

# THE LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL JOURNAL



Fall 1994

Volume 7 • Number 1



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

*Walt Whitman*

*Fall 1994*

Volume 7 • Number 1

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Wilbur R. Miller, SUNY at Stony Brook:

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Deborah Johnson, *The Museums at Stony Brook:*

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*Museum members free, nonmembers \$25 for all six days,*

*or \$5 each day; students and seniors \$3 each day*

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# Long Island Studies Council

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

For information write to the  
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**READERS' REMARKS**

We welcome comments, proposals for articles or book reviews, or offers to help in whatever phase of our work you select.

# Editorial Comment

Welcome to volume seven, a meaningful number for crapshooters, baseball fans, and readers and friends of the *LIHJ*. To begin with, we call your attention to the far-reaching conclusion of Lee E. Koppelman and Pearl M. Kamer's analysis of and prognosis for the economy of Long Island. Equally absorbing is the latest section of Robert P. Crease's history of Brookhaven National Laboratories, an ongoing series now in its fourth installment. We also recommend John A. Strong's landmark discussion of Long Island's Native Americans. Professor Strong, who has researched and written extensively on Montauk and Shinnecock culture and life, explores the subjects of "Indianness," June Meeting, the problems of groups with land of their own compared with those who have none, and the current situation of East End Native Americans.

While these articles deal with present and recent times, we continue our policy of historical balance with pieces concerning Long Island's past. Gaetano L. Vincitorio describes the Island's role in the Revolution, with emphasis on the conflict between patriots and Loyalists. David Osborn examines the tension in Civil War-time Brooklyn and Queens, stemming from the Democratic party's divided allegiance to its traditional Southern political allies, now in a state of secession, and the Union it wanted to save. The glamorous Roaring Twenties provide the backdrop for Joann P. Krieg and Roger Wunderlich, each of whom offers a fresh interpretation of *The Great Gatsby* as Long Island history, while R. Marc Fasanella begins his study of the creation of Jones Beach State Park by the master builder, Robert Moses. All that, plus Richard P. Harmond's "Lost and Found" look at a captivating but obscure novel by Robert Barnwell Roosevelt, T.R.'s South Shore uncle, and an interesting batch of book reviews and letters.

We promise to give you your money's worth by maintaining both our high intellectual standards and our low annual rate of fifteen dollars. If you keep up your good work in helping us grow—writing articles and reviews, offering comments and suggestions, and—this is crucially important—increasing the number of our subscribers, then your *LIHJ* will accomplish its mission of telling the Island's story with scholarship, style, and substance.

A final word to social studies students and their teachers: stand by for the announcement of our 1995 contest (co-sponsored by the USB Center for Excellence and Innovation in Education) for essays pertaining to the history of Long Island by members of secondary school classes.



# Anatomy of the Long Island Economy; Prospective for Development

*By Lee E. Koppelman and Pearl M. Kamer*

*Editor's note: Our "State of the Island" series enables leading scholars and planners to evaluate and propose solutions for problems confronting Long Island.*

Parts I and 2, published in the previous issue of this journal (*LIHJ* 6 [Spring 1994]:146-67) presented a digest view of the Long Island economy accompanied with a set of projections of growth in the various sectors between the present and the year 2010. As we stated in the concluding paragraph,

there must be a concerted effort and direction to alleviate the Island's shortcomings in high taxation, high energy costs, limited transportation, lack of balanced affordable housing, and negative business climate if even this modest outlook is to be achieved.

This article discusses a variety of recommendations that if implemented can insure a reasonably positive economic future for Long Island. Some actions can be initiated and implemented by private entrepreneurs. Most activities though require governmental participation. It may be unwelcome to some observers, but private and public roles and responsibilities are inextricably entwined in the operations and well-being of the economy. Every segment of what is considered the "private sector"—be it manufacturing, all forms of commerce, tourism, and agriculture—is dependent to one degree or another on governmental programs, regulations and taxation. This is especially true for Long Island which has the highest combined property, income, and sales taxes in the nation; the highest energy costs in the Nation; the most comprehensive environmental and land use regulations in the Nation—all of which impacts directly on economic growth and stability.

Defense- and aviation-related manufacturing has consistently been the linchpin of the Long Island economy for more than a half century; from 28 May 1927, when Charles A. Lindbergh began his momentous solo flight from Roosevelt Field, through the growth of Grumman and Republic Corporations. In the years before and after World War II, Long Island merited the sobriquet of "cradle of aviation." The history of military aviation is to a significant degree the history of Long Island. From the single-engine, piston-prop, naval

biplanes of the 1930s through the development of the “cat” series of hellcats to bearcats—the Navy’s most sophisticated fighters—and Republic Corporation’s P-47—the deadliest night-fighter plane of the Army Air Force—which were instrumental in gaining air superiority in World War II, to the modern jet supersonic age of F-14D, A-6, and E2-C aircraft, Long Island remained a leading center of defense production.

These technical skills contributed to Grumman’s major role in the space program in more recent years. The historic “small step for man...large step for mankind” in walking on the moon was achieved in a LEM (Lunar Exploratory Module) designed and built on Long Island by the Grumman Corporation. Thus, in less than seventy years, Long Island aviation engineering and production has proceeded from the cradle to Buck Rogers’s twenty-fifth-century of space travel.

The multiplier impact of Grumman’s success led to its growth to more than 26,000 jobs, the fostering of more than 300 subcontractor industries on the Island, and the support of thousands of secondary jobs in the service sector. However, current reversals in defense expenditures places special emphasis on the need to prepare alternatives to defense-oriented manufacturing, the issue addressed in the first topic segment of the article.

A related issue is the role of education in training or retraining the labor force that will be required if the strategic industries Long Island is trying to recruit can succeed. Since women will continue to play a vital role in the Island’s labor force, it is necessary to provide adequate dependant care.

Other aspects of the Long Island economy such as industrial and commercial land use, tourism, agriculture, construction, and public-sector employment all merit attention in a comprehensive examination of the region’s development. However, the limitations of a journal article constrain attention in format and scope to a manageable list of topics.

The format presents the subject in two segments. The first portion discusses such elements of economic development as conversion of defense manufacturing to other high-technology development and production, including ancillary requirements for education and day care; industrial and commercial land uses; and the tourism economy. The balance of the article examines major impediments to economic well-being--energy costs, taxation, and transportation insufficiencies.

### **Economic Development**

#### *An Action Plan for the Defense Sector*

The U.S. government currently spends about \$76 billion on research and development programs, of which 60 percent is directed to defense and 40 percent to civilian purposes. President Clinton has suggested in several policy papers that he plans to curtail defense-unique research programs and shift the mix between defense and non-defense research programs to a 50-50 balance. Assuming overall stability in research funds this move would free up \$7

billion for non-defense research and development. These funds would be directed toward so-called "critical technologies" such as advanced materials, information technology, and new manufacturing processes. Some Long Island firms are currently active in some of these industries and that presence can be substantially enlarged through federal funding.

In March 1993, the Clinton administration announced a program of defense technology conversion, reinvestment, and transition assistance called the Technology Reinvestment Project, administered by the Defense Technology Conversion Council. The program provides federal funding to Long Island businesses, governments, and universities in three activity areas: technology development, technology deployment, and manufacturing education and training. The mission of the technology reinvestment project is to develop the most advanced, affordable, military systems, while at the same time developing the most competitive commercial products. To achieve these goals, the program stresses development of dual-use technologies, manufacturing and technology assistance to small firms, and education and training programs that enhance U.S. manufacturing skills and help displaced defense-industry workers.

This funding will be especially critical to the survival and growth of small manufacturing firms. An increasing share of the nation's technology is being developed by small firms. However, small firms are least able to assume the risks associated with the commercial development of state-of-the-art technologies. Thus, it appears that the costly process of commercializing technology must be subsidized by government if it is to proceed. Moreover, rapid commercialization, aided by government, can give U.S. companies cost advantages in production that cannot easily be overcome by foreign competitors.

One or more state-of-the-art manufacturing teaching factories, funded in part by the federal government but representing a cooperative effort between industry, government and academia, could help to revitalize Long Island's manufacturing base and encourage the development of dual-use technologies. The concept of a teaching factory is analogous to that of a teaching hospital. It would allow Long Island's manufacturers, particularly its small and medium-sized manufacturers, to explore new manufacturing practices, technologies, processes, and equipment. It would also provide access to valuable technical training and skill-enhancement programs. Such factories would demonstrate and use advanced production processes and equipment, employ the newest materials, offer help in marketing, finance, and general management, and be available to manufacturers on a shared basis.

Such teaching factories could be particularly valuable to the Long Island economy. A number of analysts believe that the world is currently on the threshold of the next history-changing group of basic innovations. The rationale for this prediction is as follows: The postwar period has been largely dominated by technologies developed during or immediately after World War II, applications of which have now been fully realized. In this situation, the return to capital tends to decline, and investors, seeking a higher return on



their capital, begin to invest in more risky ventures. They invest in promising new fields, which ultimately generates new clusters of basic innovation.

Experts suggest that we are currently at that stage in the innovative cycle where investment capital flows from mature industries into new and untested technologies. If we are indeed on the verge of a new round of technical innovations, Long Island, with its excellent educational facilities and technically-trained manpower, is well positioned to be at the forefront of these developments. The following industries are likely to be the major high-technology growth industries: semi-conductors and integrated circuits, microprocessor applications, computer software, electronic information and communication systems, genetic engineering, fiber optics, automation, medical diagnostics, and energy production and conservation.

Long Island firms that exploit emerging technologies will ultimately generate the high value-added jobs needed to take up some of the slack caused by the declining defense sector. Moreover, the new jobs will be more cyclically stable because they will not be subject to the vagaries of the defense budget.

One of the immediate challenges confronting Long Island is to retain the unique scientific and technical skills of displaced defense workers within the Long Island economy. Long Island's high-technology industries are footloose in the sense that they are not tied to raw materials or other natural resources. Their primary resource is brainpower, much of which can come from defense industries currently in the process of downsizing.

Several Long Island universities have already moved to harness the skills of displaced defense workers and retrain them for future Long Island jobs. For example, the State University at Stony Brook has undertaken a program designed to identify prospective high-technology entrepreneurs and help them start their own businesses.

Another challenge is to give small Long Island manufacturers access to adequate capitalization. It is essential that those agencies and institutions charged with economic development work closely with the financial community, New York State, and the federal government, to ensure that existing financing programs are effectively utilized and that new programs tailored specifically to the needs of small manufacturing firms with limited collateral are put into place.

#### *Recommendations: Education*

The high-performance work organizations of the future will empower workers operating in teams to make critical decisions regarding complex production problems. This type of organization will replace traditional hierarchies in which instructions flowed from the top down. Control will be decentralized and workers will receive promotions based on skill levels rather than seniority. The emphasis will be on the ability to think creatively and on adaptability. Most businesses will no longer be sheltered from global competition, and will require employees with skills consistent with the needs

of a globalized economy. These include not only the requisite technical skills but also a knowledge of different cultures, languages, and business practices. In the 1990s, the pace of economic change will accelerate so that existing skills will become obsolete within a shorter time frame.

Long Island's educational institutions will be called upon to respond promptly and effectively to these changes. These institutions perform many diverse functions. Collectively, they are large employers that contribute significantly to Long Island income and employment. Their research helps to create new products and product markets. Their primary mission, however, is to produce graduates with the general knowledge and intellectual skills to adapt to current societal conditions and labor-market needs, as well as to those that cannot now be conceived.

Long Island's colleges and universities devote enormous resources toward producing literate, highly-skilled graduates. However, the traditional college population of students between the ages of eighteen and twenty-two is declining, and is expected to continue to decline. At the same time, growing numbers of adult labor force participants, many with extensive work experience, will be displaced from their jobs by on-going changes in the economy. Many will require additional training and/or retraining for future jobs. Moreover, Long Island businesses and governments will increasingly require the unique expertise available within the university community in order to function effectively. This, in turn implies much closer linkages between industry, government and institutions of higher education on Long Island.

Thus, there is a clear need to redefine the respective missions of Long Island's institutions of higher education. In some cases, Long Island's colleges may find it necessary to assume functions once performed solely by technical and vocational schools. This, in turn, may entail a radical change in educational philosophy.

Continued emphasis on science, engineering, and technology is needed in a region that aspires to compete by commercially exploiting state-of-the-art technologies. Long Island's engineering schools should share their technical expertise with Long Island businesses. In this vein, the SUNY at Stony Brook College of Engineering and Applied Sciences is launching a Center for Advanced Manufacturing that will provide facilities for industry/university efforts to improve manufacturing operations, perform outreach and technology transfer to serve local industry, offer professional education to serve the local and state economies, and provide a source of intellectual strength in advanced manufacturing technologies.

Long Island's colleges could develop a more entrepreneurial approach in interacting with local businesses and government agencies. University-based consulting groups that offer fee-based services could greatly enhance the competitiveness of local businesses and the efficiency of local governments. Joint university-industry research arrangements could also be mutually beneficial.

*Recommendations: Dependent Care*

There is an urgent need for quality dependent care on Long Island. Individual firms and/or consortiums of firms should actively work to implement center-based care when feasible. Useful models for such care include the Village Green Day Care Center, Inc. in the village of Huntington, the European-American Bank facility at EAB Plaza in Uniondale, the Brookhaven National Laboratory Child Development Center, the Hofstra University Day Care facility, the Computer Associates Child Development Center, and the CMP Publications facility in Manhasset.

