visitors to the futuristic craft was Clara Barton, then seventy-seven. The aged founder of the American Red Cross, who began her nursing career during the Civil War, chided Holland for having developed a new weapon of destruction. Holland took the Alfred Nobel approach and replied that submarines demonstrated the futility of war and would act as a retardant to future military conflict. It is doubtful Holland believed what he said. Although he understood that submarines could be useful in underwater research and exploration, Holland always had designed and intended his craft as warships. Shortly after his conversation with Barton, the inventor wrote "the submarine is indeed a 'she devil' against which no means we possess at present can prevail."[11]

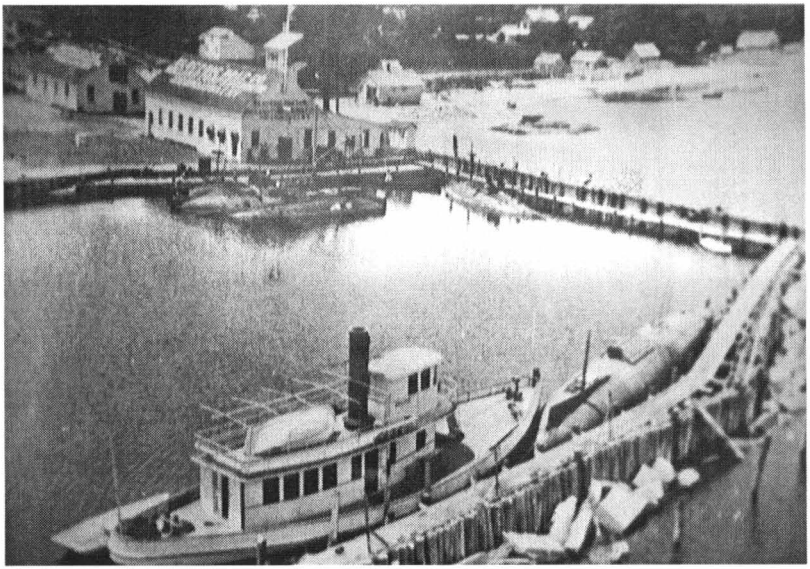
After a company trial on 11 October, a gasket failed on the gasoline engine and exhaust filled the boat. The crew was knocked out and the *Holland* plowed into the New Suffolk dock before anyone could jump aboard and cut the engine. Frost wrote to the Navy Department that the problem had been solved and all the men involved had reported to work the next day.[12] To ensure adequate warning against exhaust leaks the crew began to carry caged mice in the submarine, serving a function analogous to that performed by canaries in coal mines.

Once again John Lowe, now a captain and member of the Naval Engineering Examining Board, served as the Navy's advance man and liaison with the Holland Company. Acting on directives from the Navy Department, Lowe reached New Suffolk on 13 July and familiarized himself with the company's operations. Lowe found a force of mechanics servicing and operating the *Holland,* and noted that a two-mile-long trial and practice course had been laid out and marked with flags. The *Holland* and its crew executed practice runs throughout the summer. In Lowe's estimation, the runs were carried out for "experiment, for the instruction of the crew, and their understudies, and incidentally for exhibition purposes whenever convenient for all parties concerned." Lowe reported that on 6 October, two German naval officers inspected the *Holland* and one made a submerged trip.

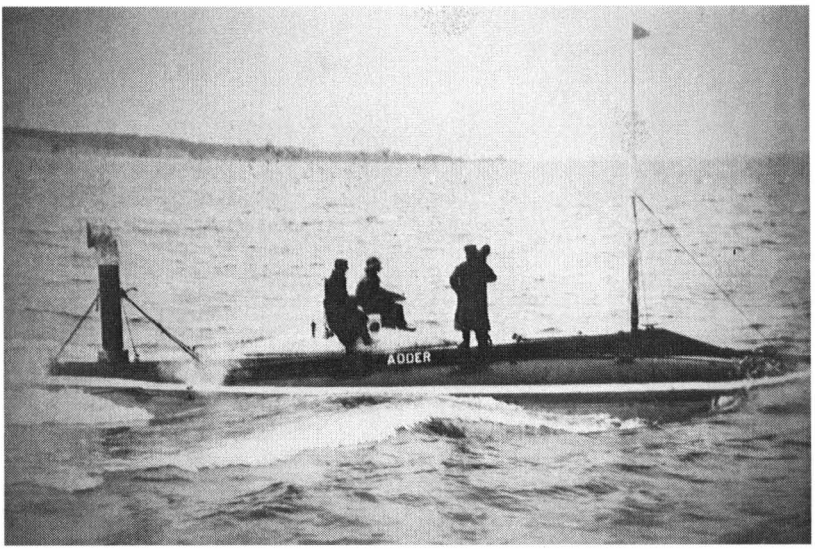
Lowe, whose enthusiasm for Holland-built submarines was already on record, was concerned that the United States would lose the race to build effective submarines, despite the practical advantage of having a fully operational one at hand. In fact, in his subsequent report of the submarine trials to the Navy secretary, Lowe again presumed to lecture his superiors on perceived weaknesses of American Naval torpedo systems, the alleged fear of "phantom ships" during the war with Spain, and the necessity to avoid being bound by "any Hague Conference or pusillanimous humanitarianism forbidding [submarines]."This was too much for Navy Secretary Long, who, on 23 November, chastised him for "the expression of intemperate ideas in an official report," and demanded an acknowledgment of this reprimand, which Lowe dutifully submitted.[13]

The decisive trial of the *Holland* took place on 6 November 1899. The Naval Board of Inspection crossed from New London to Greenport, where it was met by company representatives, including Holland, after which the combined party proceeded to New Suffolk. Lowe and Commander W. H. Emory joined the six-man crew for the submarine's test runs. The rest of the inspection party, including Holland, observed the trials from the company's tender, which kept abreast of the *Holland* during the runs. The course was a measured mile, marked by flags, which ran parallel to Little Hog Neck. In running the course forward and back the trial's distance was two miles in all. The exercises lasted from 12:45 to 3:50 p.m. The report of the Board of Inspection and Survey informed Washington that the submarine met all requirements, including the firing of two Whitehead torpedoes brought to New Suffolk the previous August. Lowe's individual report, mentioned above, was even more effusive."The *Holland*," he declared, "is a successful and veritable submarine boat, capable of making a veritable attack upon and enemy unseen and undetectable, and that, therefore she is and Engine of Warfare of terrible potency which the Government must necessarily adopt into its service."[14]

Upon the successful conclusion of the November sea trials, Frost offered to sell the *Holland* to the Navy for $160,000 although she probably had cost the company $236,615. The submarine was then taken to Washington in a lobbying maneuver to ensure further submarine appropriations. After watching the craft perform on the Potomac, Admiral John Dewey, naval hero of the recently concluded Spanish-American War , remarked that, "if the [Spanish] had had two of those things in Manila, I could not have held it with the squadron I had....With two of them in Galveston, all the navies in the world could not blockade the place." Amazingly, the government ordered two more trials before buying the vessel for $150,000, making the United States the second nation to adopt a submarine. The government also declared it would consider purchasing other underwater craft at a cost not to exceed $170,000. John P. Holland joined the submarine lobbying effort and testified before the House Committee on Naval Affairs. The combined efforts bore fruit and on 7 June 1900, an appropriations act provided for five boats of the "improved *Holland* type," much like a design John P. Holland had completed the previous fall.[15]



Holland Boat Company, New Suffolk. Photograph, ca. 1903, courtesy of the U.S. Navy Submarine Base, Groton, Conn.



The *Adder* in Peconic Bay, off New Suffolk. Photograph, ca. 1903, courtesy of the U.S. Navy Submarine Base, Groton, Conn.

The new submarines were to be sixty-three feet, four-inches long, and carry eight-man crews. They later tested out at nine knots on the surface, and were capable of seven while submerged. The pneumatic dynamite gun was scrapped, and the new submarines would carry five fourteen-foot torpedoes. In the end, the government contracted for six vessels in addition to the *Holland.* Submarines were also sold to Great Britain, Russia and Japan. The old *Plunger* was consigned to the scrap heap and the new craft made ready for delivery between 1902 and 1903. All the Holland-built submarines were included in the "Adder Class," numbered A-1 through A-7. Lewis Nixon's Crescent Shipyard in Baltimore produced the *Adder, Porpoise*, and *Shark*, while the Union Shipyard in San Francisco turned out the *Grampus* and *Pike.* The United States had become a two-ocean submarine power.

While the Atlantic-based submarines were constructed in Baltimore, New Suffolk remained the Holland Company's base for outfitting and testing. As soon as the *Holland* completed its November 1899 tests, the New Suffolk facility was expanded to include two new large sheds. By August 1901, while the *Fulton* was being tested and the *Adder* was expected within a few weeks, New Suffolk had been transformed into a submarine base—the first of its kind in the world. According to the *Riverhead News,* "The engines and machinery [of the submarines] are installed in the rough at the shipyard and when the vessel has been towed here [New Suffolk] these are completed by experts in the machine shop."[16] The effect on the small village, which had previously been devoted to fishing, shellfishing, and other traditional bay activities, was electric.

The *Riverhead News*'s report of this energizing effect was copied from an article in the *Brooklyn Eagle*, suggesting a peculiar lack of initiative by the local newsmen. "The village," the article began,

> feels the wonderful stimulation through the arrival of the Holland Company, for from an old fashioned, humdrum Long Island village of a few souls with listless animation as regards work and employment for the men, it has been transformed into a community of the greatest bustling activity. Every man in the vicinity who wants work can find it here at the largest wages ever paid to unskilled labor on Long Island. Skilled mechanics are in great demand and the Company is still short-handed, although double wages are paid and the working day is of eight hours. About seventy-five men are employed at the present time and with the big wages being paid New Suffolk is reaping a harvest. The number of men is being constantly increased, and the plant works day, night and Sundays in the rush to get the boats completed.
>
> On account of the beautiful harbor and fine bottom and quiet inland bay, the Holland Company selected this as the best place in the United States to test and put the finishing touches on the submarine torpedo boats. The Company has erected here a machine shop, 30 x 60 feet, with a boiler room and a blacksmith shop that is 20 x 30. The Company is now building a

> storage house 30 x 45 feet, and in addition to the buildings, thousands of dollars have been spent perfecting the finest basin on the eastern end of Long Island which may be 300 x 350 feet. When the *Eagle* man visited the place an immense dredge was finishing digging. The depth will be twelve feet at low water and fifteen feet at high water in this basin which is inclosed [*sic*].
>
> The Company is also engaged in building a substantial breakwater of stone around the basin, insure against damage by storms. Next week, the Company will begin building two set of immense hydraulic ways on the south side of the wharf. These will be used to draw out the submarine boats.

While completing its testing at New Suffolk the *Fulton* spent fifteen hours on the bottom of Peconic Bay, during which the crew found that the submarine remained unaffected by storms raging on the surface. Standard practice was for the Holland Company men to train the Navy crews in the techniques of submarine operation and then turn the vessels over to them..[17]

The New Suffolk submarine complex grew even larger in 1902. In September, while the *Adder* completed its endurance tests under the watchful eyes of government inspectors, the company constructed a two and one-half story building for storage and drafting purposes. Once again, the submarine base generated employment for local men, in this case "Boss Beebee of Cutchogue" and his workers, after Beebee received the contract for erecting the new facilities.[18]

On 11 November, a Naval Board of Inspection arrived in New Suffolk to observe both the *Adder* and the *Moccasin* during their sea trials, a full report of which appeared in the *Riverhead News:*

> The *Adder* made about seven knots an hour and gave a satisfactory exhibition of her underwater-going abilities. Straight as an arrow and level as the water which she ploughed, the *Adder* sped up to the southward for exactly seven minutes, then her fish-like hull with its bronze conning tower, shot into sight on the surface. Diving out of sight again she began the return trip at a speed even greater than before, and preserving with wonderful accuracy a depth of about eight feet below the surface. Those who were down in the Adder's hold during the trial, which lasted one hour and forty-two minutes, say the boat was absolutely level while running and there was no unpleasant sensation or lack of air on the trip.[19]

The newspaper reported that the *Moccasin* performed equally well. During 1903 five *Adder*-class submarines were at the New Suffolk base, along with tenders and torpedo boats. One by one the A-boats left the North Fork to serve in the submarine flotilla of the Navy's North Atlantic Squadron.

In August 1903, *The Riverhead News* reported activities of the submarines' inventor which had "found currency" in New Suffolk. According to the paper,

John P. Holland

> has turned his attention partially from boats to flying apparatus...His efforts are along the lines of devising wings suitable for each individual's use, so that man may fly as do the fowls of the air. Mr. Holland's ideas have been developed to a surprising efficiency beneath the waves and in view of his supremacy in that element hitherto supposed to be exclusively the home of sportive fish he would be a rank skeptic who would aver that nothing definite could come from his attempts to make man feel at home in the spaces above the earth's surface.[20]

There may have been some truth to the story since Holland had occasionally turned his attention to air travel, though some of the reported contentions seem fanciful. However, Holland probably was not present in New Suffolk at this time, and the local people had no way of knowing that the Electric Boat Company's campaign to push him aside was reaching a climax.

At various times the activities of the Holland Company had attracted the interest of foreign governments, and it had received a number of foreign contracts. The *Riverhead News* noted a visit of Japanese officials from Washington, who arrived at the submarine complex on 20 April 1904. The officials inspected the *Fulton* "the only diver left in the basin. The Company is very reticent about the visit of the men and will not give names or business. The Japs [*sic*] took dinner aboard the houseboat with Supt. Spear, and returned to New York on the afternoon train."[21]

The *Riverhead News* gave no indication that it comprehended the significance of the *Fulton*'s being the only vessel left in the basin. As the government's original contract reached fulfillment, the parent company decided to change the locale of its operations. Apparently, rumors of move reached the North Fork. On 1 October 1904, the *Riverhead News* carried a short article claiming the Holland Company had built a large construction plant near Boston to be used to produce steel hulls. "This station [New Suffolk] is to be kept for experimental work only."[22] The report was partly correct. Electric Boat moved its submarine facility to Fore River before concentrating its enterprise at Groton, Connecticut, in the 1920s.

The *Riverhead News* was wrong about one point, however. No submarine work was to be continued at New Suffolk. All operations on Long Island ceased, and the company relocated all its production and testing elsewhere. By 1905, the once bustling submarine base at New Suffolk had disappeared. The village returned to its former, placid appearance and the workers dispersed to their homes, previous occupations, or perhaps across the Sound to continue pursuit of their new trade of submarine construction. In New Suffolk, nothing remained to indicate that the village had served as the submarine capital of the nation—perhaps of the world—during the birth of this new technology.