Local governments can play a vital role in expanding center-based dependent care on Long Island. For example, tax incentives can be used to encourage developers to incorporate such facilities in their buildings. Property tax abatements could be given to existing offices and industrial buildings that make renovations to incorporate dependent care facilities. Another option is to allow builders extra feet of commercial or industrial space beyond current zoning limits for each square foot set aside for a dependent care facility. Although new commercial/industrial construction is currently on hold, this will change as the Long Island economy rebounds. Another option is to utilize existing Head Start program sites for day care, thus eliminating most start-up costs.

Greater attention must also be paid to the affordability of child care. The average annual price per child is now about \$3,000--the estimated price for a high-quality child care center ranges from \$6,400 to \$8,400 per child. It may be necessary to develop private and public scholarships to help parents pay for such care.

Family day care is an alternative to center-based care, particularly when potential users want to set down support systems within their own communities. Such care is particularly appropriate when more than one child in a family requires care. There are two kinds of family day-care homes: a family provider cares for six or fewer children in his or her home, while a group provider usually cares for twelve or fewer children at home.

Family day care may be a desirable option for both company and individual users. From the company perspective, relatively modest financial support is needed to expand family day care and group family day care homes. For individuals, family day care may be more flexible than on-site, center-based care, as users can generally negotiate the specific hours for which care is needed, and even its cost.

Other family-responsive policies include more flexible work schedules and family leaves. The recently-passed Family Leave Act, giving workers in establishments with at least fifty employees up to twelve weeks of unpaid leave at times of family emergencies, eases the dependent care burdens of many families.

New York State's role should also be broadened. State agencies should be able to award planning grants to consortium applicants. State regulations regarding financial aid for day care centers should also be more flexible, to

allow a broader range of business sponsors. The state should also consider establishing a child care loan guarantee fund.

The Long Island business community can support dependent care in several ways. Dependent care providers need financing for renovation and expansion and lines of credit for day-to-day operations. However, lenders are often reluctant to make loans to dependent care providers, and often impose heavy collateral requirements when they do. The Community Reinvestment Act of 1977 obligates lenders to equitably satisfy the credit needs of their communities, including the needs of dependent care providers. A closer partnership is needed between Long Island's financial community and child care providers. Those who operate and staff dependent care facilities generally have a background in social services and not in finance. Providers must learn to develop business plans that satisfy the banking community. On the other hand, banks must come to regard the provision of dependent care services as a business and not simply as "babysitting".

#### *Recommendations: Industrial Land Use*

Although economic growth has slowed, there continues to be new industrial activity. Slow growth continues in Ronkonkoma, Yaphank, and other parts of the towns of Islip and Brookhaven. In Nassau County, Hicksville and Port Washington have shown some activity. In the future, approximately 100-to-150 acres per year will be needed for industrial development. Suffolk County alone has enough available industrial land to accommodate this rate of growth for more than a century. Clearly, Suffolk, with more than 16,000 acres of available industrially zoned land, is overzoned for industry and only the most suitable sites should be developed. With so much available land, development in environmentally sensitive areas can be curtailed.

Road access should be improved to provide safer and more efficient access to industrial areas. The Long Island Expressway (LIE), the Island's industrial life line, should be upgraded to handle the heavy volume of commuter and truck traffic. There is a need for continuous service roads from exits 63 to 68 (William Floyd Parkway), to serve the emerging industrial center along Horse Block Road and the County Center, both in Yaphank, as well as industry, a proposed regional shopping center, and Brookhaven National Laboratory, all at exit 68. Also needed is an entrance and exit ramp at exit 65 to give truck and local car traffic better access to Horse Block Road.

The Hauppauge industrial area stretches from LIE exits 54 to 56. Hauppauge has more acreage devoted to industry than any other community on Long Island. To better serve this industrial area, it would be useful to widen the Motor Parkway overpass at exit 55, Route 111 from Motor Parkway to Nesconset Highway, and Motor Parkway from LIE exits 55 to 57.

Excess industrial space on Long Island should be recycled before adding more. Until a significant volume of vacant space is absorbed, the Industrial Development Agencies should carefully evaluate loan applications for

proposed new industrial projects.

Since Long Island is over-zoned for industry, Long Island towns should avail themselves of the opportunity to remove thousands of acres from industrial zoning. However, Long Island still contains a number of prime sites for industrial development as part of Planned Unit Developments (PUDs), including the now-closed Roosevelt Raceway and the 212-acre Grumman Bethpage Airport in Nassau.

In Suffolk County, there are several opportunities for PUDs. The Gyrodyne property in Stony Brook has 182 vacant acres. There are also 500 vacant acres just north of Nesconset Highway in East Setauket, an area proposed as a PUD. There is also a reuse potential for the now closed 145-acre Parr Meadows Racetrack in Yaphank. Its location next to a proposed regional shopping center and the LIE make this a good PUD site.

Residentially zoned areas that are totally surrounded by industrial land, as in Melville, should be rezoned industrial to avoid land use conflicts. Industrially zoned land which contains housing in sound condition should be changed to residential zoning to avoid industrial and commercial intrusions into the neighborhood. Industrial zones along the waterfront should be considered for a change to a marine commercial category. Frequently, the original intended uses of the industrial category, such as oil tanks and ship building, have become obsolete. Waterfront land has become too valuable for such uses and would be better utilized for water-dependent activities. The villages of Patchogue, Port Jefferson, and Freeport could make use of such a district. The town of Hempstead should consider this type of district for Inwood and Oceanside.

#### *Recommendations: Commercial Activity-Retailing*

Many innovative retail developments used in other parts of the country should be considered for Long Island. These include themed retail centers and mixed-use centers that include a retail segment. These innovations may be introduced through new retail construction, or through redevelopment of existing Long Island retail centers.

Themed retail centers emphasize a specific product. This provides consumers with one-stop shopping, thus generating fewer trips and alleviating traffic congestion and conserving gasoline. A fashion mall, an example of such a themed center, is a concentration of apparel shops, boutiques, and custom quality stores carrying special merchandise. Such a mall is designed with distinctive architectural features aimed at the high-end retail consumer. An automotive center is also a specialty center, planned for new and used car dealers, automobile maintenance facilities, auto accessories shops, and car rental outlets.

At "off-price centers," the anchor stores are discount merchandisers like Toys R Us and Marshalls; factory outlets are also off-price centers. These centers have few frills and appeal to consumers who want good quality at a reasonable price.

A hypermarket, a specialty center under one roof, is another retail innovation. This is a huge supermarket which sells the normal array of food items but with a much larger selection, and includes a drug store, bakery, delicatessen, florist, prepared foods-to-go, film processing, video rentals, and a bank or automatic-teller machine. When this type of store is included in a community shopping center, it tends to draw the vitality from the other tenants. Preferably, a hypermarket should be sited alone, but if not, other tenants in the center should not attempt to duplicate its services.

The continued population growth of Suffolk County, specifically in the five eastern towns and Brookhaven, may require a maximum of three additional community and neighborhood retail developments. The areas that are underserved offer planners the opportunity to designate the areas best for retail development, that will have the smallest impact on traffic, will avoid overlapping of service areas, and will be closest to the highest residential densities. A regional mall in Yaphank, now a viable project, is twelve miles from the nearest regional mall, it has its own service area and fills a need for that type of retail activity.

Nassau County, with its affluent population, can support additional high-quality retail square footage. Although there is no general need for additional retail space in Nassau, this does not preclude the construction of new retail facilities if existing space is recycled into alternative uses such as offices.

Long Island municipalities should consider incentives that encourage the reuse of vacant, abandoned, or underutilized retail space, especially when market conditions favor this practice. This process will help to avoid retail blight. For example, some sites should be considered for redevelopment to higher density housing, for which there are many opportunities within Central Business Districts (CBDs).

Much of the strip commercial development on Long Island is unsightly. Contiguous strip commercial development should proceed in accord with a cohesive plan that includes enough off-street parking, limited ingress and egress, coordinated storefronts and signage, curb cuts, and adequate buffers from nearby residences.

Retail developments along major roadways have exacerbated traffic congestion. When existing commercial properties are redeveloped, all unnecessary driveways and distracting signage should be eliminated, and all roadway entrances should have unobstructed views to assure safe merging into traffic. Access to public transportation should be stressed during development and redevelopment.

#### *Recommendations: Commercial Activity-Offices, Hotels*

Several innovations are occurring within Long Island's office market. Some shopping centers are being recycled for office use and this process is likely to continue. For example, neighborhood shopping centers lend themselves to medical office reuse. A second major trend is the conversion of offices to condominium ownership. Office buildings are also being

incorporated into planned unit developments. It is strongly recommended that affordable housing also be incorporated into such planned unit developments to house some of the employees who work in the nearby offices.

The dramatic growth of year-round hotels on Long Island during the past decade has left little room for further hotel growth. However, selected areas may require further additions to the hotel inventory. For example, as the University Hospital at SUNY at Stony Brook develops, there may be a need for additional hotel rooms to house the families of hospital patients. The growth of industrial and office space in the Yaphank area may also create the need for additional hotel rooms.

### *Recommendations: Tourism*

The growing competitiveness of the hospitality industry means that Long Island's hotels and motels must adopt innovative marketing strategies and higher standards of service if they are to retain and expand their market share. It has also become necessary to market the hospitality industry beyond Long Island and its immediate environs, a costly departure from past practices.

Hotel room taxes specifically dedicated to the promotion of tourism can produce the revenue for such a campaign. Suffolk County recently enacted a 0.75 percent hotel-motel tax, and a similar tax has been proposed for Nassau County, which should implement such a tax. In Suffolk, the tax is added to the daily rate charged by hotels, motels, campgrounds and bed-and-breakfast establishments. Based on current occupancy patterns, the Suffolk tax could generate as much as \$900,000 annually. Two-thirds of the proceeds are earmarked for the Long Island Convention and Visitors Bureau. Approximately 21 percent of the receipts will be used to maintain historical structures and natural areas operated by the county. The remaining 12.3 percent will go to not-for-profit museums and cultural organizations designated by the Suffolk County Legislature.

The need to market Long Island's tourist attractions more broadly is only one aspect of the solution. There is also a need to provide the types of attractions that recreational and business travelers want. The suggestions that follow are made in this vein.

\* There is overwhelming interest in shopping as a recreational pastime. Long Island has a large and diverse retail sector and can market its factory outlets, flea markets, and discount malls—in Bellport and Riverhead more effectively. Brochures listing these outlets, their hours of operation, and travel directions would be a useful first step.

\* There is already substantial interest in Long Island's vineyards. Long Island's grape growers are attempting to encourage a regional identity for the North Fork as a major wine-producing area. Organized wine-tasting tours and other "happenings" centered around the vineyards would enhance tourism and solidify the Island's identity as a major wine-producing area. They would also boost multiseason tourism, because fall is the most popular season for trips to the vineyards.

\* The U.S. is a nation of sports fans. Long Island can capitalize on the interest in sports such as tennis and golf by specifying designated months as “tennis month” or “golf month,” during which world-class players would be invited to local tournaments; if these were televised nationally, Long Island’s image as a desirable travel destination would be substantially enhanced. Complementary activities might include tennis and golf “clinics” given by local colleges. Full support should be given to the Good Will Games. New York State provided funds this year for the construction of an Olympic swimming stadium at Mitchel Field, which can serve as the home base for Good Will and other national competitions.

\* Long Island can use its harbors and docks to greater advantage. One or more could be transformed into a seaport of the colonial period, akin to Mystic Seaport in Connecticut. Happenings centered around the harbors could include “op sail” events. Complementary activities would include water and boat shows, boat races around Long Island, clam bakes, fireworks displays, and short college courses that teach boating skills.

\* Long Island’s role as the “cradle of aviation” could be celebrated with “open skies” events complete with air shows, sky writing, and flyovers by antique planes.

\* Long Island possesses a storehouse of scientific talent in its businesses, colleges and universities, and laboratories. What better way to display this talent and to attract visitors than to host science fairs? There could be complementary lectures by recognized scientists from Long Island and elsewhere. Such fairs would enhance the Island’s image as a center for high technology, and stimulate interest in scientific careers among young people. The capstone and focal point of these efforts would be the creation of a Long Island Museum of Science and Technology.

These suggestions, while far from a comprehensive menu, are designed to generate a sense of excitement and to create an awareness of Long Island as a total vacation experience and a year-round travel destination. Long Island’s travel industry should also consider expanding the breadth of choices it offers to visitors. Additional attractions for children should be considered. The recently opened water theme park Splish Splash, at Adventureland near LIE exit 72, is a welcome addition.

However, there is a downside to the expansion of tourist activities. Highway congestion and parking problems can be powerful deterrents to tourism. Additional public transit is needed specifically to serve business visitors and leisure travelers, particularly if Long Island wants to attract some of the larger business conventions. A “convention loop” jitney linking major business hotels and convention centers is one possible solution. Better public transportation to and within areas dominated by leisure travel is also needed. Antique trolleys on wheels could circulate through areas such as Port Jefferson and Sag Harbor. They could be available free of charge or at nominal cost, allowing unlimited opportunities to get on and off. The trolleys could originate and terminate at park-and-drive lots on the outskirts of these



areas. Such a service would allow officials to ban or limit traffic in the centers of tourist-oriented villages during the peak summer season. Greater utilization of the Long Island Rail Road for leisure trips to the East End, and a better interface between rail and surface public transportation on the East End are also needed.

### **Impediments to Economic Development**

#### *Recommendations: Energy Use and Conservation*

Long Island should promote energy conservation of all fuels. There should be support for Public Service Commission initiatives to conserve gas as well as electricity. Any legislation that broadens the authority of the Public Service Commission to include conservation of oil should be supported.

A Conservation Facilitator should be appointed to promote conservation and assure Long Island's full utilization of state and federal funding for conservation.

An energy audit should be required before any home can be sold, including a prescription for any corrective action needed to achieve conservation.

Conservation measures in county and town buildings should be implemented as examples of energy-efficient construction and maintenance. Development of energy-efficient housing should also be stressed.