The inventor of the world's first fully successful and operational submarines was increasingly denied the compensation and recognition his creativity

warranted. The Holland Torpedo Boat Company had begun to shunt him aside even as the New Suffolk facility was coming into operation. In June 1900, Holland was demoted from general manager to chief engineer. Both Isaac Rice and Elihu Frost believed the company needed degreed engineers, not self-taught, immigrant inventors. The Navy had occasionally modified Holland's designs in ways the submarine's inventor considered retrograde. When the very cautious head of the Naval Construction Board, Lawrence Y. Spears, resigned from the Navy and took a position as the Holland Company's vice president and naval architect, John P. Holland knew his days with the firm were numbered.

In 1904, increasingly critical and disturbed about design and organizational developments, Holland tendered his resignation to Rice. He did not cease designing submarines, however. In fact, he drew up plans for a new high speed submarine capable of both coastal defense and high seas work. He attempted to interest the Navy in his new model, but naval officials feared it was too fast to be safe underwater. In contrast, Kogro Matsukate, of the Kawasaki Dockyard in Kobe, visited Holland at his Paterson workshop and consulted the venerable inventor about submarine construction.[22] About this time, the Japanese purchased Holland's designs for two submarines intended for use in the Russo-Japanese War. For his contributions to Japanese naval power, Holland was awarded the Order of the Rising Sun. He attempted to set up his own submarine company, turning to foreign markets because the United States Navy showed little interest in his creations. Since Rice and Frost had sold his previous patents to specific foreign companies, European investors were unsure of his legal standing and would not enter into contracts with him.

To make matters worse, the Electric Boat Company filed a suit in New Jersey Chancery Court claiming that Holland had agreed to assign them all the patents he produced during his natural life. They also attempted to enjoin him from using the name Holland in his new company. Holland retorted that his contract with the Electric Boat Company entitled the company only to those designs he produced while engaged as their engineer.[24] The courts eventually found in Holland's favor, but the damage was done and financial support was scared away. Holland, who never earned more than $90 a week from the company, lacked the capital to launch a new submarine venture by himself.

During 1906-07. while Holland attempted to interest the Navy in his advanced designs, Spear, now chief architect for the Electric Boat Company, flattened the design of the A-Boats and second generation B-Boats, making them more submersibles than submarines. By 1907, Holland was effectively out of the submarine business. His frailties increased, and he grew increasingly bitter at the neglect of his achievements and the claims of various Navy and Electric Boat Company people that they had improved his submarines. Holland's Irish nationalism flared up again, and he joined the American-Irish Historical Society. In 1913, his nineteen-year-old daughter died. Her death was followed in March 1914 by that of his old friend and collaborator, Charles Morris. The old inventor himself died on 12 August 1914, and was laid to rest in the Holy Sepulcher Cemetery in Paterson. Forty days later, the German *U-9* torpedoed and sank three British cruisers. A submarine of 450 tons, with a twenty-six man crew, sent

36,000 tons and 1,400 men to a watery grave. John P. Holland's "she-devil" had arrived on the center of the world stage.

NOTES

1. The resting place of the *Hunley* and its crew was discovered in May 1995 (see *American History* (Oct. 1995): 16-20.

2. Richard Knowles Morris, *John P. Holland, 1841-1914:Inventor of the Modern Submarine* (Annapolis, MD: US Naval Institute, 1966), 22; William Hallahan, *Misfire: The History of How American Small Arms Have Failed Our Military* (New York: Scribners, 1994).

3. Morris, 85.

4. E. B. Frost, secretary, Holland Torpedo Boat Co., to Theodore Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, 23 Apr. 1898, National Archives.

5. W. H. Jaques, president, Holland Torpedo Boat Co., to John D. Long, Secretary of the Navy, 14 May 1898, National Archives.

6. John P. Holland to John A. Long, 22 July 1898; rejection notice, Navy Department Board of Construction, 26 July 1898, National Archives.

7. Report, Lt. N. Sargent to Board of Auxiliary Vessels, 28 March 1898, National Archives.

8. Chief Constructor Hichborn, endorsement of Lt. N. Sargent's report, 14 Nov. 1898, National Archives; Chief Engineer John Lowe, USN "Report on the *Holland* Submarine Torpedo Boat," 14 Nov. 1898, National Archives.

9. Morris, 101.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid, 103.

12. E. B. Frost to Admiral Frederich Rodgers, 28 Oct. 1899, National Archives.

13. Captain John Lowe, report to Secretary of the Navy John D. Long, 7 Nov. 1899, National Archives; John D. Long, Secretary of the Navy, to Captain John Lowe, 23 Nov., 1899, National Archives.

14. Lowe to Long, 7 Nov.

15. Morris, 107, 109, 111.

16. *Riverhead News*, 17 Aug. 1901, 2.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid., 27 Sept. 1902.

19. Ibid., 15 Nov. 1902, 2.

20. Ibid., 11 Aug. 1903, 2.

21. Ibid., 23 Apr. 1902, 2.

22. Ibid., 1 Oct. 1904, 1.

23. Morris, 124.

24. Ibid., 129.

WALT WHITMAN'S LONG ISLAND FRIEND: ELISA SEAMAN LEGGETT

By Joann P. Krieg

As a Long Island resident with close ties to the Walt Whitman Birthplace, I am naturally alert, in my Whitman scholarship, to the discovery of Long Island connections. One such connection, encountered while researching Whitman's various editions of *Leaves of Grass*, comes from the pen of Whitman himself in the form of an advertisement he wrote for the 1872 edition. In it he refers to himself, in the third person, as "this chanter from Paumanok," and in a footnote explains the term Paumanok (offering alternative spellings of Paumanake or Paumanack) as "the aboriginal name of Long Island, New York." He describes the island as follows:

> A peculiar region over a hundred miles long, shaped like a fish— plenty of sea-shore, sandy, stormy, uninviting, the horizon boundless, the air healthy, but too strong for invalids, the bays a wonderful resort for aquatic birds, the south-side meadows covered with salt hay, the soil of the island generally tough, but good for the locust-tree, the apple orchard, and the blackberry, and with numberless springs of the sweetest water in the world.
>
> Years ago among the bay-men—a strong wild race, now extinct, or rather entirely changed—a native of Long Island was called a *Paumanacker*, or *Creole-Paumanacker*.[1]

In the recently published final two volumes of Horace Traubel's meticulously kept record of the last years of Whitman's life, another link to the poet's Long Island past is revealed. Here we learn of a friendship that existed between Whitman and the Stony Brook painter, William Sidney Mount. To my knowledge, it is the first direct evidence of a friendship between these two important Long Islanders whose artistic visions, especially as they pertained to the expression of the vernacular in American life, were not dissimilar. Referring to Mount as an "artist—character-ist, I call him," the seventy-two year old Whitman remembers:

> He lived away from the city at a place called Storey Creek [Stony

> Brook?]—lived with his parents. When he would come to the city, we usually went to the theatre together—the Park Theatre, usually—and if anything struck him there, any curious, beautiful character—a head, shoulders—he would whip some paper out of his pocket—he always carried it—and indicate by a few deft lines, which of course excited my wonder and admiration. Mount was in demand those days painted portraits, sold them. It was long, long ago. He long, long wandered out of my ken.[2]

Clearly Whitman never lost his appreciation of Long Island and its people, but evidence of his having maintained contact with individuals, other than family members, familiar to him in the days before he became the "chanter from Paumanok" is hard to find. All the more intriguing then, are the letters and notebook entries that reveal a friendship, not close but enduring, between Whitman and a woman who shared some of his Long Island memories. It is not known just when Whitman met Elisa Seaman, later Leggett, nor do we know the circumstances of their meeting, but indications are that their acquaintance owed much to Whitman's admiration for the Quaker Elias Hicks, who married into the Seaman family, and that it may have been furthered by their mutual friendship with William Cullen Bryant, whose Cedarmere estate still graces Long Island.[3]

* * *

Elisa Seaman was born at 90 (later 21) Beekman Street, New York City, on 9 May 1815, four years before Whitman's birth in West Hills, Long Island. A fifth-generation Seaman, Elisa was descended from Captain John Seaman, who came from England in 1630, settled in Hempstead, Long Island, and died there in 1695. Sometime before 1686 Captain Seaman became a member of the Society of Friends, and his descendants remained Quakers.[4] In 1771, one of those descendants, Jemima Seaman, married Elias Hicks, later a famed Quaker leader, who was a childhood friend of Walt Whitman's paternal grandfather. Elias Hicks was revered by Whitman's parents and similarly held in the highest esteem by the poet who, late in life, wrote a biographical tribute to him.[4]

Jemima Seaman Hicks was a cousin of Elisa Seaman's father, Valentine Seaman. Dr. Valentine Seaman was a man of no small repute, having been most active in the medical fight against yellow fever in the 1790s when New York suffered the worst epidemical outbreaks. Dr. Seaman also introduced smallpox vaccination to New York City after having gone to England to learn the method directly from Dr. Edward Jenner, and is noted for having instituted an innovative school in New York for the training of women nurses and midwives.[5]

Elisa was the youngest of ten children, and at her father's death in 1817 she was the only child remaining at home with a deaf mother, a housekeeper she later claimed was "half crazy," a cook whose husband was an escaped slave

and required hiding as did others like him who were given refuge in this Quaker home, and the cook's grandchildren, who were Elisa's principal playmates. Two other playmates were skeletons left in the attic from a brother's medical school days, which Elisa would dress for tea parties. When General Lafayette visited New York on 4 July 1825, Leggett was not so fortunate as the boy Whitman, who had the privilege of being lifted over a barrier by the general; she remembered only that Lafayette rode in an open carriage, and that she stood so close to the war hero that she might have touched his hand, "but did not dare to." At an early age she developed a longing to meet and know literary figures, the first of whom, Washington Irving, lived not far from her house. Almost every afternoon she would sit on her front stoop with a beautiful doll and hope that Irving would stop and speak to her. She never knew for certain if he did, but continued to hope, even years later, that he had in fact been one of those who greeted her in passing.[6]

In a later encounter with a literary figure the young Elisa was more fortunate. While visiting Philadelphia with family members, she stayed at the same boarding house where the famed Unitarian preacher, William Ellery Channing, and his wife were stopping. Disappointed that Channing was not well enough to appear at breakfast, Elisa later spoke to a gentleman at dinner of her great admiration for the Bostonian and was thrilled at the gentleman's somewhat reluctant admission to an acquaintance with Channing. After leaving the table her brother informed her that the gentleman was the very man she had hoped to meet. So began Elisa Seaman's list of literary giants. Years later she enumerated for her grandson: Irving, Channing, Theodore Parker, Bronson Alcott, Mrs. C. M. Kirkland, Charles A. Dana, William Cullen Bryant, Walt Whitman. To these she added the name of Lucretia Mott, "considered the greatest woman in mind that our country has," and told of having attended the wedding of Mott's daughter to Edward A. Hopper in Philadelphia.[7]

In her childhood Elisa spent summers on Long Island among her father's Quaker relatives at the home of one, William Hicks, who operated a store and lumber mill in Hempstead Harbor (present-day Roslyn), and was the first postmaster of Roslyn after its name change in 1844. He and his wife lived at what was later Cedarmere, Bryant's estate, when it was the Richard Kirk house. In 1834 Hicks became owner of Sycamore Lodge, and though title to the Lodge passed out of his hands in 1841, William and his wife continued to live there until his death in 1888.[8]

Sycamore Lodge was sizable and accommodated visiting Quakers who declined stopping at inns where liquor and tobacco were used. Here Elisa spent happy summer days, which she recalled in a letter written to Whitman from her home in Detroit in 1882:

Elisa Seaman Leggett. Undated photograph, courtesy of the Burton Historical Program, Detroit Public Library.

> So often I think of the days of my youth, amid the calm content of Quaker society, so beautiful. The home where often four generations in one family lived, a bit of the farm given to a child at his coming of age, and the marriage of youths scarcely separating families. Until I came to Michigan, thirty years ago, all my surroundings were among Friends, twelve years at Roslyn and Friends meeting at Westbury.[9]

It was here, among Long Island Quakers, that Elisa Seaman met Augustus Wright Leggett, who, like her, was a New York resident, he at 307 Pearl Street. Though never in formal membership, Leggett had extensive connections to Quakerism. They married in New York in 1836, not long after the Quaker Separation of 1827-28. The separation between orthodox and radical Quakers, the latter wing led by Elias Hicks, created a permanent schism. Though Elisa was dismissed by the orthodox New York Yearly Meeting for "marrying out," there is no record of a similar action by the New York Monthly Meeting of Hicksite Quakers. After living on Mercer Street in New York for a short time, the Leggetts moved to Peekskill where the first of their nine children was born. From there they moved to Hempstead Harbor on Long Island to live among her Quaker relations at "Hillside," property adjoining that which was soon to become Bryant's Cedarmere. [10]

The Leggetts were part of the circle of neighbors, including the Bryants, who in 1844 chose the name Roslyn when their community of Hempstead Harbor found it was being confused with Hempstead, North Hempstead, and Hempstead Branch. In 1843 Elisa Leggett took membership in the Westbury Monthly Meeting (Hicksite). She retained many Quaker ways throughout her life, addressing family members with the familiar "thee," and Whitman, in letters, as "Friend," explaining to him that "it seems very much out of tune to say Mr. to Walt Whitman," and that she preferred "the good old Quaker dignity of addressing one by name alone... "[11] Because the only publication of some of her surviving letters to Whitman is long out of print, essential portions will be included here.