Cogeneration projects should be encouraged through legislation favorable to independent power producers, assuring a "level playing field" for independent power producers vis-a-vis the New York Power Authority.

Energy conservation programs should be decoupled from electricity rates. Rate increases stemming from conservation should be allocated to the customers or class of customers that benefits from conservation.

It is necessary to improve the opportunities for weatherization of low-income homes, with a major effort to replace current eligibility standards with HUD Section 8 eligibility rules in deciding who qualifies for weatherization assistance. The Section 8 rules take into account the local cost of living. In an affluent area such as Long Island, it is possible to have an income higher than the current standard and still be poor. Therefore, the current standards, which do not take into account the local cost of living, shortchange Long Island in terms of weatherization funding for low-income households. The New York State Department of Social Services should also alter its income eligibility standards to reflect the local cost of living. It is important to take steps through the Public Service Commission to prevent any increase in the utility rates of low-income energy customers because of energy conservation programs. It would also be useful to legalize, upgrade and monitor accessory apartments so that low-income occupants can qualify for New York State energy assistance.

To assure an increased supply of natural gas, the Iroquois pipeline as well as any upgrades to the pipeline should be supported. Other natural gas pipelines to Long Island should also be encouraged. The New York State

Energy Research and Development Authority should sponsor a study of the feasibility, economics, safety, and environmental effects of an LNG terminal on Long Island.

It is essential to bring more hydroelectric power to Long Island. As part of this process, the New York State Energy Research and Development Authority should be asked to sponsor a study of how imports of Quebec hydropower to Long Island can be increased. The study should investigate the possibility of connections through the New England Power Pool.

To reduce oil consumption on Long Island, employers should be helped to establish company commuter programs that help employees to set up car and van pools, and coordinate work hours among companies. The establishment of a fourth lane on the LIE as a high-occupancy lane for car and van pools and buses would also help to conserve oil as would enforcement of the 55 mph speed limit. More telecommuting should be encouraged. The use of compressed natural gas as a motor fuel for fleet vehicles should also be encouraged.

#### *Recommendations: Highway Transportation*

The problem that confronts Long Island is one of developing steady, dependable sources of highway improvement revenue over a long-term period and developing a method of choosing the order in which projects are implemented. Since improvement needs currently exceed existing fund capabilities, it is recommended that criteria for project selection emphasize maintaining the economic viability of Long Island. This means improving service to commuters and facilitating the movement of commercial vehicles, which in turn requires a multi-tier approach.

#### *Recommendations: Government and Taxation*

The following recommendations will help to achieve economy and efficiency in government.

Currently, all property taxes in Suffolk County are collected in two equal payments, the first due by 10 January and the second by 31 March. This schedule does not coincide with revenue needs, resulting in excessive interest costs for the county and its school districts. The system of property tax collection and payment for municipalities and school districts in Suffolk County should be changed to a 2 + 2 system. Homeowners would pay their general (municipal, county, town, and special district) taxes in January and May, with school tax payments split out and paid each September and March. The school districts would receive the full amount collected in September and March. It is recommended that the Suffolk County Legislature prepare a home rule message requesting this change by act of the state legislature, and that town tax receivers in Suffolk have the responsibility to distribute the property tax bill to property taxpayers.

Suffolk should assume the responsibility for assessing property in the

county, a function now performed by the ten towns, using different methodologies. This makes comparison difficult and equitable distribution of the tax burden impossible.

Where there are fewer than 5,000 pupils in a school district, costs rise from \$1,000 and \$8,000 per pupil, depending on size and composition of the district. Since districts of 5,000 or more pupils are most cost-effective, it is likely that economies can be realized through significant school district consolidation.

The school district real property tax on residential property on Long Island should be replaced with a graduated income tax, which would include a formula for equitable distribution of tax revenues. This would be beneficial to most homeowners. The nonresidential property tax should be continued, and the dollars derived pooled and distributed on the same basis as the income tax.

As provision of elementary and secondary school education is constitutionally a state function, the costs should be funded entirely by the state. This recommendation should be subjected to statewide referendum. Since costs of living differ among regions of the state, the distribution of funds should take account of such differences. Property taxes should no longer be available for such funding.

Every effort should be made to end social service functions performed by school districts in duplication of existing county services.

There should be a common voting date for all school districts in Nassau and Suffolk Counties. The lack of turnout at school budget votes is caused partly because so few voters are aware of the times and dates of the various budget votes. A common date would encourage larger voter turnouts.

There is a huge disparity in costs between the one Nassau County BOCES supervisory district and Suffolk County's three districts. The three Board of Co-operative Education Services (BOCES) supervisory districts in Suffolk County should be merged; the commissioner of education has already merged two.

The Nassau County budget deadline for submission by the county executive should be changed from the first Monday after the first Tuesday in November to 1 October. The current deadline for submission of the budget in Nassau is 9 November, after election day. This allows no more than two and a-half weeks for public scrutiny before the budget hearings, and three for adoption (21 December) after public testimony is given. By contrast, Suffolk County's budget must be submitted by the county executive in early September, which allows ample time for public scrutiny.

The counties should take steps toward establishing a unified purchasing network that would share contract lists among jurisdictions, and discuss problems in shipping, standardization of quality, and reliability of services. Bidding requirements are set at an unrealistically low level, which requires excessive paper work and causes delays. Indexing to the rate of inflation would help overcome this problem.

General purpose governments on Long Island should shift to a two-year budget cycle. With the spending plan for the government entity adopted for two consecutive fiscal years, budget amendments could be made for the

first year only in the first ten months of the year, and for the second year by a vote of a supermajority of the legislative branch. The two-year budget should be proposed and passed in election (odd-numbered) years before the election takes place.

The idea of a two-year budget is a way of combatting the large year-to-year swings in the property tax levy in both counties due to election-year pressures to cut taxes. By requiring a two-year budget cycle, a more stable, predictable property tax levy could be achieved. This would have a positive impact on the economy and allow homeowners and businesses to plan future expenditures more effectively in a stable tax environment. Currently, both counties have property tax levies that fluctuate wildly from year to year, apparently determined by the incidence of election years.

In delivering services to preschool handicapped children, it is recommended that independent evaluators be permitted to determine the needs of the child (including physicians, groups of professionals, school districts, and hospitals). The main purpose of this recommendation is to separate evaluations from service provisions. Each evaluation should be sent to the county for oversight purposes, and the law changed to allow evaluations tailored to the suspected disability of each child. Thus, a full battery of tests might be unnecessary. It is also imperative to strengthen county representation on the Committee on Preschool Education. Children should not be transported any further than the nearest facility that meets their needs. If the state legislature fails to adopt these recommendations, the counties should be absolved from all financial responsibilities for the program.

Some government functions on Long Island, if privatized, would achieve savings. Areas that require special attention are: Off-Track Betting, Nassau County Medical Center, Suffolk County Nursing Home, Nassau County Nursing Home, and all home health services. Public agencies and private firms should be eligible to compete against each other for a large, specified list of government functions and services. To avoid public employee unemployment, governments could match the rate of privatization to the rate of normal attrition, mandate that a winning contractor hire current government employees in that function, and/or institute early retirement and other incentives to cushion the effect of privatization.

The local tax base should be broadened. One means of doing so is to promote business activity to ease property tax burdens. While maintaining sensitivity to the environmental consequences of construction projects, present impediments and delays in the approval process should be removed. Evaluations should be made with an eye toward eliminating all commissions and boards that do not have statutory or charter responsibilities. In addition, all commissions and boards created in the future should have sunset provisions as well as appropriate funding. Nassau and Suffolk counties should expand the development of a digitized system of land mapping for all tax parcels in each county.

Certain administrative changes are needed. The budget offices of the

Suffolk county executive and legislature should be merged into one non-partisan office. The elective positions of comptroller and treasurer in Suffolk County should be appointed by the county executive and approved by the county legislature. One police academy should be established for both counties. Police patrols of interstate and state roads should be shifted from the county to the state. Civil defense or emergency preparedness units at the county and town levels should be eliminated, since most of their functions are currently performed by police and fire departments. All snow removal and street sweeping should be shifted from the counties to the towns.

Functions duplicated at two or more levels of government should be consolidated, so that only one level provides the service or function. Appropriate compensation should be made to the jurisdiction taking sole responsibility for the delivery of such services by those jurisdictions relinquishing service delivery, to ensure equity between government levels. Such services include, but are not limited to, Youth Services, Women's Services, Veteran's Services, Consumer Services, Drug and Alcohol Services, and Industrial Development. Care should be taken to avoid the loss of federal and state revenues.

A Regional Solid Waste Council should be created to provide for cooperation in the construction and/or development or enlargement of public and private facilities for the disposal of solid waste ash, compost, and other recyclable materials, including incineration, and to consider and plan for the use and disposition of ash, compost, and recyclable materials in a manner consistent with the New York State Waste Management Act.

The first tier includes east-west arterials that serve intracounty and intercounty commuter and commercial travel. Capacity improvement funds should be allocated to these arterials first. They include the LIE, the Northern and Southern State Parkways, Sunrise Highway, Veterans Memorial Highway, and Nesconset Highway.

The second tier includes the north-south state arterials that feed the east-west routes. These include state highways 110, 111, 112, and 231, Sagtikos Parkway, and county roads 97, 83, and 46. The third tier includes other roads that directly serve or are within the major employment centers. It is recommended that capacity improvement projects for second- and third-tier roads take precedence over all but first-tier projects.

In evaluating highway projects in eastern Suffolk, the important factors are seasonal traffic variations and year-round traffic due to increased residential development. There has been a deterioration of service on New York State Highway 27. Therefore, a bypass providing two additional lanes of capacity in both the eastbound and westbound directions is needed. One possibility is to eliminate rail service on the South Fork and use the railroad right of way for a highway. However, this option has serious problems. And, funding constraints suggest that a bypass is unlikely in the foreseeable future. One interim solution is the reconstruction of CR 39 and CR 39A from NYS 27 (west) to NYS 27 (east) to provide four lanes with left-turn lanes at major intersections.

A number of major highway improvements are needed. There should be construction of continuous service roads along the LIE to exit 68 (William Floyd Parkway). It is recommended that the Northern State Parkway be widened to six lanes to Veterans Memorial Highway, and the Sagtikos Parkway to six lanes between Northern State Parkway and the Heckscher Spur. New York State 347 should be widened to six lanes between state roads 454 and 25A, and grade separations should be built at state roads 454, 111, and 25 and county road 97. State 454 should be widened to six lanes with the future possibility of eight.

A continuous arterial highway between New York State 110 and LIE exit 58 is needed. This route could run along the rights-of-way of Conklin Street, Long Island Avenue, Acorn Street, Pine Air Drive, Suffolk Avenue, and Old Nichols Road. However, there are major obstacles to overcome before a through route could be provided to NYS 110. The 110 corridor is one of the most important commercial and industrial areas in Suffolk. A six-or-eight-lane section is needed north to NYS 25.

Although the traffic congestion problem on Long Island is primarily one of region-wide capacity, there are several low-cost methods of reducing congestion. These include staggered work hours, ridesharing and greater use of public transit. Such options should be pursued, given the fact that the Long Island Tomorrow Study estimated that \$5.3 billion would be needed to eliminate all road deficiencies in Nassau and Suffolk Counties, including pavement, bridges and safety deficiencies. Only \$1.3 billion of this funding is likely to be available between 1990 and 2000. Moreover, Long Island has consistently received only a fraction of what it contributes in federal and state gasoline taxes and motor vehicle-related fees in the form of highway improvement funds. Long Island needs assurances that funds for highway improvements will be available on a long-term basis, that Long Island will receive more of what it contributes in motor vehicle-related fees and taxes, and that, on a statewide basis, improvements will be made first where the need is greatest. In addition, the possibility of a state income tax transportation surcharge should be investigated as a source of additional highway improvement revenue.

## **Conclusion**

Despite the lingering continuance of the recession on Long Island, it is important to acknowledge that Nassau and Suffolk Counties remain two of the wealthiest counties in the United States in terms of family disposable income, and diversification and relative strength of the existing employment base.

If the recommendations discussed in this article are implemented to any significant degree, it can be stated with confidence that the economic future for Long Island could indeed be a bright one.

## **Annotated Bibliography**

The material presented in this article represents a summary of studies

carried out by the Long Island Regional Planning Board, (LIRPB) and/or the Center for Regional Policy Studies, (CRPS) since 1988. The economic and taxation elements culminated in the *Long Island Regional Strategic Economic Development Plan*. The energy, industrial and commercial land use, and transportation elements were individual studies prepared for and included in the *Second Long Island Comprehensive Regional Development Plan (CRDP) 1990-2010 Summary*.

The first project was the preparation of a four-report set covering six tasks. The work, funded in part by the New York State Regional Economic Development Partnership Program, concentrated on creating a data base for a Long Island economic action plan.

CRPS, *Data Base for a Long Island Economic Action Plan: The Nassau-Suffolk Labor Market; Task 1-Labor Force Projections, Task 2-Employment Projections*, 31 May 1989.

CRPS *Data Base: Task 3-Analysis of High School, Vocational School, College and University Curriculums on Long Island; Task 4-An Action Plan for Education and Training: Satisfying Long Island's Future Skill Needs*, 27 Dec. 1989.

CRPS, *Data Base: Task 5-The Economic Linkages Between Manufacturing and the Service-Producing Industries: Implications for Public Policy*, 2 May 1990.

CRPS, *Data Base: The Relative Productivity of Long Island Workers: It's Competitive Implications*, 5 Dec. 1990.

In addition the CRPS conducted a separate study also funded in part by the State Economic Development Partnership Program to examine in greater detail the Tourism industry.

CRPS, *Promoting Tourism and Business Travel on Long Island: A Plan for the Future*, September 1990.

The high cost of electric energy and its importance for economic development led the LIRPB to conduct its own energy study as one of the inputs to overall planning for the Island's future:

Douglas Hill, *Energy Plan for Long Island*, LIRPB, March, 1989.

In response to escalating governmental costs leading to Long Island becoming one of the highest property tax areas of the nation, The New York State Legislature on 30 June 1990 created the New York State Temporary Commission for Tax Relief on Long Island, (TCTR). The LIRPB and the

CRPS served as the staff to the commission, and produced ten working papers and a summary volume of policy recommendations. The ten working papers were later republished in two volumes.

Working Paper #1 - Municipal Government Operations, Revenues and Expenditures, 1960-1990.

Working Paper #2 - Suffolk County Operations, Revenue, and Expenditures 1960-1990.

Working Paper #3 - Municipal Solid Waste Operations, Operation and Plan.

Working Paper #4 - Taxation, Sales, Income, Property Analysis and Alternatives.

Working Paper #5 - Nassau County Operations, Revenues and Expenditures 1960-1990.

Working Paper #6 - Police Operations, Nassau and Suffolk Counties.

Working Paper #7 - Pre-School Handicapped Education.

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Working Paper #9 - School Operations, Nassau and Suffolk Counties.

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# The History of Brookhaven National Laboratory, Part Four: Problems of Transition

*By Robert P. Crease*

Brookhaven National Laboratory (BNL) was founded in 1947 as a multidisciplinary laboratory oriented toward basic research in atomic energy.<sup>1</sup> In the 1950s, under the directorship of Leland Haworth, a changing political and scientific climate exposed the still-evolving lab to many different kinds of strains. Some major programs did not pan out, while other opportunities unexpectedly arose and were successfully exploited. The laboratory had to shift the focus of several departments, make key decisions on its mix of basic versus applied research, and cope with a changing relationship with its sponsor, the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC). In February 1955, in a meeting of the board of trustees of Associated Universities, Inc. (AUI), the institution which ran Brookhaven and served as buffer between it and the AEC, AUI president Lloyd Berkner referred to certain "fundamental problems of transition" the laboratory was confronting,<sup>2</sup> specifically those created by Brookhaven's involvement in President Eisenhower's Atoms for Peace initiative; still, the phrase could just as well cover a number of problems the lab was facing.

This article focuses on a few illustrations of the lab's problems of transition in the 1950s, including the early boron neutron capture therapy program, the largest single item on the Medical Department's agenda in the 1950s, but which was abandoned as a failure in 1961; the evolution of the reactor development program; and an episode involving the Brookhaven Graphite Research Reactor hinting at a transformation in the lab's relationship with the AEC.

## **The Boron Neutron Capture Therapy Trials**

As recounted in a previous article, BNL's life sciences program nearly collapsed about a year after the lab's creation, and was rescued largely through the efforts of Donald D. Van Slyke, one of the most renowned medical researchers in American history.<sup>3</sup> Early in 1948, Van Slyke convinced the trustees and lab officials of the value of a medical research department, and hired Lee Edward Farr as its first chairman. Farr assumed full-time duties in September 1949, and together with Van Slyke designed a plan for implementing the department. Van Slyke then left in 1951, to work for the Eli Lilly Company, but returned to BNL in 1956.

At the beginning of the 1950s, the Medical Department was still housed in temporary quarters—84,000 square feet of old wooden barracks that once were Army hospital buildings. The department was more than a mile from the lab, and intellectually remote, as well, from the physical science interests of the laboratory administration. In 1951, a visiting committee evaluated the department (by then visiting committees had replaced the scientific advisory committees), and declared itself "very much impressed" with the way Van Slyke and Farr had pulled an effective research program together, oriented around the lab's special mission in atomic energy. Not only was the Department apparently succeeding in exploiting BNL's unique facilities, the Committee noted, but it was also forming effective liaisons with other medical institutions in the Northeast, including Massachusetts General Hospital, in Boston. Moreover, a medical program of the kind BNL had adopted was of "very great importance [for] the public attitude and support of the entire atomic energy program," as tangible and positive effects of atomic energy were apt to arise most quickly and effectively in medicine. In other words, BNL's program was not only scientifically significant, but also of great potential public relations value for atomic energy. "This is peace-work and humanitarian effort," the committee wrote in its final report. "It is for the public a welcome release from thinking about war and destruction."<sup>4</sup>

But the program of the Medical Department, like so much else of the lab's history, was governed by what, following sociologist Robert Merton, one could call the principle of the "unanticipated consequences of purposive social action;" the consequences of human actions frequently run counter to the intentions motivating them. Two notable programmatic successes of the department in its early years—its research into the link between salt intake and hypertension (in a group led by Lewis K. Dahl) and the discovery of L-Dopa as a therapy for Parkinsonism (led by George C. Cotzias)—ultimately had little to do with research involving atomic energy, though the availability of radioactive isotopes of sodium (in Dahl's case) and manganese (in Cotzias's case) contributed to the success of these projects. The research program that exploited most daringly the use of atomic energy for medical purposes, the boron neutron capture therapy program, was the department's first major disappointment.

The boron neutron capture therapy (BNCT) program was in many respects tailor-made for BNL, for it was reactor-based and multidisciplinary, involving contributions from physics and chemistry to biology and medicine. It is a classic BNL story, too, in the way it shows an interweaving of scientific and social issues.

BNCT is based on an ingenious technique in which a nonradioactive isotope of an element (in this case, B<sup>10</sup>) is made to accumulate inside tumors, where it is bombarded by slow, relatively harmless neutrons to release large amounts of high-energy, short-range particles in a nuclear reaction, so that the radiation damages almost exclusively those tissues (ideally, only the tumor tissues) that accumulated the isotope. Three parts would go into making this technique work. The first part is a target element with a large

cross-section for slow or "thermal" neutrons, defined as neutrons with an energy of about one-half to a few electron volts.<sup>5</sup> The second part is a way of attaching this target element to a compound which, when administered to a patient, would be taken up preferentially by the tumor and not by healthy tissue in the zone to be irradiated. As suggested originally about 1950 by William Sweet, of the Massachusetts General Hospital [MGH] and Harvard Medical School, this is particularly attractive for brain tumor radiation therapy, for while the blood-brain barrier retards the uptake of many compounds by the normal brain, no such barrier exists in tumors. The third part is to irradiate the tumor with a large dose of thermal neutrons. These low-energy neutrons sail relatively harmlessly through healthy tissue, but when they react with the nuclei of the target element trigger a reaction releasing millions of electron volts. If all three parts of the technique can be made to work, the radiation damage is confined to a short distance of about a cell diameter—meaning that only tumor cells are destroyed, and healthy tissue spared.<sup>6</sup>

Several elements have a high enough thermal neutron cross section to become candidates for target elements, including uranium-235 (549 barns), lithium-6 (950 barns), and boron-10 (3990 barns).<sup>7</sup> Upon absorbing a neutron, a B<sup>10</sup> nucleus flies apart in two fragments, an alpha particle and a lithium nucleus, with the two pieces dividing the 2.4 million electron volts of energy released. These two pieces would travel a short distance, localizing the damage they would cause to the cell containing the original B<sup>10</sup> nucleus.

The B<sup>10</sup> reaction was codiscovered, as it happens, by the future BNL director, Maurice Goldhaber, at the Cavendish Laboratory in Great Britain in 1934. Shortly after moving to the University of Illinois in 1938, Goldhaber remarked half-jokingly to a colleague that the reaction could cure cancer—if boron could be put inside tumors and irradiated. "I didn't take it too seriously," Goldhaber comments, "and thought of the first experiments only as a way to demonstrate a technique. To be useful as a treatment one would have to find a way to put the boron into a tumor in a living person."<sup>8</sup>

But the colleague, P. Gerald Kruger, took the remark seriously. Together with another researcher, B. V. Hall, Kruger irradiated boric acid-bathed mice tumor cells with neutrons *in vitro* and showed that these had reduced viability when transplanted to other mice. Kruger wrote up his experiments in an article which is the first to describe medical research involving boron neutron capture. In 1940, another group performed the first *in vivo* BNCT irradiation.<sup>9</sup> The method looked promising enough to be one of the first programs that Farr and Van Slyke put on the Medical Department's research agenda.

Farr, a pediatrician, had come to BNL to pursue studies of nephrotic children, in hopes that the short-lived isotopes available at the reactor would prove a valuable tool in uncovering the biological processes of nephrosis, perhaps leading to a treatment. He soon abandoned the program, partly due to the development elsewhere of better treatments for nephrosis, partly due to hesitation about using radioisotopes on children, and partly due to his fascination with the prospect of neutron capture therapy and recognition of

the unique opportunity BNL offered for conducting it. Early in 1950, when he began to study compounds with an affinity for malignant tumors to which target elements might be attached, he focused on uranium as a target element, considering boron too toxic. A young doctor named Winton Steinfield was assigned the task of finding a way to synthesize uranium and bismark brown, a compound for which malignant tumors reportedly had a remarkable affinity. After months of struggle, Steinfield excitedly told Farr that he had discovered a way, but that before writing up the discovery he wanted to leave for Baltimore to pick up a boat that he and his wife had just purchased, and sail it back to Long Island. While the Steinfelds made radio contact with the Coast Guard en route off New Jersey, the boat apparently sank during a storm, and the couple was never heard from again. Though Van Slyke and Farr scoured Steinfield's notes, they never managed to decipher his secret.<sup>10</sup>

Meanwhile, William Sweet, who was independently studying the possibility of neutron capture therapy, became interested in boron as a target element and was convinced that less toxic ways of administering it could be found. Sweet, who had worked with Dahl and Cotzias at MGH and was a neighbor of BNL trustee Baird Hastings, was led to consider BNL's graphite reactor as a source of thermal neutrons, and began to collaborate on the project, convincing Farr of the viability of boron.

Though the BGRR was nearing completion, time remained to modify the shielding on top of the reactor (it seemed too difficult to use a neutron port on one of the reactor faces) to create a BNCT irradiation facility. The facility consisted of a pit formed by the removal of several shielding blocks, in which a patient could be placed next to a small, rectangular 5 x 10 cm neutron port which looked through the shield directly into the reactor core. Meanwhile, William Hale, of the Division of Bacteriology and Immunology, developed a transplantable brain tumor in mice that made some experimental feasibility tests possible. Studies of boron neutron capture effects on mice, dogs and pigs followed. Farr later coauthored the first paper to demonstrate that neutron capture therapy was capable of eliminating a tumor successfully without recurrence—in mice that otherwise would have been killed by the tumor in a matter of weeks.<sup>11</sup> Toward the end of 1950, the director of the AEC's Division of Biology and Medicine, Shields Warren, gave the go-ahead for clinical trials of BNCT on patients with advanced malignant brain tumors (gliomas).

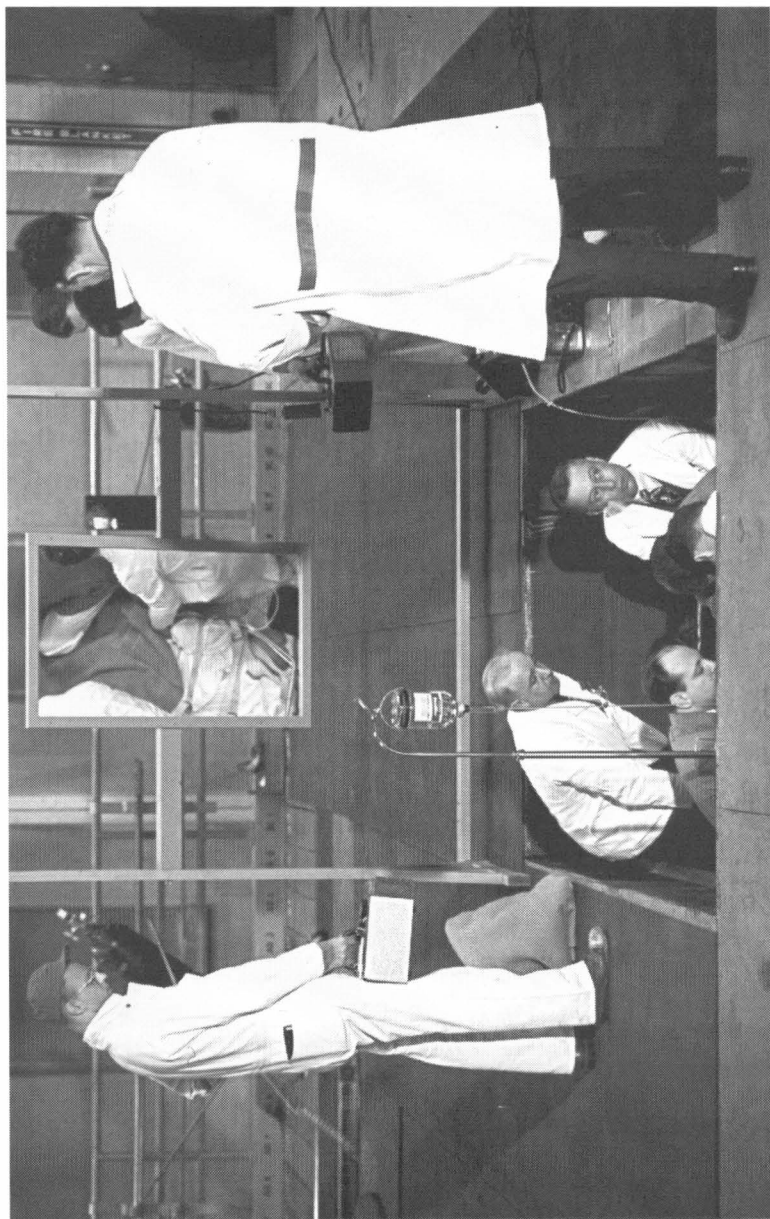
A major incentive for the BNCT program was the abysmal prognosis for the glioblastoma multiforme (the most malignant form of glioma) patients accepted for treatment. Nothing else could be done for them, and death was sure and swift. In the 1950s, when virtually all the BNCT trials took place, the average postoperative survival for cerebral malignant glioma patients at the MGH (where many of the BNCT treatments originated) was only several months. Today, the median survival after diagnosis is not much more than one year. This is the background against which the BNL experiments can be understood in retrospect; they seemed a low-risk way of studying a conceptually attractive, seemingly safe, and possibly effective method of

treating patients for whom death was imminent.