The next trace of Elisa Leggett appears on 3 February 1851, when Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonck, a clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church and a local historian with long family roots in the Hempstead Harbor/Roslyn area, responded to her request for information on the region. His lengthy, detailed recollections covering the years 1796 to 1811 were published much later, in the *Roslyn News* of 3 July 1903 in a column devoted to local history, "Ye Olden Roslyn."[12] Three months after Onderdonck wrote his letter to Leggett, however, a New York newspaper, the *Plaindealer*, for 28 May 1851, published an article titled "Sketches of Roslyn," which it said was copied from the *Brooklyn Advertiser*. This piece enjoyed a long and involved history. In 1920, the *Roslyn News* reprinted portions of it from its own earlier reprint of 17 July 1878; the 1920 version included a note by the 1878 editor which referred to a column in the 1851 *Plaindealer* called "Our Department" (evidently a women's column) "conducted by `E. L. S.,' a lady in every sense

of the word." No doubt this was a reversal, intentional or in error, of Elisa Seaman Leggett's initials, for Augustus W. Leggett was the founder and editor, from 1850 to about 1852, of the Roslyn *Plaindealer*, and his wife, who fancied herself a writer, would have written the column. Of interest here is the reference to the *Brooklyn Advertiser* and the fact that between 18 May and 6 June 1850, the editor of the *Advertiser* had published no less than sixteen sketches of Brooklyn written by the unemployed journalist Walt Whitman, who had recently lost his editorship of the *Brooklyn Eagle*. One wonders if the original *Advertiser* sketch of Roslyn was also written by Whitman using the facts supplied to Mrs. Leggett by Onderdonk, and if Mrs. Leggett, through her husband's newspaper connections, had been instrumental in securing for him these frequent publications; there is, however, no reference to it in their surviving correspondence.[13]

With her high regard for writers, it is not surprising that Elisa Leggett pursued the Bryant family when they became her next-door neighbors. Though the great man seems to have found her something of a bore, a lasting friendship developed between the two families, and to the end of her life Elisa recalled those happy times for her children and grandchildren. In a letter to Whitman (who, of course, was also a friend of Bryant's) written in October 1880, Elisa tells of feeling lonely in October since Bryant's death two years before:

> Always in this month I used to write to him, just that I might be ahead in my congratulations upon his birthday [3 November]. I remember the sweet October days in Roslyn, when he and his wife would come over to Hillside, on some soft, dreamy afternoon in the Indian summer; perhaps with a small basket with nice lunch in it and a book....[14]

A happy side-benefit of this relationship for Elisa was the opportunity afforded her to meet, through Bryant, "many of the best known thinkers and writers of that time." That Whitman was not one of them we can gather from her query, in one of her letters, if he ever visited Roslyn, but his response has been lost. While there is no evidence of such a visit, we have his words describing the place which indicate some familiarity, though he appears to have confused Roslyn with neighboring Glen Cove, formerly Mosquito Cove. In 1889, three years before his death, Whitman said of Bryant's Long Island home that it was "a beautiful place—somewhat clify [*sic*]—rather clify: of old it was called Mosquito Cove, but when the wealthy New Yorkers came along with their handsome stately villas, Mosquito Cove had a plain, rude sound, which they changed to Roslyn ...."[15]

In 1852 the Leggetts moved to Michigan, along with Augustus Leggett's parents, brother, and an assortment of children, nurses, servants, and horses. They lived first in Pontiac, then Clintonville, and finally Detroit, where Augustus Leggett was Collector of Customs. Their home in Detroit was a center for progressive people, and they entertained everyone from the

governor down; Bronson Alcott, on one of his lecture tours, stayed for weeks, and Sojourner Truth is mentioned as a guest at the time of one of Mrs. Leggett's letters to Whitman. Elisa Leggett found much that needed doing in Detroit, starting with public drinking fountains, and she obviously knew whom to address about their want. As she wrote Whitman:

> When we came into Detroit, fifteen years ago, there was no place in the streets for a drink of water—no old-fashioned pumps, and no new-fashioned fountains. I knew three editors of daily papers. I said: "It is no wonder that dogs go mad in Detroit. They must run down to the river before they can get a drink. And it's no wonder that the beer saloons flourish, for not even a little boy or poor laboring man can get a cup of cold water." So I talked in season and out to everybody, thinking I might touch the hem of some garment, and virtue would go out from it. So, after a year or more, one morning, there came a nice editorial advocating fountains, such as they had in Philadelphia and the City Fathers were moved, and now we have all we want.[16]

At the time of writing, Leggett had undertaken another crusade, to have a national holiday declared for 14 October in commemoration of Columbus's arrival in the New World. It was because of her commitment to this cause, she told Whitman, that her husband made her a gift of a copy of the poet's "Prayer of Columbus," his 1874 poem written when, having suffered a paralyzing stroke, he felt himself to be as he described his hero, "A batter'd, wreck'd old man."[17]

On 3 June 1880, Walt Whitman (having recovered from his stroke) set out on a journey north to visit his friend Dr. Richard M. Bucke of London, Ontario, Canada. He must have written Elisa Leggett before that date to say he would stop to visit with her and her family in Detroit (he entered her address in the notebook he took on his trip), for in October she wrote:

> We felt sorry not to have you come to us. All the summer the chair stood for you on our piazza. It stands there yet, with its broad arms waiting for you. All summer the old willows swayed and rippled, and spoke the "various language." All summer thousands of sparrows came home at early twilight and talked in the great ivy on the east wall of our home, and Walt Whitman came not to sit beside us. Well, we all felt sorry. When I say all, I mean three generations, a goodly company of old and young, down to the babe of a few days old. It may be the baby felt sorry. If it don't now, it will when it learns of our disappointment, for its mother did. My son sent me your picture last week from New York, the one sitting on the rocks, by Sarony. I don't know when it was taken, but it looks younger than the one he sent me three years ago, the one with the large necktie.[18]

On 8 June Whitman indicated in his notebook that he had written to Mrs. Leggett, thanking her for her letter and "for the print of EH." This was the print of the portrait of Elias Hicks done from a Henry Inman engraving, which Whitman used to illustrate his biographical sketch of Hicks in *November Boughs*. In December 1880 he sent Leggett a letter and some "poetry slips," meaning some of his recently published poems. In February the following year, he sent a copy of *The Critic* of 29 January with the first installment of his essay, "How I Get Around at Sixty, and Take Notes," and later mailed her a copy of the 21 May issue of the Philadelphia periodical, the *American*, containing his poem "A Summer's Invocation" (later "Thou Orb Aloft Full-Dazzling"). In August, Whitman sent the 15 August 1881 *New York Tribune* in which his "City Notes in August" appeared, as well as the 4 August *Long Islander* (the newspaper he founded in 1837 and sold in 1838) containing two features, Mary E. Wager-Fisher's "Poets' Homes," which included mention of his West Hills birthplace, and "Walt Whitman in Huntington." Later notations indicate he sent Leggett copies of his poem "Fancies at Navesink" and his article "A Word About Tennyson."[19]

In the same decade, another link was forged in the friendship of these two Long Islanders. In 1880, Percy Ives, grandson of Elisa Leggett, arrived in Philadelphia to study with Thomas Eakins at the Academy of Fine Arts and paid his respects at Camden, New Jersey, where Whitman lived. Whitman describes Percy in his notebook as "age 16, a student, intends to be an artist, lives bachelor's hall fashion in Philadelphia—reads Emerson, Carlyle, and is a son of Lewis T. Ives, Artist—Academy of Fine Arts."[20]

On a number of occasions in 1881 and 1882 Whitman made note of visits from young Ives, of whom he seems to have greatly approved. The friendship between the two raises the possibility of Whitman having met Thomas Eakins, through Percy, earlier than the 1887 date Whitman assigned to the meeting, and may prove a step toward eventual verification of current speculation that the Eakins photo of a nude elderly male, taken sometime in the early 1880s, is of Whitman. Percy Ives may also prove to be the intermediary through whom Eakins came into contact with William Duckett, Whitman's young driver, whom Eakins photographed in the nude sometime between 1886 and 1892. Because Duckett was about the same age as Percy, the two may have met in Camden, with Ives perhaps suggesting that Duckett obtain work as a model for Eakins.[21]

According to the records of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Percy Ives, son of Elisa Leggett's daughter Margaret and Lewis T. Ives, also a painter, studied with Eakins from 1881 to 1884 (two years before Eakins was forced to leave the Academy), after which he went to Paris to continue studying, and later moved to Detroit, Michigan. Like his father, he became a noted portrait painter, though his most important commission, an oil portrait of President Grover Cleveland executed during his time in office, was originally made to Lewis Ives until illness made the undertaking impossible and the son took his place. Later, Percy Ives was a founder of the Detroit Art

Institute (originally the Detroit Museum of Art). He died in 1928. While studying in Philadelphia, young Ives did an oil portrait of Whitman, sketches of which, done by the artist, are in the Feinberg Collection, Library of Congress.[22]

Four letters from Whitman to Elisa Leggett written between 1880 and 1882 are missing, but on 19 December 1882 Leggett sent Whitman a Christmas greeting in which she mentions hearing from Percy "that you are in better health than you were during the summer." She refers to an invitation sent to him for the wedding of her daughter Blanche in June of the previous year, which he did not attend. "Choose who you like to come," she reports having told Blanche when the invitations were being prepared, to which the bride-to-be responded, "'Oh, I would be so glad to have Walt Whitman! He seems so much like one of our family.'I send you her picture," the mother adds, "that you may think of the child who feels like a sister to you."[23]

From glimpses such as this into the feelings of the Leggett family for Whitman it appears that their relationship with him was a strong and emotional one. It makes the scholar long to know the details of when this relationship began and how it was maintained in the years prior to the Leggetts departure for Michigan.

News of the October 1890 oration by Robert G. Ingersoll, to be delivered at Philadelphia in the poet's honor, prompted Elisa to write her congratulations to Whitman on 20 October 1890, and to write to another daughter, Augusta Pease, immediately after. Still full of joyful emotion, she tells Augusta she "can hardly hold my Pen." Confident that Whitman will be "a great deal better known after he is dead," she concedes that "the *present* is always stupid...just wait a *hundred* years." Then, perhaps because she is writing to a daughter and/or because Leggett was a strong supporter of the women's movement of her time, she quotes Whitman's friend and admirer, Mrs. Anne Gilchrist, on the failure of the present to accept Whitman: "we cannot reach up high enough," and describes Gilchrist as "an English Author and great thinker [who] called him the 'Shakespeare of America.'"[24]

Just a portion of another letter exists, addressed to the same daughter, Augusta Pease, and evidently written soon after Whitman's death in 1892. In it Elisa Leggett confesses to feeling "sort of bewildered" at the death, and as if "something has gone out of my heart." She "always did have such a sort of pity for him," she says, adding that she always felt he was "lonely....Well never mind," she concludes, "it's over now—but the heartbreak of the man—."[25] With this unfinished thought the line of connection between the two Long Islanders fades. It is heartening, however, to find this evidence of Whitman's having maintained contact with someone from his Long Island days. As the events of his life led him further and further away from West Hills, and as friends (such as Bryant) and acquaintances died, there were fewer opportunities for the kinds of exchanges the "chanter from Paumanok" enjoyed with Elisa Seaman Leggett.

NOTES

1. Oscar Lion Collection, New York Public Library. In a footnote to a description of Long Island in *Specimen Days,* Whitman attributes this to John Burroughs. Floyd Stovall, editor of *Prose Works,* vol. 1, could not locate it in Burroughs's works, however, and says it was "from what appears to be a newspaper clipping inserted by Whitman..." (11). I suggest that the clipping may have been the advertisement Whitman wrote for the 1872 edition of *Leaves of Grass.*

2. Horace Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden, October 1, 1891-April 3, 1892,* Jeanne Chapman and Robert MacIsaac, eds. (Oregon House, Cal.: W. L. Bentley, 1996)9: 407. Rather than "Storey Creek," Whitman no doubt meant Stony Brook. The Mount collection in The Museums at Stony Brook include Mount's theater sketches.

3. A portion of the description of Long Island quoted above appears in Whitman's biographical sketch of Hicks in *November Boughs*; see *Prose Works* (New York, 1964) 2:629.

4. *The Seaman Family in America as Descended from Captain John Seaman of Hempstead Long Island,* compiled by Mary Thomas Seaman (New York: Tobias and Wright, 1928), 127-29.

5. See my *Epidemics in the Modern World* (New York: Twayne, 1992), 62-63, and Lloyd G. Stevenson, "Putting Disease on the Map: The Early Use of Spot Maps in the Study of Yellow Fever," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 20 (1965):226-61.

6. Elisa Seaman Leggett, "My Book of Life," 46, unpublished ms. account written in 1888 for a grandson, Augustus Wright Ives, in the Roslyn Public Library, Roslyn. This ms. is complete; another, also in the Roslyn Library, written later for a granddaughter, Ellarose A. Randall, is an extract. Most of the information on Leggett's life is from "My Book of Life." Whitman's account of Lafayette's visit is in *Prose Works* 2:13.

7. "My Book of Life," 21.

8. Catherine B. Fahnestock, *Story of Sycamore Lodge, Roslyn Harbor, Long Island* (Port Washington, 1964), 1-10.

9. Leggett to Whitman, 9 October 1880, reprinted in Thomas Donaldson, *Walt Whitman the Man* (London: Gay & Bird, 1897), 239.

10. Later, in 1851, this "Hillside" property was owned by Edward W. Leggett, who once complained to Bryant of obstructions placed in the easement through Bryant's property that allowed access to the Leggett estate (Bryant, *Letters* 3 [1849-1857]), 172. I have not been able to determine the connection between Edward W. Leggett and Augustus Wright Leggett.

11. Donaldson, 239.

12. Portions of the Onderdonck letter appear in Roy W. Moger, *Roslyn Then & Now* (Roslyn Public Schools, 1965), 22-28.

13. Another, earlier *Plaindealer* was owned by the radical Democrat William Leggett, a partner with Bryant on the *New York Evening Post.* This Leggett, a political mentor of Whitman in his days as New York journalist, died in 1839; I have found no connection

between the two families of Leggetts.

14. Donaldson, 239.

15. Tarubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden* (Carbondale, Il: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1964), 5:467

16. Donaldson, 241-42.

17. Her other projects included the establishment of a public park, and the founding of a history club and a weekly discussion group. She was also active in collecting money for the refugees in the Freedmen's camps.

18. Donaldson, 240; the photo, by the New York photographer Napoleon Sarony, was taken in 1878.

19. Whitman, *Daybooks and Notebooks*, ed. William White (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1978) 1:188, 217, 224, 222, 246; 2:360.

20. Ibid., 1:207.

21. Traubel, 4, 155,; for the nude photograph, see Ed Folsom, "Whitman's Calamus Photographs," in *Breaking Bounds*, eds. Betsy Erkkila and Jay Grossman (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1996), 193-219; for the Duckett photo see Folsom, "Whitman's Calamus Photographs."

22. Charles E. Feinberg, "Percy Ives, Detroit and Walt Whitman," *Detroit Historical Society Bulletin* 16 (Feb. 1960):4-11.

23. Donaldson, 247. This letter includes a bizarre story about Percy's mother, Margaret, at the age of seven. A child was born dead to someone in the house while the girl was at school. On Margaret's return, her mother, Elisa Leggett, wishing to learn if children have a natural dread of death, dressed the dead infant and gave it to her daughter to hold as if a doll. The child accepts the "doll," holds it, and asks to keep it awhile. The mother leaves the room; soon the child asks to have the doll taken away because it is "so still it makes me feel so strange!" Leggett commented that it may have been the silence that was so powerful, "So I feel the silences in the meetings of Friends" (Donaldson, 248). While the story seems somewhat morbid, the desire to learn by observation, and the attempt to connect sensory perceptions with psychological states suggests Elisa may have inherited her father's scientific curiosity.

24. Letter in the Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library; Leggett's letter to Whitman of the same date, mentioned in the letter to her daughter, is lost. Ingersoll, the "great agnostic" and freethinker, had become an admirer of Whitman after a reading, in 1888, of *Leaves of Grass*; Whitman welcomed his attentions. The 1890 lecture, "Liberty, in Literature," was a benefit held for the poet's assistance.

25. The undated fragment is in the Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library.

LIBRARY SERVICE at the UNITED STATES MERCHANT MARINE ACADEMY: ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT, 1942-1949

By Stephen R. Wiist

The United States Merchant Marine Academy was founded at Kings Point, New York, in January 1942, on a fifty-acre site formerly owned by the estate of automobile magnate Walter P. Chrysler. The impetus for establishing the academy was provided by passage of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 (as amended in 1938), which created the United States Merchant Marine Cadet Corps. The Cadet Corps was envisioned by Congress as a means of providing a modern and more efficient approach to the task of training young men for service as officers on ships of the American merchant marine.[1]

It had long been recognized that the American system of training marine officers was generally far inferior to methods employed by other modern nations of the world. The historical American method of "on-the-job" training, in which enterprising young men worked their way "from forecastle to quarter-deck" under the watchful and benevolent eye of the ship's captain, worked adequately during the era of the clipper ship. In the days following the Civil War, however, when technology brought frequent and sometimes profound changes in ship propulsion, methods of navigation, and the like, the old system proved totally inadequate.[2]

As late as the mid-1930s, only about 10 percent of American officers had received any systematic or formal training. About half of these were graduates of various state-operated nautical schools, while the remainder came from the ranks of the navy or coast guard. The vast majority, comprising roughly 80 percent, were graduates of life's school of practical experience.[3] By contrast, all Japanese and Italian, and 98 percent of French merchant officers sailing during the 1930s were graduates of government-sponsored training schools. Likewise, in Great Britain 75 percent of deck officers and 100 percent of engineering officers were graduates of official apprentice programs, and in Germany, Russia, and the Scandinavian countries attendance at government schools was a necessary prerequisite for taking license examinations.[4]

The creation of the Merchant Marine Cadet Corps and the establishment

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of a national nautical training school were seen as first steps in an effort designed to bring the American merchant marine into the twentieth century. In order to select a pool of qualified applicants for admission to the Corps, national examinations were held annually from 1938 to 1941. Since no formal site for the school had yet been selected, successful applicants were assigned to various temporary training locations, such as the Admiral Bellard Academy in New London, Connecticut; the New York State Maritime Academy at Fort Schuyler (in the Throgs Neck area of the Bronx); the United States Navy Yard at Algiers, Louisiana; and a naval base in San Francisco.[5]

During this period, a comprehensive four-year program was developed which included three years of formal classroom training and one year of practical experience at sea. The program which evolved was basically a synthesis of the best elements of the various European schools, adapted to meet specific American needs. It was anticipated that the program would become fully accredited and that those completing it would receive a bachelor of science degree.[6]

Kings Point was selected as the permanent site for the national school during fall 1941. In December, the former Chrysler estate overlooking Long Island Sound—and a mere stone's throw from the New York State Maritime Academy—was purchased by the War Shipping Administration for the sum of $100,000. Formal instruction, utilizing several buildings already on the site, began in January 1942. A massive building program was quickly initiated to provide necessary dormitories and classroom facilities. By the early summer of 1943, most of the construction had been completed and the academy was officially dedicated on 30 September.[7]

Instructional activity commenced less than two months after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the nation's subsequent entry into World War II. These events were destined to have a great impact on the attempt to create a library and implement meaningful library services at the academy. With the outbreak of the war, the primary objective of the academy quickly became one of graduating the largest number of "qualified" seamen in the shortest time possible.

Consequently, the four-year curriculum was shortened to a mere eighteen months, divided into three months of basic training at one of several regional centers, followed by six months at sea and nine of advanced classroom instruction at Kings Point. As a result of the shortened period of training, emphasis had to be placed on using a standardized format for presenting the most practical aspects of seamanship and marine engineering. Thus,

> Teaching [was] chiefly done by the lecture-demonstration method. Lectures [were] supplemented by pertinent laboratory and practical work. Extensive use [was] made of educational motion pictures, slide films, charts, models, specimens of equipment, and other visual aids. Instructors

> [were] guided uniformly...by lesson plans....These showed detailed content for each lesson, and when used in conjunction with the instructor's guide-book, insure[d] that all courses [were] taught in accordance with a standard form.[8]

The practical laboratory nature of the wartime curriculum left little opportunity—or necessity—for library-oriented research or independent study. In addition, the concept of a strong library received little support from the wartime faculty, 90 percent of whom were either professional merchant seamen or naval officers. Indeed, many of these instructors considered a library to have little relevance to their needs. Luis Bejarano, librarian of the academy from 1946 to 1960, tells the story of how one high-ranking instructor openly questioned the need for a library because he had graduated from the Naval Academy, received a commission, and sailed successfully for many years without ever being obliged to enter one.[9]

Despite such formidable forces aligned against it, the beginnings of a library appeared in February 1942—less than four weeks after the arrival of the first complement of cadets—with the receipt of 150 fiction books borrowed from the nearby Great Neck Public Library. In May, an additional 400 volumes—again mostly fiction—were transferred to the Academy from several ocean liners undergoing conversion for use as troop ships. During the early summer months, a volunteer solicitation by one Ensign Bannwart among the residents of Great Neck and neighboring Kings Point netted another 400 volumes.[10]

By August, the new library—largely through Bannwart's efforts—could boast of a "magnificent" collection of more than 800 volumes. Lacking a formal repository, the collection was given temporary lodging in a room of the former Chrysler mansion, along with the cadet mess hall and sleeping quarters. Bannwart was informally placed in charge of the collection. His primary duty, however, appears to have been seeing to it that books were properly charged out and returned by borrowers. No attempt was made to catalog or otherwise process the volumes. No provision was made in the 1942 academy budget for the purchase of additional volumes.[11]

In July 1943, Bannwart was replaced by Lieutenant Irving S. Pollard, the academy's Catholic chaplain. Like Bannwart, Pollard had no experience in administering a library. His responsibilities were merely collateral to his primary duty of administering to the spiritual well-being of the cadets. As a result, no formal library services were introduced during his tenure as librarian, and the collection remained mostly recreational in nature. As in the previous year, no funds were allocated for the purchase of new books or the processing of those already owned. The only additions to the collection during 1943 were the result of a few sporadic gifts from local residents.

The only important library event of 1943 occurred shortly after Pollard's appointment, when, in August, the book collection was transferred to a large room on the first floor of Bowditch Hall, a recently completed classroom building. The new dwelling was designated as the "Reference Library and Reading Room." The

librarian was placed under the jurisdiction of the visual information officer. Arrangements were made for the construction of shelving, and an official call was made for all staff members to deliver "all Academy owned books, with the exception of textbooks issued or held for issue...for use in Academy classes" to the librarian. At this time the library's collection still contained fewer than one thousand volumes.[12]

The move to Bowditch Hall was viewed as temporary by most academy personnel. Plans had been drawn for construction of a four-story, neoclassical structure to house the library, as well as for a proposed museum dedicated to the history of the American merchant marine. The relatively small sum of $500,000 had been earmarked for the building, which was designed to accommodate three hundred readers and house one hundred thousand volumes. Among projected facilities were a reference room, a recreational reading room, a movie theater, an exhibit room, a map and chart room, a fireproof file and record vault, a government documents room, staff offices, and work areas.[13]

Unfortunately, in June 1945—just as the construction proposal was to be submitted for final approval—academy officials received a directive from Edward Maccaully, the deputy administrator of the War Shipping Administration in Washington, to the effect that plans for any additional construction at the academy were to be scrapped pending the imminent conclusion of the war. Assurances were given, however, that the plan for a new library building would be given "favorable consideration" after the war. Despite these assurances, it would be another twenty-five years before the library would be able to move from Bowditch Hall into a facility of its own.[14]

Pollard's uneventful stewardship ended on 3 April 1944, when he was succeeded by Lieutenant. j. g. George B. Moreland. While, like his two predecessors, he had no formal training as a librarian, Moreland entered into his new duties with commendable zeal. One of his first acts was to prepare a report outlining the current state of the library collection. He found that the library contained 1,525 titles. These included 1,030 general fiction and mystery stories, 385 non-fiction works "of which only 100 were appropriate of a small library," and 98 titles devoted to various maritime subjects. The reference collection contained two general encyclopedias, five "necessary reference books,"and five other works which provided "essential library service."[15]

The library, Moreland discovered, contained no works dealing with philosophy, psychology, logic, political science, economics, language, mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology, fine arts, history, or geography. In addition, in the special maritime related fields in which the library should have been outstanding—the history of water transportation of merchant seamen, navigation and seamanship, and marine engineering— there were only two, one, seventy-two, and twenty-one titles, respectively.

Moreland also reported that the library was receiving only twenty-five general and technical magazines and four daily newspapers on a regular basis. Most of these, he noted, were secured through donations and not as a result of planned

acquisition. He also fond that the library had no card catalog, charging desk, or periodical display racks. These facilities, he reported, were generally considered "essential to the normal functioning of any library." He also criticized the lack of shelving capacity (there was room for only 2,740 volumes), the lack of adequate staffing (there were only himself and one clerk), the lack of library availability for the staff and cadets (the library was only open a total of forty-eight hours during an average week), and the lack of a program for formal instruction in the use of the library.

Moreland's report apparently galvanized academy officials into action, because in a very short time the library received its first allocation of funds for the purchase of books ($6,000), shelving, and other articles deemed necessary for library operations ($3,000). By the end of the year, the library had made spectacular progress. One additional staff member had been hired, and shelving capacity increased from 2,740 to more than 10,000 volumes. The book collection had increased from 1,513 to almost 7,000, an increase of 437 percent. Even more significantly, the general nonfiction collection had increased from 385 to 2,375 volumes, an increase of 615 percent, while items relating to maritime technology increased from 98 volumes to 3,389, an increase of 3450 percent. Magazine subscriptions had also increased from twenty-five to more than 120 titles, and the holdings of back issues from 264 to 3,530.[16]

Reference services also had been greatly increased, instructional services expanded on a formal basis to include all incoming cadets, and a large-scale public relations program initiated, complete with information bulletins, regimental notices, and classroom lectures designed to heighten awareness of the library's resources and activities. In addition, in order to reach as many potential users as possible, library hours were extended from forty-eight to seventy five and one-half per week. Finally, as a way to increase holdings at little or no cost, the library made formal application to become part of the Federal document depository program.[17]

The success of Moreland's efforts to increase awareness of, and use in, the library can be seen in the following table:[18]

	Week ending 4/8/44	Week ending 2/4/45	Percentage Increase
Attendance	76	1,780	2,340
Circulation	48	455	940
Reference Use	2	45	2,250
Reference Questions	4	71	1,775
Telephone Inquiries	5	105	2,100

Moreland considered 1944 a banner year, with progress made on all fronts. His principal concerns as the year drew to a close were that many volumes purchased during the year had not been fully cataloged, due to a shortage of professional staff; that the library had not yet been elevated to the rank of academic

department; and that the library staff was generally considered inferior to the teaching staff in stature, rank, and salary.[19]

Despite a shortage of funds during the last quarter of the year, 1945 witnessed continued increase in library activity. Two additional catalogers had been hired on a temporary basis; the book collection now totaled almost nine thousand volumes; and the annual circulation was approaching twenty-one thousand, an increase of about 30 percent over the previous year. Moreland commented on the continuing increase in library usage:

> Circulation records prove the fact that the use of the library is increasing even though the complement of Cadet-Midshipmen has been reduced 30% [because of the end of the war] at the present time, the circulation of books...is at the annual rate of 21,000 or about half the number circulated...at Annapolis. In view of the that there are twice as many Midshipmen at Annapolis, and that the Naval Academy owns ten times as many books and has three times as large a library staff, such a record of the use of our library leaves no question but that the library has reached a point where it is not only a useful but necessary part of the Academy program.[20]

With the end of the war in August 1945, the attention of academy officials again focused on the original intent of Congress in authorizing the formation of the academy—the establishment of a four-year program of instruction leading to the granting of a bachelor of science degree. Authority was granted to Vice Admiral Emory Land, chairman of the U.S. Maritime Commission, on 17 September 1945, to proceed with the establishment of a four-year program. Representative Eugene Keough, of New York, introduced H.R. 5380, calling for congressional approval of the plan, on 5 February 1946. The bill passed through Congress without much difficulty and was signed into law, as P.L. 705, 79th Congress, by President Harry S. Truman on 9 August 1946. The granting of degrees was made dependent upon the receipt of accreditation by the Association of American Universities or other appropriate governing authorities. It was hoped that the accreditation process could be completed before the first four-year class would graduate in 1950.[21]

As a result of Washington's approval of the four-year program, and in anticipation of the passage of H.R. 5380, the academy had been engaged in a self-study designed to assess its prospects for early accreditation. The study concluded that the library, despite its recent growth and expansion of services, was one of the most serious obstacles toward success. While recognizing the services of Lieutenant Moreland, the study felt strongly that the academy's needs would best be served by recruiting a professionally trained librarian. To this end, a quickly conducted search chose Luis Bejarano, a graduate of the Columbia University School of Library Service and an ex-naval officer, to reorganize the library and upgrade its collection to meet accreditation standards. Bejarano

assumed his new post on 30 April 1946.[22]

Lieutenant Moreland, who had been instrumental in providing the initial impetus towards improving library services, turned in his resignation and left the academy on 31 December 1945. Harold O'Neal, Moreland's assistant librarian, served as acting librarian until Bejarano's arrival. O'Neal, a professional librarian who received his training at Western Reserve, was apparently miffed at being passed over for promotion, because he left the academy on 23 September 1946, to assume a position with the Union College Library in Schenectady, New York.[23]

Bejarano's initial assessment of the academy library indicated four major areas needing immediate attention: the guarantee of sufficient funds for the purchase of books and equipment; expansion of the professional staff; recognition of the library as an academic department and its librarians as equal members of the faculty; and expanded physical facilities to accommodate the growing collection and the increasing level of service provided to patrons. He expressed the belief that unless these areas received prompt attention, the library could never hope to pass the accreditation process.[24]

By the end of 1946, most of the problem areas identified by Bejarano were addressed. A special allocation of $55,000 was secured for the purchase of books and periodicals; the professional staff increased to six; the physical plant in Bowditch Hall expanded from one large room to the entire first floor and basement; and the library was officially recognized on an equal footing with the other academic departments. Bejarano considered the elevation of library status to be the most important development of 1946, although he expressed concern as to whether "the local interpretation of academic status is in keeping with the definition of the term as generally accepted in the education field."[25]

Throughout 1947 and 1948, the library concentrated its efforts toward the goal of upgrading services to meet accreditation standards. The task, however, proved not to be easy. The original allotment of $55,000 for book purchases was depleted by July 1947, and additional funds were slow in coming. Eventually, $11,000—a figure Bejarano thought grossly inadequate—was allocated for the 1947/48 fiscal year. In addition, the complement of professional librarians, which peaked at six in March 1947, had, because of resignations, dwindled to three by March 1948. The sudden decrease in staff size resulted in a tremendous backlog of unprocessed material. Some thirteen thousand volumes were acquired during 1947 by purchase and another seven thousand by gift and transfer from other agencies. While most of these items were accessioned, few received formal cataloging. In April 1946, library holdings totaled about eight thousand; by 1 March 1948, the collection grew to 30,307, of which fewer than six thousand were fully cataloged. Late in 1948, the services of two temporary catalogers were acquired in order to attack the backlog and bring it down to a more manageable level before the scheduled visit by the accreditation team in March 1949. By the time the team arrived on campus, considerable progress had been made in reducing the backlog, but more than seventeen thousand volumes remained unprocessed.[26]