On 15 February 1951, half a year after commissioning of the BGRR, the first BNCT human patient was treated, the start of a trial involving ten patients over two years. In each case, neurosurgery failed to arrest tumor growth.<sup>12</sup> These early treatments were rather dramatic. First, the reactor had to be shut off completely, and radiation shielding blocks temporarily removed from the neutron port in the floor of the pit created in the shielding. The patient was taken by ambulance from the BNL hospital to the reactor building, and then by stretcher to the top of the reactor, where six men lowered the sometimes barely-conscious patient into the coffin-like pit. Farr and his assistants then administered B<sup>10</sup>-enriched sodium tetraborate (borax) intravenously for a minute or so, and affixed the patient's head into position over the port. He would then signal Reactor Department chair Marvin Fox, sitting at the reactor control panel, to restart the reactor. While Fox activated a mechanism to remove the control rods, Farr and the assistants climbed out of the pit and raced for the balcony. It took eight-to-ten minutes to bring the reactor up to its full power, whereupon loudspeakers would boom slowly and ominously through the cavernous halls, within earshot of the probably awestruck and terrified patient, "The reactor is now critical!" During the time it took to achieve criticality, according to Sweet's studies, the tumor was absorbing the boron at a rapid rate. For about forty-five minutes thereafter, Sweet's work seemed to indicate that the tumor would have sufficiently more boron than the surrounding tissue to make irradiation therapeutically useful. While the reactor hissed ominously (the noise was produced by the 400-mph winds which raced through the cooling channels which interlaced the graphite in the reactor), the patient lay immobile in the pit, exposed to the thermal neutron beam—for seventeen minutes in the case of the first patient, up to forty minutes for subsequent ones. The reactor was then shut down, the patient hoisted from the pit, taken back to the ambulance by orderlies, and thence to the hospital.

The first BNCT treatment, of a fifty-one-year old woman, gave the lab one of its first major, painful lessons in the art of public relations. John Lear, an associate editor of *Collier's*, learned of the BNCT project from Lloyd Berkner, who happened to be a personal friend. Lear came out to BNL, where Van Slyke, Farr, and Sweet spoke with him on condition that he would hold the article until after results were presented in a scientific forum; it is considered unprofessional to do otherwise, given the grave dangers known to arise from creating false hopes about speculative and unproven treatments for terminal illnesses. Moreover, the BNL scientists insisted that Lear check the accuracy of the article with them beforehand, and *Collier's* show restraint in publicizing the article.

*Collier's* broke all three conditions. "Atomic Miracle" was the superheated and misleading headline splashed across the cover of the 21 April 1951 issue; "Science Explodes an Atom in a Woman's Brain." Lear described BNL's reactor building as a "modernistic cathedral of science" that "blazed emerald



*Doctors positioning patient in the Brookhaven Graphite Research Reactor for the first boron neutron capture therapy attempt. Medical Department chair Lee Farr is in pit at right. Photo, 1951, courtesy of Brookhaven National Laboratory.*

sheen." And, in contrast to the six atomic explosions the U.S. set off in the first seven weeks of 1951 in its weapons testing program, Lear described the "nuclear explosions" taking place inside the woman's head as being "as quiet as the voice of conscience," and as loosing "a gleam of hope for peaceful men of good will everywhere."<sup>13</sup>

The article is a reminder that, once upon a time, rhetorical imagery (which always serves an ideological function) could be used to champion the achievements of reactors. In the media, it was not a given that reactors were essentially threats to humanity—yet. *Collier's* illustrated Lear's article with an artist's imaginative rendition of the reactor, photographs being unavailable in the days of strict secrecy prior to "Atoms for Peace." The picture, which was as fanciful as the prose, gave an outraged Farr the idea of charging *Collier's* with security violations, but AEC lawyers told him it was too sketchy to provide the basis for a case. Farr also learned that the AEC had contributed to the debacle, for its Division of Information Services had objected to the deal made by Van Slyke and Farr, thought the story should be immediately released to the newspapers, and made no secret of its views to Lear. This was the excuse that Lear subsequently offered to Farr for his conduct, as the AEC's attitude led him to fear it would spill the story to others, and that he would be scooped by someone else. The AEC, too, realized the potential public relations value of the BNCT trials for atomic energy; its actions had the effect of undercutting the laboratory to reap that potential.<sup>14</sup>

How premature the hopes raised by the article really were can be gained from the fate of the fifty-one-year old woman mentioned in the piece, whose "nuclear explosions" were alleged to have loosed "a gleam of hope for peaceful men of good will everywhere." While several days after the treatment she could speak, respond to requests, and walk about, she quickly deteriorated again—and died the week the *Collier's* article was published. Although most of the nine patients who followed her experienced temporary alleviation of their symptoms, few ultimately fared much better.

Eventually, three groups of patients were treated at the BGRR: a ten-patient group between 1951 and 1953, and nine-patient groups between 1954 and 1955 and 1956 and 1958. The first group received boron doses in the form of intravenously administered borax; though the borax made many nauseous, it left no long-term side effects, and the patients suffered only slight skin burns from the thermal neutron radiation. This raised hopes that more effective results could be obtained with stronger radiation doses, and in the second series of patients a higher neutron exposure was used together with a new, less toxic boron-containing compound, sodium pentaborate. Also, a twenty-ton shutter was installed at the neutron port so the reactor did not have to be shut down before and after each treatment, and the port itself enlarged to 10 x 10 centimeters. This time, however, the exposure was too high: patients in the second group suffered skin burns, and exhibited signs of other damage due to the high neutron dosage. In the third series, another injection method was tried so that the time of radiation exposure could be

reduced while maintaining the total radiation dose; the pentaborate was injected directly into the artery that fed the brain hemisphere containing the tumor. Though this enabled the dose to be lowered significantly, some patients still suffered radiation burns. Moreover, the overall results continued to disappoint. The median postoperative survival was 97 days for the first group, 147 for the second, and 96 for the third.

Meanwhile, the BNL scientists began to think that the neutron beam available at the BGRR was too weak for effective BNCT. Sweet, who had collaborated on the first two series of patients at BNL, began developing a BNCT center at MIT, ending his active collaboration at BNL. The BNL Medical Department, meanwhile, had begun planning a Brookhaven Medical Center, to include a reactor. The reactor was designed principally with BNCT in mind, and the Center with the primary aim of supporting BNCT patients. One problem with BNCT treatments at the BGRR, for instance, was that the thermal neutrons were rapidly attenuated: each 1.8 centimeters into the brain, the neutron flux was cut in half. A reactor with a higher neutron flux would allow a larger dose to be administered over a shorter time.

In December 1955, AEC chairman Lewis L. Strauss announced that a new medical research center and medical reactor would be built at BNL. It would cost an estimated \$6,000,000 and, together with a similar facility built concurrently at the University of California, would be the first of its kind. The Malan Construction Company was awarded the contract the following June, and construction began later that year. The reactor ran over budget, with the basic reason the same as that for which the BGRR itself had gone over budget; poor contact between the AEC, which supervised building the device, and the BNL scientists who would use it. The architects and engineers engaged by the AEC sometimes failed to grasp the purpose of various parts of the center, leading to costly errors. The most expensive single such error occurred when the builders joined the ducts and waste lines for the patient treatment and preparation areas next to the reactor with those serving the reactor itself, not appreciating the different functions of the areas involved and thus the need to separate the lines. The problem of poor communication between the AEC and AUI in large construction projects was recurrent in relations between AEC and its contractors. At an executive committee meeting just after completion of the reactor, one committee member said the lesson was that AUI should increase its diligence in inspections whenever the AEC administers a large construction contract for the lab. Haworth then told the committee he was pushing to have the contracting for the lab's next reactor handled by AUI rather than the AEC, but was already encountering difficulties: the AEC favored conventional firms, while the laboratory wanted engineering firms with specific expertise in reactor design.<sup>15</sup>

The Medical Center was completed at the end of 1958, with Haworth, Farr, and Shields Warren all speaking at the dedication. The Brookhaven Medical Research Reactor (BMRR) went critical the following 15 March. Just as the



BGRR was the first reactor built specifically for research, the BMRR was the first reactor designed explicitly for medical research. The BMRR was housed in its own steel building sixty feet in diameter and fifty-four feet high. The reactor had a tiny, water-cooled core less than two feet in diameter and twenty-six inches high, with fuel elements made of aluminum and enriched uranium. The control rods, suspended above the core by electromagnets, were cadmium-boron (boron, precisely because it is an excellent neutron absorber, is also a good material for control rods for dampening and shutting down the activity inside a reactor); the system was designed so that an unwanted rise in reactor power would interrupt the electrical current in the magnets, causing the control rods to drop automatically and shut off the reaction. Two ports, one on each side of the reactor and opened and closed by heavy shutters, were installed to let neutron beams pass into treatment rooms. A third face was available for the irradiation of large objects, and a fourth was built for the production of radioisotopes.

The impending completion of the reactor rekindled enthusiasm for BNCT. Farr, an enthusiastic champion all along, told a visiting committee in June 1958 that, after seven years, the research program was finally "beginning to crystallize and show clear-cut results."<sup>16</sup> When the reactor went operational, the BNCT program was transferred to the BMRR. With a substantially higher flux, the duration of exposure could be markedly reduced from seventeen-to-forty minutes to twenty-three-to-three-hundred seconds. Seventeen patients were treated by a standardized protocol at the new medical reactor between 1959 and 1961, several others by individualized protocols.

The results were even more disappointing than the earlier ones at the BGRR. Only one case looked hopeful—a man who received a high radiation dose and whose grave neurological symptoms were completely reversed after BNCT. He lived 151 days afterwards, and died primarily of the consequences of metastasis of cancer of the liver and lymph nodes; in his brain at autopsy there were no residual signs of tumor growth. He was the first patient to receive substantial clinical benefit from BNCT. But of all seventeen patients, the median post-treatment survival was only eighty-seven days. Most ominously, the four who received the largest doses died within two weeks. Autopsies revealed radiation damage to their normal brains, and the large doses clearly contributed to their deaths.

The ten-year optimism about achieving a cure for a terminal illness had finally crashed, and in 1961 the BNL BNCT clinical research program was terminated. Farr left BNL in 1962, partly a victim of dashed expectations in the program for which he was such a strong champion—overly strong, some said—partly because of fallout from a new BNL director after Haworth's departure. At MIT, too, Sweet's BNCT program proved equally disappointing, and that work, too, ceased in 1961. Since 1961, no patient in the U.S. has been treated with BNCT—though Hiroshi Hatanaka, a student of Sweet's, began BNCT trials in Japan in 1968, using one of a series of DuPont-developed boron compounds first tested experimentally for BNCT in

the 1960s by Albert Soloway, a chemist in Sweet's group.

Thus ended BNL's early clinical BNCT program, a great hope for those who looked for quick, beneficial applications of atomic energy to medicine. Those applications would come—but more slowly, and in other areas. Other Medical Department programs, some not anticipated in 1950 and many not involving atomic energy, would be much more successful. Moreover, the department also had a significant and extensive program for training visiting M.D.s and researchers. When asked what was the most successful program of the Medical Department under his chairmanship, Farr replied, "The education of [members of] the medical profession in the United States, and their introduction into nuclear medicine."<sup>17</sup>

But in 1961, the ironic twists of BNL's involvement with BNCT were just beginning. While the initial BNCT program that inspired the new Medical Center had collapsed, an unexpected and dramatic breakthrough in the treatment of Parkinsonism was discovered at BNL by Cotzias about this time—the first time that a rational curative treatment had been found for a degenerative disease of the brain. Beds expected to hold glioblastoma victims wound up serving victims of Parkinson's disease. This dramatic development, however—as well as Dahl's studies of the connection between salt intake and hypertension—collided with the longstanding AEC policy of restricting BNL research to programs specifically involving atomic energy. Only in 1967 did an amendment to the Atomic Energy Act sanction the practice of AEC-owned facilities conducting research in health fields unrelated to atomic energy, legitimizing the existing growth of BNL's interdisciplinary Medical Department program away from its original foundation in atomic energy.

Another ironic twist was that the bad reputation that came to surround the BNL BNCT clinical trials hindered progress into BNCT research in the U.S., giving the Japanese the lead in this research for decades. Newspaper reports periodically alleged that the patients had died "gruesome deaths." Moreover, ethical questions were raised about BNL's early BNCT experiments in 1984, in the course of a broad inquiry initiated by Representative Richard Ottinger (D-NY) into experiments on human subjects using radiation that had been funded by the Department of Energy and the agencies that preceded it (thus, the AEC). No accusations were made, and the BNCT experiments did not become a subject of the 1993-1994 DOE investigations into human experimentation involving irradiation, no doubt because the early BNCT trials were clearly therapy undertaken with the consent of the patients.<sup>18</sup>

Still another twist is that BNL has once again begun to investigate BNCT. In retrospect, the 1951-1961 trials failed for two principal reasons: lack of a method of sufficiently concentrating the boron in the tumors, and lack of a neutron beam of sufficient penetrating power. In the intervening decades, a series of improvements have apparently overcome these obstacles: better boron-containing compounds with affinities for malignant tumors have been discovered, along with improved methods to measure the blood concentration of B<sup>10</sup>. Ways have been developed to deliver higher neutron doses to the

tumor using neutrons of epithermal rather than thermal energies. High speed computers have been developed that allow sophisticated radiation dosimetry calculations to be performed. Modifications to the BMRR are underway to improve its epithermal beam. Definitive studies of the uptake of the new boron compounds are taking place at BNL and collaborating medical centers. The latter tests are promising, and BNL should once again become a center for BNCT treatments—four and a-half decades after it was the site of the first such trials, and three and a-half decades after it abandoned them as a failure.