Despite this problem, the overall condition of the library continued to

improve throughout 1947-1948. Especially impressive was the continuing increase in attendance by, and circulation to, the midshipmen. Average hourly attendance in the September-to-December period, 1947, was 16.5; for the same period in 1948, the figure was 20.5. Bejarano attributed this increase to the library's initiation of a program of formal classroom instruction in library usage in all English classes, and better cooperation from faculty in assigning library oriented work. He felt that the "service effectiveness of the library is now at its maximum, as long as personnel limitations and the lack of complete organization of the collection continues."[27]

While acknowledging that the library still had serious deficiencies, especially relating to staffing, space allocation, and funding, Bejarano felt that sufficient progress had been made to insure approval by the accreditation team. His view was generally substantiated by William Randall, the academy's newly appointed academic dean and former director of libraries at the University of Georgia. In a 17 December 1948 memorandum addressed to the academy's superintendent, Randall applauded the library's progress but sharply criticized its "disgracefully small" level of use by faculty and midshipmen. Most of the blame for the "gross" underutilization, however, was attributed to factors beyond the control of the library staff:

> The Library is used to a disgracefully small extent. There appears to be two primary reasons for this. First, the time available to the Cadet-Midshipmen for study is quite inadequate and the preparation of the daily assignments precludes any Library use. Second, the type of teaching...is old-fashioned, and not on the accepted level for institutions of higher education in that it is of the text book type which requires students to memorize rather than to understand, and which fails to awaken in them the intellectual curiosity which would send them to the Library for satisfaction.
>
> The correction of this deficiency cannot be accomplished quickly....It is fair to warn ourselves that the [accreditation team] will take particular note of the lack of Library use by both students and faculty and that this will count heavily against us.[28]

For better or worse, the Middle States accreditation team arrived on campus on 13 March 1949. The results of the library evaluation were mixed. The review, conducted by William S. Budington, a librarian from Columbia University, recognized that the library had made tremendous progress despite its short existence. The book collection, while certainly not outstanding, was deemed adequate given the unique nature of the curriculum, as were the reference services and the student instructional program. The energy and dedication of the library staff, whose work was conducted under less than ideal conditions, was also highly praised.[29]

On the negative side, the reviewer sharply criticized the shortage of

professional staff, the "make-shift" physical plant, and the level and method of funding which made short and long range planning virtually impossible. The reviewer also felt that the library was in a state of "academic limbo":

> As a unit, the library is placed under the Educational Services Officer. It is surprising that, elsewhere considered as an integral part of the educational process, to the status of a "training aid." Responsibility is divided between the above officer and the Academic Dean and no clear line of action he Academic Dean is now assuming more and more direct touch. The library does not have departmental status, but should have.

Regarding the physical plant, the reviewer concluded that:

> ...occupying renovated classrooms and adjacent corridors, the library does not appear to be efficiently laid out—a common finding in such situations. The main reading room is separated from the rest of the library by a building hallway; a total of four public rooms must be supervised, and distances are large given overall staffing and service. Insufficient shelving is available for the total collection...Various plans are under consideration for new quarters...but none appears to be entirely suitable.

In view of the inadequacy of its current location and the lack of viable alternatives for relocating, the reviewer strongly recommended that new quarters specifically designed for library use be constructed at the earliest opportunity.[30]

The 1949 visit by Middle States was, of course, a milestone in the history of the United States Merchant Marine Academy because it resulted in the accreditation of its academic program. It is safe to say, however, that no significant changes in library operations were implemented as a result of the visit. On the positive side, the visit resulted in recognition of the library as an academic department equal in rank, if not priority, to all others, and clarified its place within the academy's organizational structure by placing it under the sole jurisdiction of the academic dean.[31]

Unfortunately, the fundamental problems facing the library—inadequate staffing, funding, and space allocation—remained unresolved. Consequently, beginning in 1950, the library entered a long period of semi-obscurity, punctuated by brief periods of activity resulting usually from re-evaluation visits by Middle States accreditation teams. Not until the early 1970s would the library become an important force in the life of the academy. The history of the library during its "dormant" period is a story all its own. This article has concentrated on tracing the development of library services during the formative period, beginning with the establishment of the academy in 1942, and ending with the accreditation of its academic program in 1949.

NOTES

1. Everett Northrop, "The Origins and Establishment of the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy, 1874-1942," M.A. thesis, Colgate Univ, 1951, 83; *An Act to Further the Development and Maintenance of an Adequate and Well-Balanced American Merchant Marine, to Promote the Commerce of the United States, to Aid in the National Defense, to Repeal Certain Former Legislation, and for Other Purposes*, 49 stat. 1985, chap. 858, approved 29 June 1936, as amended by P.L. 705, 75th Congress, 3d session, approved 23 June 1938, quoted in full in U.S. Maritime Commission, *Report to Congress on Training Merchant Marine Personnel, January 1, 1939* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1939), 101-9.

2 U.S. Bureau of Navigation, *Report of the Commissioner of Navigation to the Secretary of the Treasury, 1884* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1884), 30.

3. U.S. Maritime Commission, Report to Congress, 1 Jan. 1939, 30.

4. Ibid, see 3-17 for curriculum used by the various government sponsored nautical schools.

5. *Report of the Board of Visitors to the United States Merchant Marine Academy, Kings Point, N.Y., September 30, 1944* (Washington, D.C. : U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1945), 2.

6. Mitchell Gordon, "Four Year Course for Kings Point," *Polaris* 4 (Nov. 1945): 28.

7. Northrop, 78-85; *Report of the Board of Visitors, September 30, 1944*, 6.

8. *Report of the Board of Visitors, September 30, 1944*, 4.

9. Author's telephone conversation with Luis Bejarano, 6 Dec. 1984

10. *Polaris* 1:(Aug. 1942), 3; C. Bradford Mitchell, *We'll Deliver: Early History of the United States Merchant Marine Academy, 1938-1956* (Kings Point: USMMA Alumni Association, 1977), 83-84.

11. *Proposed Budget of the United States Merchant Marine Academy, Kings Point, N.Y., for Fiscal Year, 1942/1943* (Kings Point, 1942), which has no mention of library operations.

12. *Station Memorandum, Kings Point, NY, no. 32-43*, 6 July and 13 May 1943.

13. *Proposed new Construction for 1945 and Supplemental Projects Recommended for Consideration of Second Congressional Board of Visitors* (Kings Point: USMMA, Dept. of Public Works, 1944), 5-8.

14. Edward Maccaully, deputy administrator, War Shipping Administration, to Giles G. Stedman, superintendent, USMMA, 14 June 1945; despite strong recommendation by Middle States Accreditation teams in 1949, 1956, and 1962, yearly pleas by the Congressional Board of Visitors, and comments from various private and government survey boards, no funds were made available for the construction of a separate library building until 1968.

15. *Station Order, Kings Point, NY, no. 38-44*, 21 May 1944; George Moreland, *Report on the Library, 3 April-22 May 1944* (Kings Point, 22 May 1944).

16. *Proposed Budget of the United States Merchant Marine Academy, Kings Point, N.Y.,*

for 3rd Quarter, 1944 (Kings Point: USMMA, Dept. of Budget & Accounts, 1944), 15-16; *Library Activity Report*, 31 Dec. 1944, 1-5.

17. *Polaris*, 3 (Sept. 1944): 10. H.R. Bill 48, designating the academy as a depository, was reported out favorably with amendment by the Committee on Printing on 15 Mar. 1945. Unfortunately, the Senate took no action and the bill died. During the next seventeen years, repeated attempts to secure membership failed. Lack of adequate staff, shelving, and community need were the most frequent reasons cited for rejection; membership was finally secured in 1962.

18. *Library Activity Report*, 31 Mar. 1945, 1.

19. George Moreland, librarian, to Giles G. Stedman, superintendent, 10 Dec. 1944.

20. Library Activity Report, 4th Quarter, 31 Dec. 1945, 1-3.

21. Mitchell Gordon, "Four Year Course for Kings Point," *Polaris* 4 (Nov. 1945): 28; Eugene Keough, *H.R.5380, in the House of Representatives, February 5, 1946, a Bill for Conferring of the Degree of Bachelor of Science Upon the Graduates of the United States Merchant Marine Academy, 79 Congress, 2d Session* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1946); J. C. Tomey, acting academic dean, to superintendent, 12 Aug. 1946.

22. *Report of Academic Board Concerning Requirements for Meeting Accreditation Standards*, Aug., 1945, 22; *Library Quarterly Report*, 30 June 1945, 1.

23. *Library Quarterly Report*, 31 December 1945, 1, and 30 Sept. 1946, 3.

24. Luis Bejarano, *The Library of the United States Merchant Marine Academy: Its Reorganization and Development Toward Accreditation Recognition*, revised 1 Mar. 1948 (Kings Point: USMMA, 1948], 1.

25. *Library Quarterly report*, 31 Mar. 1947, 1, 3; 30 Sept. 1946, 2-3; 31 Mar. 1947, 2.

26. Ibid., 30 June 1947, 4; 31 Mar. 1948, 3, 5; Bejarano, 8.

27. *Library Quarterly Report*, 31 Dec. 1948, 4, and 3 June 1948, 3.

28. William Randall, academic dean, to superintendent, 17 Dec. 1948, 3, regarding academy's application for accreditation.

29. *Report of the Inspection of the United States Merchant Marine Academy, Kings Point, N.Y., March 15-18, 1949, Made by the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools*, 20.

30. Ibid., 19, 21, 28.

31. *Library Quarterly Report*, 31 Mar. 1950, 2.

EXHIBIT ESSAY

Evelina Mount Showcase, an exploration of the artists's life through a selection of her finest paintings, at The Museums at Stony Brook, 1208 Route 25A, Stony Brook, through 6 July 1997. For information about admissions and hours, call (516) 751-0066.

THE LAST of the MOUNT FAMILY ARTISTS: EVELINA MOUNT (1837-1920)

By Ita G. Berkow

In mid-nineteenth century America, professionally-trained women artists were a rarity. When they did appear—as in the case of Sarah, Margaretta and Angelica Peale, the daughters of James Peale and granddaughters of the great Charles Willson Peale—they were usually members of a household of artists. Similar to the Peale sisters of Philadelphia, Evelina Mount had the fortune of being born into a family of extraordinary talents. Her father, Henry Smith Mount, was a painter of signs and still lifes and an academician at the National Academy of Design. Moreover, her two paternal uncles were Shepard Alonzo Mount, the distinguished portrait painter, and William Sidney Mount, the internationally renowned American genre painter.

Evelina Mount, nicknamed Nina, was the fifth of six children of Henry Mount and Mary Bates Ford. Born on 31 July 1837, Evelina was raised in Stony Brook in the Hawkins-Mount family homestead, and resided there, except for brief periodic visits to New York, throughout her life. In the 1840s the sprawling Mount house was co-occupied by the family of Shepard A. Mount (which included his wife, Elizabeth, and their four children); William S. Mount, who retained a bedroom and studio there; and the Henry Mount family, including Evelina. By the 1860s, Evelina had taken over the use of her uncle William's studio, as he was by then residing with a third brother, Robert Nelson Mount, in the neighboring village of Setauket.

Although there is little documentation regarding Evelina's life, a picture of her career as an artist can be pieced together from the few preserved letters she wrote; the letters and diary entries of William Sidney Mount; and the correspondence concerning Evelina's artistic education between her sister Elizabeth Ford Mount and William Sidney Mount. But for the fame of her family, and the foresight and commitment of The Museums at Stony Brook in the collection and preservation of the Mount family paintings and archives, the record of this early female American artist's life and work most likely would have been lost. Many of the sixty paintings by Evelina owned by the

Museums are featured in its current exhibition on this artist. Evelina Mount draws together a representative sampling of the varied styles of one of the earliest professional woman artists based on Long Island.[1]

Evelina Mount's father, Henry, died in 1841 when she was still a young child. Accordingly, while Evelina may have inherited her talent and propensity towards still life painting from her father, she was also undoubtedly exposed to art at an early age by her two uncles, Shepard and William. Indeed, William seems to have taken a particular interest in his niece's development as an artist. His letters and diary entries from the 1860s document the budding artistic relationship between the famed genre painter and Evelina. His letters reveal his interest in her progress in his instructions regarding perspective and choice of paint colors. Moreover, Mount freely commented on his niece's work in his letters and diaries, and occasionally, when asked, would add finishing touches to her paintings. Evelina, in gratitude for her uncle's attentions—including his gift of a stove for her studio in 1865—would frequently return the favor by presenting him with a picture. Such gifts were quite common occurrences, as she rarely sold her work professionally. In fact, she seems to have presented most of her finished paintings to family and friends.[2]

As early as 1863, William Sidney Mount's letters to his niece began to entice her with talk of the New York City art scene, painting sales, and exhibitions at the National Academy of Design. In April 1863, Mount wrote: "My dear Niece—I attended a sale of oil paintings (private collection) last evening—Cherries by George H. Hall brought $50." In the same letter, Mount asked Evelina if her brother John had made her an easel yet, and, if not, stated he would be glad to send her one. He also enclosed a season ticket to National Academy of Design exhibitions.[3] Two years later, in 1865, Evelina painted *Wild Cherries* in an outdoor setting. There is no evidence that she was directly inspired by Hall's *Cherries*, as she could equally have been inspired by other still life painters who participated in the trend toward the depiction of cherries and other fruits. However, the similarity of Evelina's painting to Hall's indicates that her decision to paint certain subjects cannot always be attributed simply to the influence of William Sidney Mount, and that she could equally have been paralleling the painting interests of other serious artists of her time.

Evelina Mount's interest in becoming an artist may have been the reason for her frequent visits to New York City in the 1860s. During these visits, she would stay at 54 West 10th Street, opposite the studio building where she undertook a course of study in 1867 and 1868 with the Hudson River School artist James M. Hart. Evelina may have been Hart's only female student. Upon hearing of her lessons, William Sidney Mount wrote to her: "It was gratifying to hear from Elizabeth that so distinguished a painter as Mr. Hart has consented to give you instructions. It is delightful for the art lover to breathe (now and then) in an art atmosphere." Evelina's exposure to the New York art scene must have given her hope that her aspirations to be a painter would someday be realized. However, it is clear that these feelings were also

coupled with doubt. In November 1865, Elizabeth Mount wrote to William that,

> Eve is getting along nicely—with much to encourage and much to discourage her—but with all this I feel confident of her ultimate success—and for the very fact that the days of her youth (usually devoted to pleasure) have been passed in increasing never wavering effort to be useful and independent, ever ready to deny herself and bestow upon others, I feel the more sure that the future (to which we all look so hopefully) must have some compensatory good in store for her[4]

During her course of artistic study in New York City in the 1860s, Evelina likely attended art exhibitions and visited artists' studios. In fact, Elizabeth Mount dispatched a note to William Sidney in April 1868, reminding him that Evelina was in town and encouraging him to escort her to the opening of the exhibition at the National Academy of Design.[5] Also, Evelina's autograph book, which dates from 1859 to 1880, contains signatures of such noted American artists as Sanford R. Gifford, Emanuel Leutze, John F. Kensett, and David Johnson. The influences, if any, that these artists may have had on her cannot be fully documented, but, judging from her work of the period, one can draw certain conclusions. First, Evelina Mount was not working within a vacuum; her exposure to the New York art scene, particularly her uncle William's work, during this period must certainly have affected her development and choices of subject matter. Second, Evelina approached her course of study with an intent as serious as that of any other American artist of the period.

Evelina Mount rarely dated her works, but one can approximate the dates of her undated paintings by comparing the styles to those of her few dated works.[6] Evelina appears to have begun painting seriously in the 1860s, and she continued to be active through the late 1880s. Although she lived until 1920, she evidently had stopped painting by the 1890s. The reasons for her abandoning art are not clear, but may, in part, be due to her eventual removal from the company and influence of other artists. William Sidney Mount's death in 1868 cut Evelina off not only from his artistic mentoring but also from his connections to the New York art scene. Evelina appeared, at first, to continue in her uncle's footsteps, as evidenced by her submissions to the National Academy of Design exhibitions in the 1870s. Sadly, however, she eventually became removed from the mainstream of New York's artistic life.

As a young artist in her twenties, Evelina Mount primarily worked within a conventional mode. Her early outdoor representations of wildflowers, for example *Daisies*, clearly reflect concerns similar to those of the American Pre-Raphaelites with regard to the representation of nature in outdoor settings. Evelina also participated in the mid-century interest in haphazardly

strewn flower arrangements, as reflected in *Roses and Fuchsia* and *Roses and Pansies*. The placement of flowers on tabletops or on a white ground in these early paintings reflected her desire to keep these arrangements within a contained, logical space. The placement of flowers within a logical space eventually disappeared in her works of the 1880s.

Evelina Mount's working style as a still life painter underwent a remarkable change in the late 1860s, perhaps as a result of her course of study with Hart. In a departure from conventional settings, *Floral Wreath* depicts a wreath attached to a branch suspended in space. Evelina's work brings to mind John La Farge's *Greek Love Token*, of 1866, which was later exhibited at the National Academy Design in 1869. It seems probable that Evelina saw this work, and it may have inspired her change from the use of tabletop or white ground settings for the placement of flowers in her works to the use of suspended space and black backgrounds. Another equally plausible influence for these atypical representations are the chromo-lithographs of Louis Prang, which were widely distributed in the late nineteenth century. Floral wreaths, pendants, and crosses similar to many of Evelina's paintings of the 1880s, such as *Floral Panel*, were also available in commercial lithographs of paintings by Fidelia Bridges and Mrs. O. E. Whitney. It is also noteworthy that the earliest known lithograph of a wreath in the shape of a cross was created in 1869 by Mrs. James M. Hart, the wife of Evelina's teacher.[7]

As a landscape painter, Evelina Mount was adept at depicting her surroundings. In contrast to her floral paintings, her landscapes are more difficult to date due to the lack of drastic stylistic changes in her working style. Similar to her uncle William Sidney Mount, she preferred to paint the area with which she was most familiar—Stony Brook. Evelina's numerous depictions of the family abode, as in *The Mount House from the Rear*, clearly reflect her love of the place and the endless painterly possibilities of the old farmhouse and surrounding property. The Mount house was no stranger to the canvas; both William Sidney and Shepard Alonzo Mount also painted it on numerous occasions.

Many of Evelina Mount's landscapes, such as *The Dock House*, were probably painted out-of-doors, as they reflect the spontaneity and freshness associated with works completed in the open air. She certainly was aware of the current enthusiasm for *plein-air* painting. Indeed, by the 1860s, her uncle William had built himself a portable traveling studio. With its own airtight stove and glass window, he was able to paint the landscape in all types of weather conditions. Moreover, it is quite likely that during this period Evelina would sometimes paint alongside him in the countryside. After dispatching a note to her uncle, she frequently would walk from Stony Brook to Setauket seeking his advice regarding a sketch or painting on which she was working. He appears to have taken a more critical interest in Evelina's landscapes than in her flower pieces. With regard to *Catching Butterflies*, of 1867, William Sidney Mount wrote to Evelina:

> Your picture after the butterfly, is a very brilliant work—you make good use of the wash house: good idea. Painters can move houses and rocks where they please. After touching up the figures, I thought to assist in perfecting the general arrangement here and there. You are painting so well now that it will be well for you to pay some attention to perspective...The flower piece and the cottage scene are very much admired—the impression is, you will become a great painter.[8]

The addition of finishing touches to Evelina's work was a common practice of William Sidney Mount's, which, I believe, reflected his desire to show his niece through instruction a better way of handling her compositions.

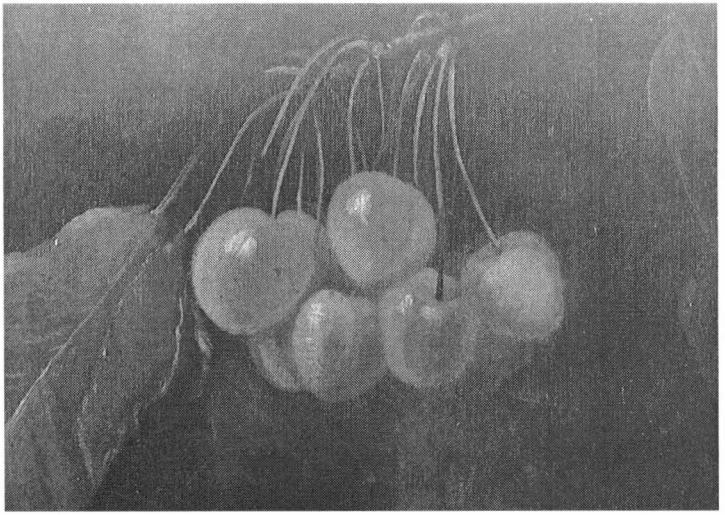
Mount's encouraging words of praise with regard to his niece's abilities as a painter must have bolstered Evelina's confidence. Between 1871 and 1878, she exhibited a total of seven pictures at the annual exhibitions of the National Academy of Design. Six of these were listed as floral subjects, and one was an interior scene titled *Finishing the Chapter*, which depicted a young girl reading by a fireplace. Evelina's paintings may have been accepted mainly in deference to the memory of her father and uncles. In 1874, she also appears to have exhibited a painting titled *Vase of Flowers* at the Academy of Design in Chicago. These two institutions evidently were the sole places where she publicly exhibited her work. The absence of critical attention—a fate familiar to many other women artists of the period—may have also contributed to her disappearance from the New York art world and her ultimate seclusion in the security of her family home.

Evelina Mount rarely left Stony Brook after the 1880s. She lived at the family home with her brother Thomas Shepard Mount and sister Elizabeth Ford Mount. None of the three ever married, and they seem to have been very close. Thomas, a lawyer, served for many years as commissioner for the local school district, while family letters refer to Elizabeth as an aspiring writer.[9]

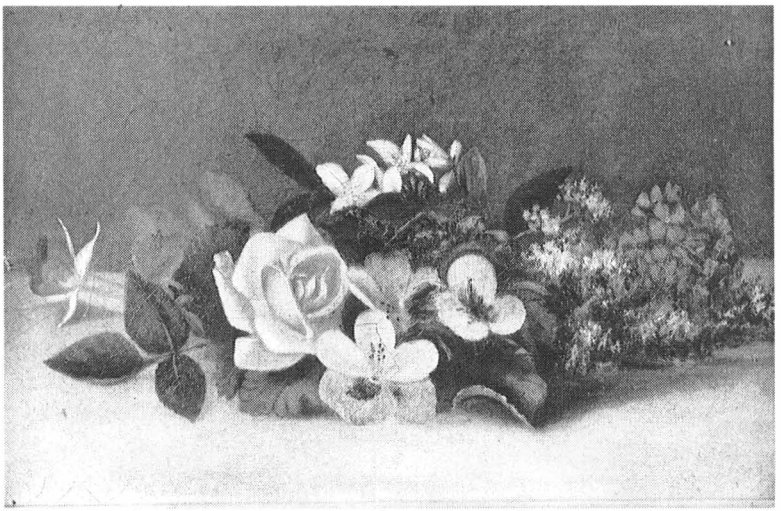
A letter from Evelina to her niece Daisy Mount of San Francisco, in October 1887, shows the artist's state of mind and the type of activities she engaged in during the latter part of her life:

> I will do my best to prove you a good manager in fine arts and hope that it will be in time a mutual benefit your plans are excellent—I have a variety of studies of Eastern life which may in time touch the heart of some rich bonanza and consequently his pocket. But for our little commencement I will be quite modest and wait patiently for results—in any event dear child I appreciate your earnest efforts for me. I am so far from any business life that my work has stood too long face to the wall—I will arouse my lonely heart and let the sun shine in...My Sunday school and its little society interest me much.[10]

Evelina Mount's letter to her niece reveals Daisy's efforts to expose and perhaps sell her aunt's work on the West Coast. The outcome of this venture remains a mystery, as there are no extant letters between Evelina and Daisy after 1887.



Evelina Mount, *Wild Charries*, n.d. Oil on panel.
The Museums at Stony Brook: Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Ward Melville.



Evelina Mount, *Roses and Fuschia*, ca. 1867. Oil on canvas.
The Museums at Stony Brook: Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Ward Melville.

Little more is known about Evelina after this date, although apparently she spent the remainder of her days in the company of her brother and sister in Stony Brook. In 1910 she suffered a stroke and was confined to a wheelchair until her death in 1920, at the age of eighty-three. Her obituary in the *Port Jefferson Times* stated that she was a member of the Stony Brook Presbyterian Chapel, and "was known and loved by a host of friends in Stony Brook and elsewhere."[11]

Evelina was buried alongside her sister Elizabeth in the Presbyterian churchyard in Setauket. A small, modest gravestone shared by them is all that is left to commemorate the last of the Mount family of artists.

NOTES

1. According to Ronald G. Pisano, an authority on Long Island painting, it is reasonable to credit Evelina Mount as among the first female artists based on Long Island; the artist Mary Nimmo Moran was in East Hampton as early as 1878, but she and her husband Thomas Moran did not become permanent residents of Long Island until 1884.

2. Alfred Frankenstein, *William Sidney Mount* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1975), 388; many of Evelina Mount's paintings have inscriptions on the back which indicate that they were gifts to family members and friends, such as *Wild Cherries*, inscribed "To my beloved Elizabeth Vail."

3. Edward P. Buffet, "William Sidney Mount: A Biography," *Port Jefferson Times*, Dec. 1923 through June 1924, chap. 49.

4. Elizabeth Ford Mount to William Sidney Mount, 13 Apr. 1868, Museums at Stony Brook; William Sidney Mount to Evelina Mount, 17 Mar. 1867, New-York Historical Society; Elizabeth Ford Mount to William Sidney Mount, 9 Nov. 1865, Museums at Stony Brook.

5. Elizabeth Ford Mount to William Sidney Mount, 9 Nov. 1865, Museums at Stony Brook.

6. For example, the stylistic similarities of *Roses and Pansies* to *Roses and Fuchsia* indicate their completion within a few years of each other.

7. Katharine M. McClinton, *The Chromolithographs of Louis Prang* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1973), 95-102.

8. Evelina Mount to William Sidney Mount, Nov. 1865, Museums at Stony Brook; William Sidney Mount to Evelina Mount, Oct. 1866 (Frankenstein, 437).

9. Buffet, chap. 56.

10. Evelina Mount to Sarah Fisher ("Daisy") Mount, 16 Oct. 1887, Museums at Stony Brook.

11. Emily Smith, scrapbook of *Port Jefferson Times* articles, Archives of Three Village Historical Society, Setauket.

Reviews

John A. Strong. *The Algonquian Peoples of Long Island: From Earliest Times to 1700.* Interlaken, N.Y. Empire State Books, prepared under the auspices of Hofstra University, 1997. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. 368. $40.00.

____, *"We Are Still Here!" The Algonquian Peoples of Long Island Today.* Interlaken, N.Y. Empire Books, prepared under the auspices of Hofstra University, 1996. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. 108. $12.00 (paper).

These two volumes are the most recent contribution to an excellent series dedicated to the cultural history of Long Island published under the auspices of the Long Island Studies Institute of Hofstra University. Finally, the void in the literature concerning the aboriginal occupants of our island has been addressed. John A. Strong, professor of history and director of the Social Science Division at Southampton College of Long Island University, provides a clearly written and engrossing account of the lives of the Algonquian peoples of Long Island, past and present. The main volume of the two is the hard cover, *The Algonquian Peoples of Long Island From Earliest Times to 1700,* while the paperback, *"We Are Still Here!" The Algonquian Peoples of Long Island Today,* is a natural continuation of the story. The text of both volumes, especially "*We Are Still Here!*," is enhanced with photographs and with several illustrations by the gifted Shinnecock artist, David Bunn Martine.

Strong draws evidence to support his narrative from a variety of sources, including archaeological excavations, anthropological theory, and documentary and oral history. The result is a well-rounded approach which strives to overcome many of the biases prevalent in previous accounts of Long Island Native Americans. Among the most valuable aspects of Strong's books is the dispelling of myths that even today are perpetuated, particularly in elementary and middle school classrooms. I heartily encourage all social studies teachers, especially of fourth- and seventh-grade American history classes, to incorporate Strong's work into the curriculum.

The two major myths which Strong discusses in the introduction of *The Algonquian Peoples of Long Island* are European constructs—the concept of a "tribe," and the extinction of Native Americans following the arrival of Dutch and English colonists to Long Island. These two myths together form the basis of the fallacious "Thirteen Tribes of Long Island." Using primary sources, and building on the works of modern scholars, Strong argues clearly that there were no tribal systems on Long Island before the mid-seventeenth century. Further, merely renaming the so-called "Thirteen Tribes" as thirteen

"families" or "groups" is equally incorrect. Strong documents how Europeans, frustrated by the lack of leadership structure they encountered in communities of Native Americans, pressured "local sachems to establish a more structured political base...with specific boundaries" (25). This organization helped colonists to manipulate and control the Native Americans, as well as facilitated land transactions.