A final irony is that, after the U.S. dropped the BNCT program, Japanese successes increased interest in the technique, causing critics to attack the U.S. for not pursuing BNCT more aggressively, and an Associated Press story even circulated under headlines such as "U.S. Impeded Effort to Treat Brain Tumors." BNL has come under intense pressure to speed up or even eliminate tests scheduled prior to actual clinical trials. Astoundingly, the pressure has been exerted by officials within the DOE, subsequent to the Ottinger inquiries and the 1993-1994 DOE investigations—the lessons of which were precisely the need for exhaustive studies and extreme caution before carrying out a clinical trial involving radiation. Such pressures which inevitably arise in the exploration of treatments of terminal illnesses, force institutions like BNL considering a technique such as BNCT into a difficult position: if they refuse to give in, they run the risk of appearing unconcerned with public health, while if they succumb, they risk later charges of unethical behavior for blurring the distinction between medical research and practice. (Similar pressures are currently being encountered by AIDS researchers, for instance.) Moreover, another failure could again jeopardize BNCT research and harm those who might benefit from its possible eventual success. As one recent headline on BNL's new program put it, "Will History Repeat for Boron Capture Therapy?"<sup>19</sup>

### **Evolution of the Reactor Development Program**

Although the need for a research reactor in the Northeast was the justification for BNL's existence, the accelerator program soon became the main force shaping its development. But the lab continued its strong reactor engineering program for many years, until it was eliminated by the AEC at the beginning of the 1970s. During that time, the reactor development program caused BNL to face many issues concerning the right mix of basic and applied research. For while the lab, whose mission was basic research, could restrict itself in principle to basic design work on reactors, this was difficult to do effectively in practice without substantial engineering projects.

At the beginning of 1950, BNL had a Reactor Science and Engineering Department chaired by Lyle Borst. Borst resigned in August 1951, creating an awkward problem for the lab. Both of the two prominent heirs apparent—Marvin Fox and Clarke Williams—had been with the lab since 1946, and were experienced and highly regarded reactor physicists with doctorates from Columbia. Haworth did not like having to choose between them, with the

likelihood of losing the services of the other. For a year he left the chairmanship vacant, letting Fox and Williams run the department as associate chairs, with Fox in charge of reactor operations and Williams in charge of research. But no suitable candidate was found, so on 1 August 1952, Haworth split the department in two: the Nuclear Engineering Department, chaired by Williams, and the Reactor Department, chaired by Fox. The former would carry out research and development on reactor engineering components, while the latter would be responsible for the operation of the reactor, handling isotopes, and some research on neutron physics and shielding. When Fox resigned in July 1957, the Reactor Department turned into the Reactor Operations Division, headed by Robert W. Powell.

Problems with the lab's mix of basic and applied science surfaced as early as 1948, when the AEC asked BNL if it were interested in designing a small, inexpensive reactor which universities could afford. The request provoked intense discussion in the executive committee with respect to the lab's commitment to basic research, which was not clearly resolved, beyond a statement that the "greatest emphasis" would be on fundamental research, though there would be "no objection" to some applied research.<sup>20</sup>

In September, AUI President Edward Reynolds wrote AEC General Manager Carroll L. Wilson that AUI conceived of BNL "as a research laboratory engaged primarily in pure basic research," and though "a reasonable degree of applied research grows naturally out of and is closely associated with this fundamental research," which BNL would undertake, "we do not contemplate at Brookhaven getting far toward the other extremity of applied research, namely, engineering development and design." While admitting his terms were vague, Reynolds invited consultations on possible projects. Robert D. Conrad, the first acting chair of the Engineering Department who was then Assistant Director for Planning, then wrote a report for the trustees describing conditions for the lab's accepting large engineering projects that would cover a reactor program. While the lab would emphasize fundamental research, it would be prepared to do some "reasonable amount" of applied research when:

- (a) such applied research grows out of fundamental research initiated within the laboratory...
- (b) it is appropriate to the Laboratory's program because of unique facilities possessed by the Laboratory or
- (c) such research reflects the interests and aptitudes of the engineering faculties of member institutions or other technological institutions in the area.

During the next year, rising tensions in Korea increased the prospect that the AEC would suddenly call upon the lab to do applied research; still, Haworth reaffirmed that "the fundamental character of the Laboratory as an institution devoted primarily to basic research should not be changed at present."<sup>21</sup>

The Nuclear Engineering Department eventually focused its efforts on a

single major project, called the Liquid Metal Fuel Reactor (LMFR). Warren Winsche and others of the Department had become interested in a new method for chemically processing uranium in which the uranium was dissolved in a liquid: molten bismuth. If successful, this reprocessing method promised the possibility of a new and more economical type of reactor. In the BGRR, BMRR and similar types of reactors, the fuel elements are solid and must be clad in a material able to withstand high temperatures, creating problems of chemical engineering and other difficulties. The BGRR fuel rods, for instance, occasionally ruptured, releasing small amounts of uranium into the air. If the fuel were liquid and flowing through the reactor in a continuous stream, however, the reactor could have a simple mechanical design with no need for structural materials in the core. Processing of the fuel would be done by continuously pumping off of parts of the stream in loops or "side-streams" which eventually fed back to the main stream: in one, gases such as xenon and iodine byproducts would be removed and swept out of the system; in another, potassium and lithium chloride would be mixed to remove other fission products. It seemed a promising project and well suited to BNL's multidisciplinary program, and in 1951 Haworth transmitted to the AEC a tentative design, saying that BNL's investigations in liquid fuel reactor components "have progressed far enough to indicate their general applicability to various types of reactors."<sup>22</sup>

BNL's further pursuit of the project, however, was complicated by the fact that its size could not be scaled down for tests; a full-scale machine would have to be built. Haworth found this fact more and more troublesome. If BNL decided to go ahead with the LMFR project, Haworth told the executive committee in February 1955, it would mean an "evolution in the philosophy of Brookhaven," which hitherto restricted itself to basic research and left development to others. It would be a serious risk to let the LMFR be built elsewhere, for the engineering staff would have to follow; on the other hand, if built at BNL, the project might become a huge "distraction" from the real work of the lab. For the LMFR was, after all, only an experiment and thus unlike the Cosmotron, AGS, or BGRR, which were major construction projects but also utilities that served basic research. The AEC already had three large reactor laboratories, Haworth reminded the committee, and to create a fourth at BNL seemed undesirable. "Everything should be done to minimize the chance of Brookhaven being obliged to go ahead on its own and construct the experiment," and the lab should try to interest some other organization to do the job. For the moment,

development should go forward, but not to a point where Brookhaven would be under a moral obligation to continue the work because no one else had shown readiness to pick it up. Nevertheless, Brookhaven National Laboratory cannot ignore its responsibility to ensure that useful and far-reaching applications are not dropped at the point of their inception.<sup>23</sup>

A few months later, he told the committee that, though in general engineering experiments of this scale should be avoided, the question the lab faced was "just when the 'baby' should be 'weaned.'" Some trustees thought the time was already nigh. Franklin Long asked whether the lab was not "concentrating too much effort on this one project." Haworth denied this, saying he would not decrease the research of the department in other areas; he also wanted to build the LMFR on the north site then owned by the lab, keeping the project at a distance from the main site. Haworth was then authorized to ask the AEC for an operating budget of \$1,800,000 for the LMFR program for the next year.<sup>24</sup>

But the problem posed by the LMFR continued to grow. In most of the laboratory's programs, 75 percent of the operating budget went to salaries and wages. Not so for the proposed LMFR, whose subcontracts for components would consume over half of the operating budget over a several-year period. The lab would thus be making a serious long-term commitment to the project—but with the AEC unable to guarantee funding that far ahead. Proponents and opponents of the project continued to clash at executive committee meetings, with proponents like Berkner citing the analogy of the development of radar, and opponents like Long and Brooks objecting that the analogy was inapt because the LMFR was not a major technological breakthrough, as well as being an impracticality for the lab.

In 1956, the AEC was considering several different types of reactors: besides the liquid-fuel LMFR type, they included pressurized water, homogeneous, fast breeder, boiling water, sodium-graphite, and organic moderated reactors—with gas-cooled reactor concept studies also underway. It began to push for an LMFR experiment at BNL, but wanted to put the project on the main rather than north site; Haworth objected strongly, saying the facility "may well prove to be of no long-range interest to Brookhaven."<sup>25</sup>

The next year, however, an AEC committee reexamined its entire power reactor program, with a view to reducing the number of systems it supported for development. In spring 1959, the AEC decided to phase out all liquid fuel reactor projects, and instead to pursue development of a breeder reactor. Curtailment of its principal project was a severe blow to the Reactor Science and Engineering Department, and created serious problems of adjustment for its personnel at the beginning of the next decade.

### **After Haworth**

In February 1961, Haworth accepted an offer to become an AEC commissioner, resigning as BNL director effective 1 April. His deputy, Gerald F. Tape, succeeded him as acting director.

Haworth knew Tape well, having worked with him not only at the MIT Radlab but also at the University of Illinois, before the war, where Tape had been a professor since 1946. Tape had come to BNL in 1950, partly to help Haworth solve an administrative problem Haworth had created for himself. Haworth's penchant for thoroughness often led him to become closely

involved in the projects he oversaw, and soon after he assumed full directorship in October 1948 some members of the board of trustees faulted him for becoming "too heavily involved in the minor operating details of the Laboratory," with not enough time left over to deal with scientific issues. Haworth was strongly and repeatedly urged to recruit an "alter ego" to assume the load of detail that he was needlessly assuming himself. At an executive council meeting in November 1949, he agreed in principle, but said he would prefer a younger person, at the level of assistant, who would handle day-to-day decisions to a more experienced person, at an associate or deputy level, who would handle the entire administrative load. But it would have to be a special kind of younger person, for laboratory administration involved three kinds of problems, Haworth said—scientific, administrative, and those involving an interplay between both—and to inspire confidence in the scientific staff this younger person would have to have "scientific training and stature." In spring 1950, to cope with both AEC and board criticism, Haworth asked Tape to become assistant to the director. Haworth described Tape as a "high caliber scientist," who would "devote himself to visiting all departments of the Laboratory" addressing administrative issues, leaving the director freer to devote more time "to broad consideration and leadership of the scientific work and programs."<sup>26</sup> Tape arrived in July of 1950, and moved up rapidly; by October, 1951, he was deputy director.

Even before Tape became acting director in April 1961, he served unofficially in that capacity whenever Haworth went on trips, which became more and more frequent. In March 1961, while Haworth was away just before his official departure, Tape was subjected to a trial by fire in the face of an AEC order to shut down the BGRR—which, at the opening of 1961, had been in operation eleven years without anything close to a serious safety problem.

The real reason for the AEC's order arose thousands of miles away, at its National Nuclear Testing Facility in Idaho, site of seventeen reactors. On the night of 3 January 1961, an accident occurred at one of them, the SL-1, resulting in three fatalities. The accident came at a particularly embarrassing time for the AEC, with public concerns about reactor safety rising. In response, the AEC began a study of operation and maintenance procedures for 131 reactors that it owned or licensed. BNL's reactors were inspected by a team from the AEC's New York Operations Office (NYO) in late January and early February. The team found no violations of rules or regulations, and made some suggestions; it did, however, appear to be confused about many procedures, which seemed understandable given the brevity of its visit. On Friday, 10 March, Tape received a letter from NYO manager Joseph C. Clarke reiterating these suggestions and repeating some confusions. The "main trouble," Clarke said, was that BNL relied too much on "individual excellence" for safety; "maintenance and operating activities at times were not conducted in accordance with specific written procedures." Clarke made some suggestions for improvement and posed a series of questions to Tape,

giving him sixty days to reply. Many of the suggestions had already been implemented, and Tape began addressing the others, confident that the matter was well in hand.<sup>27</sup>

But the Washington office of the AEC intervened. Its survey was nearing completion, and 98 of the 131 inspections had been completed without turning up any unsafe practices. On Monday, 13 March, the AEC received a teletype from its NYO about the results from BNL. Shortly after nine o'clock the next morning, an astounded Tape fielded a call from Van Horn ordering an immediate shutdown of all BNL reactors. Tape decided that the BMRR and Source reactor—both of which ran intermittently—could be shut down without incident. The BGRR was another matter, with its heavy, round-the-clock experimental program; also, an unscheduled shutdown of the BGRR would be disastrous to relations between AUI and the AEC, and would damage BNL's relations with the surrounding community, which would suspect the reactor was unsafe. The BGRR was scheduled for a routine two-day shutdown (it had one every three weeks to allow changes in experiments and fuel loading) at two a.m. on Thursday; Tape managed to obtain permission to stall the AEC's shutdown order until then, though the AEC said it would send a special safety committee to visit the next day. The committee found nothing unsafe, and suggested that a difference in "management principle" was involved in the shutdown order. BNL was allowed to restart the BGRR, and the startup occurred at its regular scheduled time early Saturday morning, the 18th. No interruption in normal cycle had occurred. No suggestion had been made that BNL facilities operations were unsafe or had violated rules. No significant deviations from past practice had taken place. But Tape was furious, along with others. He wrote that,