The myth of extinction of local native groups following colonization is addressed in the second half of *The Algonquian Peoples of Long Island*, and again in the companion volume, with the forcible response "*We Are Still Here!*" Native American populations did suffer devastating losses from epidemics introduced inadvertently by the Europeans, including smallpox, cholera, and measles. Warfare instigated by the Dutch and English also took its toll. However, as Strong ably demonstrates, the Native Americans of Long Island were far from eradicated. Resilient groups who survived the following centuries were further insulted by white claims that intermarriage between Native American and African American groups resulted in a loss of "pure blood." Nonetheless, the descendants of Long Island's earliest inhabitants have managed to cling to their cultural identity and heritage.

Modern groups who apply for federal recognition as Indian tribes must fulfill specific criteria, including a genealogy which predates European contact, evidence of political organization, and maintaining community rituals or ceremonies. The Shinnecocks and Montaukkets have applied for federal recognition; their struggles and successes, together with those of other Native American groups on Long Island, are portrayed by a sympathetic Strong in "*We Are Still Here!*"

While Strong's two volumes represent a major contribution to the understanding of the Algonquian inhabitants of Long Island, they are by no means a complete account. Strong is able to draw from a vast collection of historical documents in addition to a variety of ethnographic studies. However, these data generally relate to a period of less than five hundred years, or since Verrazano's exploration of southern New England waters in 1524.

In order to illustrate the thousands of years of Native American history before European contact, we must rely on the archaeological record. Unfortunately, several factors hamper our interpretation of this record on Long Island. These factors include acidic soils in which organic material is seldom preserved, and rampant development, particularly in the last fifty years. Also, early excavations here were not conducted according to basic modern archaeological techniques (such as sieving dirt to recover small artifacts), resulting in a loss of data.

Strong works with the limited information to develop general themes and descriptions of cultural change through time in chapters 2, 3, and 4 of *The Algonquian Peoples of Long Island*. He does deviate slightly, without explanation, from the chronological framework used by archaeologists working in southern New England. From oldest to most recent (beginning at

the end of the last glaciation more than twelve thousand years ago), pre-contact periods are typically described as the Paleo-Indian, Early Archaic, Middle Archaic, Late Archaic, Transitional or Terminal Archaic, Early Woodland, Middle Woodland, and finally, Late Woodland. Instead, Strong treats the Archaic as one five-thousand-year period.

Very little of the archaeological data Strong utilizes postdates the early 1980s. Several important discoveries have been made since this time, including the excavation of a large interior base camp at Twin Ponds, Middle Island. Some of the blame does fall on the shoulders of archaeologists, though, as many discoveries are documented in the "gray" literature—resource-management reports that never see the light of day outside the government agencies to which they are submitted. Perhaps more recent (and future) archaeological discoveries can be included in a second edition of *The Algonquian Peoples of Long Island.*

Also, while Strong does describe the rich array of natural resources which would have been available in prehistoric times, specific issues concerning the relationship of native peoples to the environment are not discussed. These issues include, for example, the effect of sea-level rise on the geography of Long Island and resultant wetlands formation, exploitation of ecological niches as reflected in the archaeological record, and the question of whether the formation of the Hempstead Plains and pine barrens reflects any influence of Native American land-management practices. Additionally, Strong discusses horticulture of corn, beans, and squash in the Late Woodland section, possibly overemphasizing the importance of these cultigens (of which we have very little pre-contact evidence— fewer than ten kernels from area sites) compared to native plants.

Still, Strong has done an admirable job in gathering data from a wide variety of sources to tell the story of the Algonquian peoples of Long Island. These two volumes will undoubtedly be a boon to current and future students of Long Island history. *The Algonquian Peoples of Long Island* and "*We Are Still Here!*" fill a gap that had been open much too long.

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Suzannah Lessard. *The Architect of Desire: Beauty and Danger in the Stanford White Family.* New York: Dial Press, 1996. Illustrations. Pp. 328. $24.95.

After a twenty-year writing block, Suzannah Lessard, a great-granddaughter of Stanford White (1853-1906), the most famous and artistically gifted architect of America's Gilded Age, has used her exceptional writing talents to work through deep-rooted childhood conflicts with the publication of *The Architect of Desire: Beauty and Danger in the Stanford White Family.* Utilizing a variety of literary techniques and enlisting other disciplines, such

as sociology, psychology, art and architectural history, and material culture studies, Lessard has skillfully crafted her memoir, weaving together a biography of White and a personal and family autobiography in one fascinating story.

The best literature is often able to conjure up a sense of place, architectural and geographical, which makes readers feel as though they are "there." This technique is especially effective when a setting is an integral story element affecting the plot and characters and used to evoke change and progress. Lessard's book does just that. Many of her family members have the same tragic qualities as characters in the fictional works of William Faulkner as if transposed into an F. Scott Fitzgerald novel and set on Long Island's Gold Coast.

Lessard's story takes place at Box Hill, the family's sixty-acre estate, designed by Stanford White, overlooking Stony Brook Harbor. "The Place" is the locale where Lessard uses elements from the literary genre of the Gothic story to divulge the horrors of her family's most intimate secrets. Lessard portrays Stanford White as a sexually deviant, villainous monster whose evil spirit and debauched lifestyle continued to haunt the author and her family years after his sensational murder. He was gunned down atop his Madison Square Garden in June 1906 by Harry Thaw, the pathologically jealous, millionaire husband of the showgirl, Evelyn Nesbit, who allegedly had been seduced and violated by White years before, when she was only sixteen.

The Architect of Desire is presented as a real-life *bildungsroman*, a story of maturation in which the adult perspective of the central character (Lessard in this case) reflects on childhood and family experiences. The author takes the reader from a state of short-lived innocence to a state of revelation as a result of a series of misadventures relating to child sexual abuse, incest, and rape.

In order to arrive at the truth about her family and resolve her own personal problems, Lessard relies on the qualitative methods of ethnography, which are ideal for exploring and describing previously unknown social phenomena in highly secretive groups and subcultures. Certainly, historical and document analyses, interviews, and participant and systematic observation lend themselves well to the study of a prominent, artistically gifted, upper-class WASP family that has insulated itself since the sex-scandal murder of Stanford White.

Based in the New York area, where White did some of his best work, Lessard and her dysfunctional family are, to a degree, trapped in his late Victorian culture landscape, much of which still exists. White's architectural legacy and collection of material artifacts surround Lessard and constantly remind her of the pain and unhappiness inflicted upon her and her female relatives by sex-abusing, alcoholic, and psychotic men in the patriarchal family.

At times, Lessard's analyses of White's aesthetic artifacts and their

relationship to time, place, and people take on the scholarly qualities of an art historian. The author investigates beneath the perceived surface of White's artwork to fathom the link between the creator, the symbolic meaning of his artistic creations, and the family's past and present. The exploration of White's life and death and his architectural and historical legacy enlightens the author and helps her to achieve her own spiritual fulfillment.

Apart from being a well-written and beautifully-crafted book, several problems, most resolving around its accuracy and value, must be addressed. First, when a story is told through a first-person narrator, the audience must believe the narrator to be a person capable of accurately observing and reporting events. Because of the author's closeness to the situation and her own self-admitted emotional problems, the reader must be made aware of the potential for bias. The family events described here are anecdotal, and, for the most part, there is no way to corroborate their veracity.

Second, one must wonder about the author's motives for writing a "tell-all" story. She may have won other literary prizes in the past, but, with the publication of this book, it is unlikely that she will win any family-member-of-the-year awards. If anything, this book will reopen old wounds and prevent closure of past unpleasant experiences. In spite of the use of aliases, relatives will, no doubt, easily recognize their personae. It is even conceivable that some defamation of character lawsuits will arise from the book's publication.

Third, as a former staff editor of popular literary magazines, the author must be aware that sexual titillation sells in America. Although she considers herself a victim and traces her problems to the sexual compulsions of a distant relative, she is in essence exploiting Stanford White's reputation for self-gain, and blaming her family's dysfunction on an already discredited and long-dead individual. In fact, Lessard is hypocritical because she admits on pages 248 and 250 that the Thaw family fortune and their hired team of criminal defense lawyers contributed significantly to ruining Stanford's reputation, and hence to "Papa and Grandma's nightmare. Mama, in whom I never detected the slightest trace of paranoia in any other connection, wondered to the end of her life whether stories about the murder and the scandal that continued to surface in the press as the decades rolled by were not financed by the Thaws." If this were so, then perhaps Lessard has misinterpreted events and inappropriately overreacted.

Fourth, the structure of the book consists of alternating chapters about Stanford, other family members, and Lessard's interaction with her family's past. About half the book is devoted to White's biography, which has already been masterfully treated in Paul R. Baker, *Stanny: The Gilded Life of Stanford White* (New York: Free Press, 1989). Apart from White's hedonistic lifestyle and its ripple effect on other generations, the book does not add anything new to our knowledge of Stanford White. Thus, one is left with a story about a person whose life, if not for lineage, is not very interesting. The architectural works of Stanford White will undoubtedly still be standing long after Lessard's book is out-of-print.

Finally, Lessard has done an excellent job of describing child sexual abuse

as a form of family violence. She has painstakingly described how incest, which grows out of sexual repression, leads to negative long-term psychological effects on its victims. The description of incest in her family is similar to those described in sociological and criminological studies which report that father-daughter relationships are based on disparity in physical size, age, and authority. The secrecy, guilt, and shame that surround the taboo deprive children of their childhood. Adult women victimized as children are likely to manifest depression, self-destructive behavior, anxiety, feelings of isolation and stigma, poor self-esteem, a tendency toward revictimization, substance abuse, and sexual maladjustment. Although the evidence of male cross-generational incest and sexual victimization of females in patriarchal-dominated families is strong, research also shows that many incestuous experiences are imagined and never happened.

Since most cases of incest involve molestation (genital fondling, exhibitionism, or oral sex) and not actual intercourse, criminal prosecution of such cases depends on the victim's memories, vague feelings of dissatisfaction, powerlessness, inferiority, or shame which cannot be summarily accepted as symptoms of incest without more concrete evidence. In defense of the author, in a climactic scene of striking and powerful passages, Lessard does show that her sisters had similar encounters with their father, thus lending support to her allegations. Controversy continues to rage around the issue of recovered memories of childhood sexual abuse. Lessard has subconsciously described "betrayal trauma," a blockage of information that interferes with one's ability to function in essential relationships. Her book provides extraordinary insight into how and why psychogenic amnesia occurs and how recovered memory is necessary for survival. Although secrecy and hypocrisy had long darkened an extended family's existence, the spotlight of revelation and understanding in this work may bring some relief to those involved.

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Editor's note: Interested readers are referred to Paul R. Baker and Mark L. Taff, "The Murder of Stanford White," LIHJ *8 (Fall 1995): 39-55.*

Steve Wick. *Heaven and Earth: The Last Farmers of The North Fork.* Photographs by Lynn Johnson. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996. Illustrations, notes. Pp. 210. $35.00.

Steve Wick, a Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist for *Newsday*, has written a moving history of one of the oldest farming communities in North America, the North Fork of Long Island. *Heaven and Earth* does for North Fork farmers what Peter Matthiessen accomplished a decade ago in *Men's Lives: Baymen and Surfmen of the South Fork* (New York: Random House, 1986),

a poignant elegy to the fishermen of the South Fork. Wick's graceful prose is enhanced by powerful, work-a-day photographs taken by Lynn Johnson, some of whose pictures also illumine Matthiessen's cloth edition. In combining eloquent text with vivid photos of bedrock American subjects, both of these future classics bear comparison with *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*, James Agee and Walker Evans's depiction of sharecroppers during the Great Depression (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1941). *Heaven and Earth* also complements Everett T. Rattray's observant, affectionate tribute to the South Fork, *The South Fork: The Land and People of Eastern Long Island* (New York: Random House, 1979).

Wick divides his narrative into three parts. His first section, "Newfound Land," relates the advancement of the English into America, beginning with Bristol fishermen who may have reached the rocky islands north of Cape Cod as early as 1480, well before Columbus. Much is made of the religious split between Puritans and Anglicans that spurred the establishment of English colonies in New England and on Long Island, but economic forces also contributed to the exodus. The collapse of the woolen industry in East Anglia, years of bad harvests in Southwold, and, perhaps most importantly, the prospect of land without landlords propelled Englishmen to take to the seas for uncertain destinations.

In the early 1630s, colonists piqued by intense religious squabbles in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, as well as by shortages of good farmland, began probing south. On 4 July 1631, the bark *Blessing of the Bay* was launched at "Mistick," on the Connecticut shore, returning two years later having explored Long Island. Although the report on Long Island mentioned "treacherous" Indians, no other extant writers have contended "that the eastern Long Island Indians were treacherous" (26). The reference probably pertained to the mainland Pequots, who exacted tribute, paid in wampum, from East End Native Americans. The report from Long Island described an abundance of fish, game, and forests. However, it was the "Good Ground," the title of part two, that most impressed the English—the fat black earth formed by continental glaciers beginning 60,000 years ago, and the long growing season of "more than 220 days, meaning crops could be managed late into the fall" (53).

The troublesome Pequots of Connecticut were soon dispatched. In his account of the Pequot War of 1637, Captain John Underhill claimed the slaying "of fifteen hundred souls in the space of two months and less" (27; John Underhill, *Newes from America...* [London, 1638; facsimile reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1971]). On Long Island, the small group of Corchaug Indians, decimated by diseases, soon found themselves strangers on their North Fork territories. To the English way of thinking, these Indians did not actually own the land "because they did not live on it as a settled community" (43). However, the English carefully drew up proper deeds for the grantors to put their marks, thus "selling" their native land even though the Corchaugs could not read or understand what they were signing.

The English on the North Fork immediately prospered. The land was rich and heavily wooded, the bays and creeks teeming with fish. Two families who outstripped their neighbors in affluence were the Tuthills and the Wickhams, since 1640 the only two families to hold title to Wickham farmland. The book centers on the late John Wickham (1908-1994), who cultivates a scant 250 acres in fruit that is sold locally, and David Steele, principally a potato farmer, who "farms land that has been in the Tuthill family for generations. "Once there were so many Tuthills they had a community of their own: Tuthill Town." (2). For years, since he was a young boy, Steele worked for John Tuthill, the last of that name to till the fertile North Fork. Now Tuthill, a laconic man of eighty, works for Steele.

By the early eighteenth century, Joseph Wickham was one of the most prosperous men on the North Fork, having purchased many tracts of land, including Robins Island. His grandson Parker inherited all this wealth and became active in local politics. He epitomized the Jeffersonian citizen: a country gentleman, well-off, intelligent, and civic-minded: however, unlike Jefferson, Parker Wickham sided with Britain throughout the Revolution. In fall 1776, at the start of the seven-year British occupation that followed American defeat in the Battle of Brooklyn, Crown agents in Southold (and elsewhere on the Island) went door-to-door administering oaths of loyalty to George III, while many ardent patriots took refuge in Connecticut. In 1777, Wickham, then the British-sponsored supervisor of Southold, was captured by patriot raiders and held for several years under house arrest in Connecticut. The new state of New York declared him an enemy whose lands were subject to forfeit. Because Long Island was held by the British, such condemnations could not be enforced. Even so, to circumvent loss of his extensive holdings, Wickham conveyed ownership of the farm and Robins Island to his son Joseph. Nonetheless, in summer 1784, with Long Island back in American hands, Joseph Wickham's lands were appraised and sold by the state commission of forfeiture. Such an act violated one of the terms of the Treaty of Paris, but feeling ran high against wartime Tories. In 1789, Joseph Parker Wickham received 2,800 pounds sterling from Great Britain in compensation for the loss of his pro-British father's estate. A few years ago, the descendants of Parker Wickham sought redress for the 1784 seizure of Robins Island, a petition denied by the United States Court of Appeals in 1991. The judge who first heard the case "ruled...in effect, that the heirs of Parker Wickham were two hundred years too late in filing their lawsuit" (110).

The final and longest section of the book, "Heaven and Earth," deals with the last one hundred fifty years on the North Fork, often through oral histories and reminiscences of the older residents. The Tuthills personify the quietness and reserve of these North Fork farmers. Though these later generations had better equipment than their forbears, they basically lived the same quiet life; their goals were the same, their life quiet and out of the way.

Other immigrants established themselves on the North Fork. The Irish,

escaping from famine in the 1840s, and the Polish, many years later, each laid claim to the good earth. By the end of World War II, most farms between Mattituck and Cutchogue had Polish owners. A map of 1945 holdings, made for Wick by Hallock Tuthill, showed "dozens of Polish last names, some Irish names, and English names that are no longer on the North Fork. It seemed as though one world had been erased, the history stripped away and hidden, and another world built on top of it" (81). A chapter on "Workers" examines the hard lives of black southern migrants, who, from the early twentieth century on, "arrived in time for the spring planting and stayed to dig and bag potatoes" (94).

After years of poor potato prices and increasing land values, many second-and third-generation Poles have quit farming. Scarcely a dozen traditional farmers remain in Cutchogue and Mattituck, and these few face an uncertain future, with proposals to extend the LIE to Orient Point or construct a new bridge across the Sound. Yet, the remaining farmers and their rich land produce more food than any other region of New York State.

Heaven and Earth would benefit from an index, a local map, and a bibliography. Nevertheless, Steve Wick's engrossing social history of the farmers of Southold town should become required reading for all who value the study of Long Island as America.

LAUREL STEVENSON
Borders Books, Stony Brook

Noel J. Gish. *Smithtown, New York, 1660-1929: Looking Backward through the Lens*. Virginia Beach, VA: Donning Company Publishers, 1996. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $39.95, from Smithtown Historical Society, 5 N. Country Road, Smithtown, NY 11787 (add $3.30 sales tax and $4.00 for shipping and handling).

This well-written, well-organized town history, which reprints over two hundred black and white photographs, contains some surprises. My favorite is the newly discovered picture of twenty-five-year-old Charles A. Lindbergh flying *The Spirit of St. Louis*, weighted down with canisters of gasoline as it swept low over Blydenburg Park en route to Paris on 20 May 1927. Another is Walt Whitman's voting record while a member of the Smithtown debating society; he commuted to meetings from his home in Huntington. Still another, less pleasant, is the very high proportion of slaveholders in the town—thirty-eight of forty-four families during the year of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, its stirring phrase "all men are created equal" notwithstanding. A few generations later an African American who had grown up in Smithtown, the Reverend Hervey Highland Garnet, would contribute to righting the wrong of slavery by successfully urging Abraham Lincoln to sign the Emancipation Proclamation.

Smithtown was founded in 1665 by Richard Smythe, a Yorkshireman. A

descendant is Malcolm Smith Jr., whose lawn on Head of the Harbor boasts some of the once locally prolific spreading chestnut trees with their smooth-shelled, sweet, edible nuts. In Richard's time, some five hundred Algonquin Indians, a small band called Nesaquakes, inhabited the area, living off its nuts, berries, and grapes, salt and freshwater fish, and clams and oysters, as well as deer, rabbits, squirrels, and raccoons. The region retained a rural character well into the twentieth century. In 1950, for example, the population of Smithtown was still only 20,000, but by 1970 it had exploded to 170,000. The few older lifetime residents of the town fondly remember the 1920s that Noel Gish so well documents, the farmstands and cultivated fields soon to be devoured by subdivisions. More careful zoning and the generosity of conservationists such as Theodore and Mollie Weld—parents of the current governor of Massachusetts—have, however, preserved some enclaves of wildlife and woodlands along the North Shore.

Gish's book catches clashing images that portray the variousness of Smithtown's history and society. His photographs show handsome mansions with well-manicured lawns along the northern shore of Long Island, as well as ugly town streets where frozen winter groundswells gave way to mud in the spring and dust and dirt in the summers. Early tombstones from the eighteenth century carry death's- heads and other decorations with still-legible names and lines of often mournful verse. There is the Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s, shown in two pictures proudly wearing full regalia, its energies directed, with its usual shrewd detection of enemies of the republic, against Roman Catholic
immigrants.

The text blends with the pictures. There is a superb chapter on the Nissequogue River, recalling its shipbuilding days, its gristmills and sawmills, and the watershed's hunting and fishing preserves: the Nissequogue Trout Club was famous throughout New York. Another chapter treats historic houses, giving special emphasis to the influence of Stanford White, the architectural genius of the *fin de siècle*, who spent considerable time in this locale. Other sections detail patriots of the Revolution and Civil War, African American residents before and after the state freed its slaves in 1827, and one chapter is simply and freshly titled "Hooves, Wheels, and Automobiles."

The book invites the reader to discover the meaning of progress in the generations since Richard Smythe settled here in the 1660s, a span of time encompassed by the lives of only four octogenarians whose birth and death dates are recorded in town and church archives. As a historian, I wish that the author had more closely familiarized the reader with the nature of extant church and town manuscript sources, But there is an excellent index and the book is especially notable for its superb picture research.

DAVID BURNER
SUNY at Stony Brook

John Jiler. *Dark Wind: A True Account of Hurricane Gloria's Assault on Fire Island.* 1993; reprint, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994. Illustrations. Pp 272. $11.95 (paper).

This is the story of hurricane Gloria's landfall on Fire Island in September 1985, told through the perspectives of a handful of islanders who ignored orders to evacuate the vulnerable barrier island, and chose instead to ride out the storm. It is also a chronicle, fundamentally anecdotal, of the island's social history, especially that of the gay community, from 1938 to the mid-nineteen-thirties.

John Jiler's novelistic narrative covers three days in late September 1985, recounting the approach and eventual arrival of Gloria on Friday, 27 September. Woven throughout are the life stories of the survivors, the sometimes comic, sometimes tragic, outcomes of choice and chance that led each one to the fateful decision to ride out a hurricane on a thin strip of sand only a few feet above sea level. While much is made of the adventures of Ferron Bell, Martin Quartararo, Dana Wallace, Ivan Bekoff, Wayne Duclos, and Bob and Allys Tyson, all colorful and interesting characters to be sure, Jiler's obvious disinterest in those individuals without money or connections to the social circles of Manhattan and Cherry Grove weakens the book.

Jiler does little to disguise his loyalties. Just as the summer pilgrims passing through Sayville and Bay Shore on their way to the ferry docks consider the sidewalks of each town a veritable no-man's land to be crossed as quickly as possible, Jiler bypasses much of Fire Island's history that does not relate to Manhattan or the gay community. His choosing to focus primarily on flamboyant or iconoclastic summer people from New York may add to the book's sense of drama, and it must be remarked that his portraits of the cantankerous and fiercely independent Dana Wallace, the tragic and gentle Wayne Duclos, and the passionate Ferron Bell are exceptionally well done, but his obvious omission of the less popular survivors (together they merit no more than a paragraph near the end of the book) suggests a personal bias. In failing to tell the story of the others who chose to risk their lives, Jiler's 'True Account" remains incomplete.

Jiler's loose historical account of Fire Island's social history in the twentieth century splits the island into two "kingdoms," the "eastern kingdom" (gay) and the western kingdom" (straight), and portrays them as perennially embattled. The eastern kingdom is founded, according to Jiler, on promiscuous sex and licentious excess, the western kingdom on a more traditional variation of the American frontier spirit (of which Dana Wallace is an excellent example, a man fighting not only the sea but the federal authorities for the right to live in his seaside driftwood bungalow). Between the kingdoms lies the ecologically fragile Sunken Forest, a rare example of a maritime forest where traces of the island's natural history exist undisturbed and in a pristine state. Ironically, a similar region of undeveloped scrublands between the gay communities of Cherry Grove and Fire Island Pines is called "the meatrack," and Jiler's portrayal of it is decidedly

unromantic compared to his treatment of the Sunken Forest.

Jiler's bid to juxtapose social and natural history is seriously undermined by his treatment of nature, which is sometimes overly sentimental and at other times at odds with the basic natural history of the island. The clearest example of this comes early in the book when Jiler refers to a migrating peregrine falcon. The falcon, having breakfasted on a "duck in Rhode Island" that very morning (a purely imaginative trope in a book claiming to be "True"), is said to be traveling east along the dunes. But hawks following the coast southward move west along the Fire Island dunes in autumn, not east, and it is doubtful that a falcon that only hours before had been in Rhode Island would waste time backtracking eastward on his way to the staging grounds at Cape May in southern New Jersey. The annual autumn hawk counts taken at the Fire Island lighthouse and elsewhere are possible because of the very fact that the birds generally do not deviate from their southerly drive. Jiler, pushing poetic license past its limits, forgets Ezra Pound's admonition that a symbol must be perfectly natural if it is to serve any purpose. The error, admittedly one that only readers familiar with the island's natural history will detect, betrays a lack of knowledge on Jiler's part concerning the island's most fundamental phenomena, and damages his credibility as a chronicler of the island's natural history.

The book does have its better points. Ironically, the island's gay community, which first asserted itself as a force amidst the destruction of the 1938 hurricane, was driven off the island by Gloria's inevitable arrival, except for a few brave souls like Ferron Bell and Wayne DuClos who chose to stand up to the storm and risk death while riding it out, knowing that at its peak there would be no chance of rescue. The gay community as a whole was then caught in the middle of the deadly AIDS epidemic. Gloria, born in the hot equatorial zones of the tropics and with a wanton passion for unleashing death and destruction, is an apt metaphor for a plague whose primary means of transmission is sexual, and that can strike anywhere at any time. Jiler, who handles the metaphorical implications of the storm well, is at his best in his account of Wayne DuClos's dramatic fight for his life against the clutches of the sea. Duclos was nearly swept to his death while trying to experience, perhaps for the last time in his life, the enormous power of nature. His fight to survive the terrible rage of the sea despite being weakened by his disease is far more harrowing and heroic even than Dana Wallace's close brush with death under a boardwalk in the western kingdom. Jiler comments that survivors in the eastern kingdom either come together to ride out the storm or seek each other out in the immediate aftermath, evoking a strong sense of community, while in the western kingdom Dana Wallace is left to ride out the storm alone with his animals, deserted at the last moment by his good friend Halstead.

Despite the book's flaws, it has much to redeem it. The writing at times is powerful and clean, the social history of the island lively and interesting, and the narration of Wallace's and Duclos's encounters with the sea highly

dramatic and well paced. This reader was on Fire Island the evening before Gloria struck, when high swells were already battering the shore under a darkened sky. Having ridden the storm out in Bay Shore, only a few miles across the Great South Bay from the western kingdom, I can attest that for anyone who has not felt the full brunt of a hurricane's eye striking the coast, Jiter's poetic description of the storm's violence is near enough to the truth of such things. His book is a valuable contribution to the small collection of literature, historical and otherwise, dealing with Fire Island.

JIM PAPA
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Book Notes

Natalie A. Naylor, ed., *Nassau County Historical Society Journal* 51 (1996), published by the Nassau County Historical Society. Among this interesting collection of articles are: Lynda R. Day, "Pathways to Freedom: African Americans in Eastern Queens County"; Joel J. Morris, "The Hewlett House, 1749-1984: A Family History"; Richard A. Winsche, "Thomas W. Murphy: The Wizard of the Reins"; and Carolyn Kelly, "A Brief History of Aviation in Hicksville." The Society supplies the *Journal* to its members. Single copies of current issues are available for five dollars from the Society (contact the Corresponding Secretary, P.O. Box 207, Garden City, N.Y. 11530)., back issues from the Museum Shop, Bethpage Village Restoration, Round Swamp Road, Old Bethpage, N.Y. 11804 (516-572-8415). Address communications and submissions to Natalie A. Naylor, Long Island Studies Institute, Hofstra University-West Campus, 619 Fulton Avenue, Hempstead, N.Y. 11550.

A Human History: The History of Queens, 1997 LaGuardia and Wagner Archives Calendar (Long Island City: LaGuardia Community College [CUNY], 1996). Designed by Richard K. Lieberman assisted by David Osborn, this excellent collection of documented photographs covers a wide range of subjects pertaining to the history of Queens County. Only a few calendars are left, obtainable only by visiting the college's office at 31-10 Thomson Avenue, Long Island City.

Allen Oren, *"This Old Town" Collector's Edition.* Twelve half-hour video tapes of Allen Oren's *This Old Town* series on News 12 Long Island. History-oriented descriptions of Long Island communities, followed by interviews with informed scholars. $99 per set, from Long Island Long Ago, P. O. Box 2048, Larchmont , N.Y. 10538.

Communications

Dear Editor,

Your Fall 1996 issue contained a letter from Edwards H. Cleaveland, recalling how Stony Brook village looked before the "restoration." *LIHJ* readers interested in knowing more about the Stony Brook business district can read "Stony Brook Before and After Ward Melville's 1940 Shopping Crescent Project," by Nicholas Langhart, in *Long Island: The Suburban Experience*, edited by Barbara M. Kelly (Interlaken, N.Y.: Heart of the Lakes Publishing/Long Island Studies Institute, 1990), 51-74. The article includes ten photographs, most of which depict buildings prior to Melville's "rehabilitation." Ironically, as Langhart notes, Melville transformed "an authentic, if inelegant, colonial town into a suburban shopping center—albeit a carefully designed and executed shopping center with lavish landscaping" (59).

Additional information on Stony Brook is in another Langhart article, "Richard H. Smythe's Design Process in Stony Brook," in *Long Island Architecture*, edited by Joann P. Krieg (Interlaken, N.Y.: Heart of the Lakes Publishing/Long Island Studies Institute, 1991), 126-36. J. Lance Mallamo, director of Suffolk Historic Services, also mentions the Stony Brook shopping crescent in the same book in his article on roadside architecture, "Learning From Long Island: Order and Chaos of the Vehicular Age" (54-55, 57). Both articles are illustrated with photographs.

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