Since its joint evaluation has resulted in not even one significant change to our operation of the facilities, the inspectors' report cannot possibly justify the AEC's actions. The AEC has been well aware of the "managerial" situation at this site, in that it regularly received detailed operations reports, monthly letter, progress reports, manuals, etc. Certainly there has been no attempt to keep organizational information from the AEC representatives on the Laboratory site. It is difficult to understand that the AEC's action could have been prompted by any managerial situation which had been overlooked over a period of years.<sup>28</sup>

But the episode was not over. On 21 March, the AEC issued a press release about its survey of reactor safety in the wake of the SL-1 accident, in which it said that "existing organizational procedures necessary for safe operation and maintenance were not completely adequate" at BNL. Newspapers assumed, erroneously but understandably, that the reactors themselves had been deemed unsafe. "Halt 'Unsafe' Brookhaven A-Operations," read a Daily News headline, falsely quoting a word the AEC had not used. That and other news stories did not fail to connect the BGRR shut-down with the SL-1 disaster. Infuriated, BNL officials called friends in the AEC, some of whom apologized



for the misrepresentation. Some in the laboratory felt the AEC had sought to avoid embarrassment at the lab's expense.<sup>29</sup>

BNL contented itself with issuing a report, "Reactor Safety at Brookhaven National Laboratory: A Reply to Recent Actions by the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission," written mainly by Tape. It was as close as BNL came to a formal protest. Tape concluded:

I hope that consideration of this material and all actions related to it will convince the appropriate AEC personnel that the order to shut down the BNL reactors and critical facility was ill founded and that nothing has been achieved which could not have been obtained by far less drastic means. Moreover, the action certainly has had damaging effects; it has lowered the morale of the BNL staff, affected community relations, and produced an undue diversion of the time of key technical and management staff. We consider the entire action regrettable.<sup>30</sup>

"The whole thing," Powell wrote at the end of his report on the episode, "has all the features of a comic opera." Powell was wrong. Though he could hardly have known it at the time, the episode hinted at things to come. One was a new emphasis by the AEC on formal procedures. BNL scientists tended to view this new emphasis as excessive and misguided, and as encouraging them more to create correct paper trails than to be genuinely concerned with safety. To a criticism that many safety items are handled informally rather than through full committees, Tape wrote sarcastically in the margins of his copy, "Is this bad?" But the AEC was in the throes of a new approach to reactor safety in which a keystone was formality of the mechanisms.<sup>31</sup>

Moreover, the episode hinted at a new confrontational attitude the AEC would eventually adopt with its contractors. In the first decade of the existence of the national laboratories, they viewed themselves—and were encouraged to view themselves—as involved in a collaborative and mutually supportive relationship with the AEC. During the next two decades, this would slowly change. The episode hinted at a new reluctance on the part of the AEC to become too closely involved with contractors, and a view of itself as a policer rather than a partner. Moreover, the AEC seemed to have conducted much of the investigation for public consumption. Many laboratory officials felt deeply betrayed by the event, which seems to have been a forerunner of the Department of Energy's investigative "Tiger Teams" three decades later.

### **After Tape**

Meanwhile, a search committee was investigating several candidates for a new permanent director. Though I. I. Rabi was technically not on the committee, he played the principal role in seeking and questioning candidates. Rabi felt it was crucial for the director to have stature as a scientist, and the three names that kept cropping up as possibilities were: Norman Ramsey, a Harvard physics professor who had been one of the lab's

founders and the first head of the physics department; Edward Purcell, also a Harvard professor, who won the 1952 Nobel Prize in physics for the discovery of the nuclear resonance method of measuring nuclear properties; and Robert Bacher, another physicist, BNL founder, and former AEC commissioner.

Others at the laboratory, however, felt scientific prominence was less important than management ability and knowledge of the lab's operations. As one scientist wrote:

I feel that there is only one logical choice and that is to appoint Gerry to the position...I cannot agree with some of the senior physicists on the staff that Brookhaven *must* have a "Big Shot" Physicist as its Director...As to the suggestions that someone on the present Brookhaven staff should be considered for the position, I feel very strongly that there is *no one* of sufficient caliber to be seriously considered.<sup>32</sup>

Rabi, as usual, prevailed, and the decision was made to seek a prominent scientist. However, neither Bacher, Ramsey, nor Purcell turned out to be interested, and the directorship fell to Maurice Goldhaber, who had been at BNL since 1950, and had served as chair of the Physics Department since 1960. Goldhaber was the discoverer of several types of nuclear reactions involving slow neutrons, including not only the  $B^{10}$  reaction but also  $Li^6$  and the  $N^{14}$  reaction that leads to the formation of  $C^{14}$ ; at BNL, Goldhaber had specialized in studies of nuclear isomers and of fundamental particles. When the selection was announced in July, Tape was thanked for the "numerous unforeseen and unusually difficult problems" during the previous three months.<sup>33</sup>

The laboratory that Maurice Goldhaber took over in 1961 operated in a world much different from the one in which Haworth had taken over thirteen years previously. Physically, the lab had many new buildings and several new major instruments, including the Cosmotron, the Alternating Gradient Synchrotron (AGS), BGRR, and BMRR. Institutionally, too, the role of the national laboratories had changed, and relations between the AEC and the labs it sponsored were different. But the 1960s would also be a golden age for BNL, when a number of major discoveries, some earning Nobel Prizes, would be made at the AGS, the subject of the next article.

## NOTES

*AUI executive committee and board of trustees records are stored at the organization's corporate office at BNL; the source for all other cited proceedings at the lab is the BNL Historical Archive.*

1. This is part four of the series "The History of Brookhaven National Laboratory," of which the previous three were: "Part One: The Graphite Reactor and the Cosmotron," *LIHJ* 3:2 (Spring 1991): 167-88; "Part Two: The Haworth Years," *LIHJ* 4:2 (Spring 1992): 138-61; and "Part Three: Little Science, Big Science," *LIHJ* 6:1 (Fall, 1993): 17-40.

2. Minutes, AUI executive committee, 25 Feb. 1955;

3. See Crease, "Part Three."

4. Report of the Medical Department visiting committee, Brookhaven National Laboratory, 20-21 Sept. 1951.
5. For the history of BCNT, see Daniel N. Slatkin, "A History of Boron Neutron Capture Therapy of Brain Tumors," *Brain* 114 (1991): 1609-29. A cross-section, a measure of how big the nucleus "seems" to the neutron, is measured in units called "barns;" a barn is  $10^{-24}$  square centimeters per nucleus. The name arose because the probability of interaction of neutrons with most nuclei is so high compared to other types of particles that it prompted scientists engaged in early cross-section measurements to joke that, to a neutron, a nucleus looked as big as a barn.
6. Perhaps the earliest person to suggest this technique is G. L. Locher, "Biological Effects and Therapeutic Possibilities of Neutrons," *American Journal of Roentgenology* 36 (1936):1-13. Higher-energy or "epithermal" neutron therapy was tried in California between 1938 and 1943, but was deemed to have failed.
7. Ordinary boron in the Earth's crust consists of 80 percent B<sup>11</sup> and 20 percent B<sup>10</sup>.
8. J. Chadwick and M. Goldhaber, "Disintegration by Slow Neutrons," *Nature* 135 (12 Jan. 1935): 65; J. J. Taylor and M. Goldhaber, "Detection of Nuclear Disintegration in a Photographic Emulsion," *Nature* 135 (2 Mar. 1935): 341; Maurice Goldhaber to the author, 29 June 1994.
9. P. Gerald Kruger, "Some Biological Effects of Nuclear Disintegration Products on Neoplastic Tissue," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the USA* 26 (1940):181-92; P. A. Zahl, F. S. Cooper, and J. R. Dunning, "Some *in vivo* Effects of Localized Nuclear Disintegration Products on a Transplantable Mouse Sarcoma," *ibid.*: 589-98.
10. Lee Edward Farr, "Neutron Capture Therapy: Years of Experimentation—Years of Reflection," BNL 47087.
11. L. E. Farr, T. Konikowski, "Transplantable Mouse Neoplasm Control by Neutron Capture Therapy," *Nature* 215 (1967), 550-52.
12. See Slatkin, 1612.
13. Minutes, AUI executive committee, 19 Apr. 1951; Minutes, AUI board of trustees, 20 Apr. 1951; *Collier's*, 21 Apr. 1951; John Lear to the author, 20 Feb. 1994.
14. Minutes, AUI executive committee, 19 Apr. 1951.
15. *Ibid.*, 16 Apr. 1959.
16. Irvine H. Page to Lloyd V. Berkner, 20 June 1958.
17. Lee Edward Farr, interview with the author, 11 May 1994.
18. David Schweller to V. P. Bond, 3 July 1984; Donald Paul Hodel to Richard L. Ottinger, 20 Sept. 1984; "Reactor is Revived as Cancer Tool," *New York Times*, 12 May 1987; but see, in response, Robert G. A. Zamenhof, letter to the editor, disputing the "gruesome deaths" remark, *New York Times*, 9 June 1987.
19. Fay Flamm, "Will History Repeat for Boron Capture Therapy?" *Science* 265 (22 July 1994): 468-69.
20. Minutes, AUI executive committee, 19 Mar. 1948.
21. Edward Reynolds to Carroll L. Wilson, 20 Sept. 1948; Minutes, AUI board of trustees, 14, 21 Oct. 1948.
22. "Tentative Design for a Uranium-233 Fluid Fuel Power Breeder Reactor," 23 Jan. 1951, BNL Historical Archives.
23. Minutes, AUI executive committee, 25 Feb. 1955.
24. *Ibid.*, 15 July 1955.
25. *Ibid.*, 20 Sept. 1957.
26. Minutes, AUI board of trustees, 21 Apr. 1950; Minutes, AUI executive committee, 18 Nov. 1949.
27. Joseph C. Clarke to Gerald F. Tape, 9 Mar. 1961; for this and other references to the reactor

shutdown episode, see "Graphite Reactor Shutdown 1961" file, BNL Historical Archive.

28. Gerald F. Tape, "Draft of Notes—Letter to AEC," 3 Apr. 1961.

29. Telegram, USAEC, Washington, DC, to E. L. Van Horn, USAEC New York, 21 Mar. 1961; *Daily News*, 1961; Tape, "Draft of Notes."

30. "Reactor Safety at Brookhaven National Laboratory: A Reply to Recent Actions by the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission," 12 May 1961; Gerald F. Tape to Joseph C. Clarke, 12 May 1961.

31. Robert Powell, "Comments on 'Report of NYO Investigation of Reactor Safety at BNL,' Apr. 1961; Tape, "Draft of Notes."

32. Morris Glasoe to Leland Haworth, 15 Mar. 1961.

33. Minutes, AUI board of trustees, 20-21 July 1961.

# The Reaffirmation of Tradition Among the Native Americans of Eastern Long Island

By John A. Strong

*Editor's note: We thank the Long Island Studies Institute of Hofstra University for permission to publish the final chapter of John A. Strong's forthcoming book, "The Indians of Long Island."*

During the past three decades, many Native American groups in the eastern United States have reasserted their aboriginal identities and re-established, or reaffirmed, their cultural boundaries with non-Native American communities. Many white people, however, refuse to acknowledge "Indian status" to some of the tribes because intermarriage with African Americans and whites has altered their physical appearance. This posture, reflecting the role of racial prejudice in determining social status, attributes an African identity to a person with the slightest trace of African ancestry. These whites presume to be the "gatekeepers" of a social ranking based on racial stereotypes. Generally, this gatekeeping role is enforced informally with jokes and demeaning comments, but, in some instances, is used in the courts to deny land claims by Native American communities.<sup>1</sup>

Some anthropological studies of these eastern groups categorized many of them as "tri-racial communities," whose ethnic identities were not clearly defined. Neither the Poospatuck nor the Shinnecock reservation communities on Long Island were placed in that category, because they "cling tenaciously to their tribal identity, and guard their old Indian names as priceless possessions." The Matinecock and Montaukett enclaves on Long Island were not included in those studies, but recent work by scholars concludes that they, too, have kept intact a strong sense of their Indian identity. The larger problem is that there is little consensus in custom or law about how to determine "Indianness." State and federal agencies, courts, and legislatures present a bewildering morass of vague, often contradictory, definitions.<sup>2</sup>

The question of tribal status is complicated by the absence of a consensus about the proper criteria. In February 1994, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) published a revision of the criteria established in 1978 for a group to "exist as an Indian tribe." The new criteria required petitioners to provide proof of continuous existence as a distinct community from prehistoric times to the present; political influence over their members; established standards for membership; and genealogical ties to a known, historic tribe. Unfortunately

many of these criteria remain open to conflicting interpretations.<sup>3</sup>

The Branch of Federal Acknowledgement and Research was established in the BIA in 1978 to review applications from tribes seeking federal recognition. Of 110 applications filed since 1978, only about 10 percent have been approved, partly because of the differing interpretations of such criteria as "continuous recognition" and "tribal government." The most recent group to win recognition is the Mohegan tribe of southern Connecticut, approved 7 March 1994. The Mohegans have no reservation; they now hope to settle a land claim for property which had been taken from them by the state in 1861. Tribes may also achieve federal recognition, as the Mashontucket Pequot did, by vote in Congress or by a court decision. The Pequot, close neighbors with many historical and kinship ties to the Mohegan, now operate a thriving, multi-million dollar casino business.<sup>4</sup>

The eastern tribes have joined Native American people throughout North America in a general concern for tribal identity, which emerged, in part, in response to the federal government's 1950s termination policy. This program, initiated by the Eisenhower administration, was designed to pressure Indians into leaving the reservation and resettling in urban centers. The architects of the termination policy expected the Indians would gradually "melt" into the general population. This did not happen. Instead, the Indians across the country united in vigorous assertion of Native American identity. Faced with this strong Pan-Indian resurgence, the government ended its attempt to force assimilation, but the Native American renaissance continued to flourish. In the 1960s and 1970s, Native American rights groups such as the American Indian Movement (AIM) articulated a renewed sense of ethnic pride, which eastern tribes enthusiastically embraced. Interactions with tribes in Canada and across the United States, such as the Montagnais and the Sioux (Lakota), resulted in a cultural exchange which has enriched a generation of eastern Native Americans, inspiring them to search more deeply into their own past to revitalize aspects of their tribal traditions. During the troubles at Wounded Knee in 1973, for example, a Shinnecock delegation in full regalia attended demonstrations supporting the AIM. The following year, two young Shinnecock women, Margo Thunder Bird and her sister Rebecca Valdez-Genia, went to South Dakota, where they met Leonard Crow Dog, the Sioux shaman, one of the faith keepers for Aim leaders. Crow Dog encouraged the women to revive their ancient traditions on the Shinnecock Reservation, told them how to build a sweat lodge, and taught them the appropriate rituals. Upon their return, they built a lodge and conducted what may have been the first sweat rituals on their land since the arrival of the white settlers in the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>5</sup>

Nancy Lurie described this renewed emphasis on cultural boundaries as an *articulatory movement*, providing contemporary Native Americans with an alternative to a choice between individual assimilation and a life of poverty on an isolated reservation. This movement has no unified ideological theme, nor does it call for Native Americans to turn inward and reject interaction with the

outside communities, as did many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century revitalization movements. An articulatory movement, according to Lurie, rejects assimilation by asserting pride and confidence in Native American values, yet seeks to establish political, social, and economic ties with the outside world. Developments at Shinnecock since 1960 provide data supporting the validity of Lurie's model. There has been a resurgence of overt expressions of Native American identity, and, at the same time, successful development of ties with such outside agencies as federal, state, county, and town governments, churches, public schools, universities, and private contractors.<sup>6</sup>

During the 1960s, rising numbers of Native American young people began to travel across the country on the Powwow circuit, exchanging ideas and encouraging tribal communities to take pride in their ethnic identity. Representatives from eastern tribes made extended visits to western reservations, where Native Americans still practice many ancient rituals. The appeal of the Lakota rituals and regalia drew many eastern Native Americans to the reservations in South Dakota, where they studied with traditional people and took part in such ceremonies as the Sun Dance.<sup>7</sup>

Several young people from the Shinnecock reservation have made pilgrimages to study surviving prehistoric traditions: Jonathan Smith completed the fourth-year pledge of the Sun Dance ritual on the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation in South Dakota in summer 1993; his brother Gerrod, the director of the Shinnecock Nation Cultural Center and Museum, has visited the Montagnais villages in northern Canada several times in the past few years; and Lanette Cooke has participated in sweat-lodge ceremonies on three different western reservations.<sup>8</sup>

Although the Sun Dance is not an eastern Algonquian ceremony, sweat-lodge and tobacco ceremonials are nearly universal in Native American communities throughout the western hemisphere. There are frequent references to sweat lodges in colonial records throughout southern New England.<sup>9</sup> The sweat lodge rituals introduced by Margo Thunder Bird lapsed during the 1980s, but were revived at Shinnecock by Jonathan and Gerrod Smith, with help from Indians in Wisconsin, where the ancient rituals are still observed. Many Wisconsin Indians are descended from Shinnecock and Montaukett, who migrated there in the eighteenth-century. In this sense, the sweat rituals are not "reinventions," but rituals which have finally come back home. Wati (James Waters), a Matinecock, frequently participates with the Shinnecock in their sweat ceremonies. Jonathan Smith serves as a primary singer for ceremonies because of his fine voice and mastery of the long and complex ritual chants. Wati is also an accomplished singer.<sup>10</sup>

East of the Mississippi, there are two primary patterns in the articulatory movements. Those groups who reside on a reservation, such as the Pequot in Connecticut, the Pamunkey in Virginia, and the Shinnecock and Poospatuck on Long Island, have a considerable advantage over the landless tribes. They have developed strategies for survival which utilize control over their reservation lands. However, landless groups like the Lumbee in North

Carolina, the “Citizen” Indians of Virginia, the Wampanaog in Massachusetts, the Pokagon (Potawatomi) of Michigan and Indiana, and the Montauketts and Matinecock (also spelled Matinnecock) of Long Island face a difficult struggle to gain even informal acceptance as Native Americans. Their primary goal is state or federal recognition, as a first step in waging court battles to regain tribal lands.<sup>11</sup>

### **Historical Background**

Archaeological data and first-hand accounts by seventeenth-century Dutch and English observers suggest that indigenous groups on Long Island were organized into village-level systems of varying social complexity. The villages were bound together in an intricate web of kinship relations, age sets, voluntary associations, and other shared cultural characteristics. All these groups ceased using their aboriginal languages sometime during the nineteenth century because of outside pressure to “blend” with the mainstream culture. Their linguistic affiliation is uncertain. Ives Goddard, a linguist for the Smithsonian Institution, concludes that the languages here are related to the southern New England Algonquian dialects, but can do no more than speculate on the nature of these relationships.<sup>12</sup>

Beyond the village level, the social system was characterized by the fissioning and fusing of communities, in response to threats of attack or to take part in social and religious gatherings. Such fusions did not always include the same villages or clan groupings.<sup>13</sup> An ethnographic map would show continually moving concentrations of dots, rather than the conventional tribal boundaries on maps in local history books. On occasion, several villages might form temporary alliances to accomplish limited goals, such as a military alliance against a common enemy or a large hunting expedition. However, once the goal was either reached or hopelessly frustrated, the groups went off on their own again. Most larger units observed by early white settlers--who called them tribes, or confederacies--were temporary fusions in response to the Europeans' presence.<sup>14</sup>

These village communities did not have clearly defined, hierarchical political structures with rulers who could command absolute obedience. Although sachems were often selected on a hereditary basis, their power rested on their ability to persuade or to reward with gifts. Decisions were made by building a consensus among the influential elders of the village. The only other high-status position was that of shaman, known in coastal Algonquian societies as the “powwow.” This term is seldom used today in this context, but it is important to note that it was an eastern Algonquian word adopted by western tribes who used it to identify a general social gathering. Originally it was the powwow who supervised all ceremonial gatherings and served as intermediaries between this world and the realm of the spirit forces.<sup>15</sup>

When the English and Dutch arrived in the early seventeenth century, they were frustrated because the lack of social structure in Native American communities made negotiations for land purchase so difficult. Deeds, according



to European procedure, must be signed by owners with legal authority to sell property with specific boundaries. The relatively amorphous leadership systems, the imprecise delineation of hunting ground boundaries between groups, and the aboriginal view of land as a living entity to be used, rather than owned in the European sense, made conventional real estate dealings nearly impossible to negotiate. Surviving records suggest that the Dutch and English remedied this by pressing cooperative local sachems to establish a more structured political base in their communities, and arbitrarily to define Native American village systems as "tribes" with specific boundaries.<sup>16</sup>

The Shinnecock had an orderly system of governance, but it did not conform to European norms. The colonists wanted a structure that enabled them to exercise more direct control over Native American behavior. The continual efforts of the English to impose such a structure conform to the model defined by a modern anthropologist, Milton Fried, in his analysis of "tribal" systems. Ironically, it was this imposed system that helped the Shinnecock and Poospatuck to keep their communities intact.<sup>17</sup>

By the end of the seventeenth century, the Indian land on Long Island had been taken over by the Dutch or English settlers in a series of questionable land transactions. The Matinecock, Shinnecock, Unkechaug (Poospatuck), and Montaukett were initially granted "permanent" resident rights on the land they were selling, but only the Shinnecock and the Unkechaug were able to retain their land base.

In 1703, the town of Southampton leased back about two thousand acres to the Shinnecock for a thousand years. During the eighteenth century, as colonial farms expanded, the farmers needed additional grazing lands. A series of misunderstandings and minor conflicts, caused by the differences between the leadership systems in the two communities, frustrated these farmers' attempts to rent grazing rights on tribal land.<sup>18</sup>

The Shinnecock elders and the colonial officials came to an agreement on a political structure which would provide for an orderly supervision of the lease system. The agreement, which combined aspects from both cultures, is still in operation. Shinnecock men above the age of twenty-one meet in the town office on the first Tuesday of April, in the presence of the town clerk, to nominate and elect three trustees for one-year terms. These trustees supervised the sale of grazing and planting leases to outsiders, regulated internal tribal affairs, allocated individual plots of land to tribal members, and represented the tribe in all external relations. The European structure of sanctioned and recorded elections by adult males was combined with traditional Shinnecock patterns of plural leadership, which had to be reaffirmed periodically by the community. This compromise solution to the leadership issue was approved by the New York state legislature on 24 February 1792.<sup>19</sup>

The 1703 lease was to run for a thousand years, but in 1859 the Shinnecock were pressured to exchange it for a fee simple deed to two parcels of land, totaling about six hundred acres. These lands are recognized as a state reservation, and the tribe receives some financial aid from the state

of New York.<sup>20</sup>

The exclusion of Shinnecock women from the electoral process established in 1792 reflected the role of women in the English political system. In aboriginal Algonquian societies women frequently assumed leadership roles, a condition unthinkable to the English, who, although accustomed to queenly rule, believed that political leadership generally belonged in the male domain. Although the Shinnecock accepted the exclusion of their women at the time, there is a saying on the reservation that the women vote at the dinner table, and their men carry their influence with them to town hall on election day.

This indirect form of political participation was not challenged until the twentieth century. At the 1935 tribal meeting, the Shinnecock men passed a resolution requesting that the local assemblyman, John Downs, introduce a bill in the legislature to permit women to vote. Unfortunately, no records explain the context of the tribal action. The legislature took no action, nor was the issue mentioned again in the tribal records.<sup>21</sup>

The Presbyterian mission church on the reservation remains an important focus of tribal activity. In 1983, the Reverend Michael Smith, a Shinnecock educated at Princeton University Theology Seminary, became the first Native American pastor since the death of the Reverend Paul Cuffee, the first Shinnecock minister, in 1812. Non-Shinnecock spouses of tribal members, who are not eligible to participate in tribal meetings, may become active members on church committees.

The stable Shinnecock population averaged about 160 people until the end of World War II, when it began to increase. Today, about four hundred Shinnecock live on or near the reservation. Over the years, the Shinnecock have occasionally married African Americans, whites, or Native Americans from western reservations.

Although the Shinnecock Hills were taken away, the tribe was able to retain ownership of a parcel of land lying west of the canal and on Shinnecock Neck. The Montaukett were not so fortunate. When the town of East Hampton refused to grant a lease in 1703, the Montaukett had to settle for a guarantee of residence rights. Neither the state of New York nor the federal government ever established any official relationship with the Montauketts, leaving them under the jurisdiction of the East Hampton town officials. The town expected that the tribe would gradually die out, or leave Montauk for employment in the English towns.<sup>22</sup>

In 1885, a real estate developer, in cooperation with the Long Island Railroad, negotiated individual sales of tribal residence rights with the few remaining families, who were removed from Montauk to an area near East Hampton where freed slaves had settled. When the news reached the Montaukett Diaspora, many were outraged that there had been no negotiations with the tribe as an entity, and organized their resources to initiate a lawsuit. They sued the developer and the railroad in a series of court battles from 1896 to 1917. The judge dismissed the Montaukett case, ruling

that the tribe had become extinct. The ruling reflected an erroneous assumption about the one-to-one connection between culture and “race.”<sup>23</sup>

Although the Montauketts were squeezed off their land base, they did not “disappear.” They continued to live in two small enclaves, one in the Freetown section of East Hampton and the other in Eastville, a small neighborhood in Sag Harbor. The Banks, Fowler, Horton, Pharaoh, Johnson, Cooper, and Butler families gathered frequently to renew kinship ties and keep their Indian identities intact. They were often joined in these family outings by relatives from the Shinnecock reservation.

The Matinecock are also scattered in small enclaves today. They continue to reside in Flushing, Manhasset, Amityville, and Smithtown. During the nineteenth century, some Matinecock formed their own churches, which were later merged with neighboring African American congregations. The A.M.E. Zion church in Manhasset, built in 1832 by a community of African Americans and Matinecock, still stands. According to William Hawk, who wrote his doctoral dissertation on the surviving Matinecock descendants, the quarterly church meetings served as tribal reunions. Thus, the Matinecock were able to maintain an informal tribal association which enabled them to retain their Indian identity. In the 1950s, Sun Tama (Ann Harding Murdock), a Matinecock woman, organized an informal “longhouse” in Flushing, where tribal members met to conduct their affairs.<sup>24</sup>

The Unkechaug sold most of their land in a series of transactions from 1657 to 1700. Colonel William “Tangier” Smith, one of the largest land owners in Suffolk County, granted the Unkechaug a 175-acre reservation in 1700. Over the next century, however, the area in the original grant was reduced to fifty acres as English settlers purchased individual plots from tribal members. These transactions have often been challenged in this century by tribal spokespersons, but no action has been taken in court. The last fifty acres, called “Poospaton,” is now recognized as the Poospatuck (sometimes spelled Poosepatuck) reservation by the state of New York.<sup>25</sup>

When the Unkechaug began to marry African American spouses, the perception of them in the minds of the outside communities began to change. This perception reflected the impact of racial prejudice about social ranking, and a confusion about race and culture. The census lists, which had identified them with an *I* for Indian in 1860, arbitrarily changed most racial designations to *M* for Mulatto or *B* for black in 1880. Had the Unkechaug married white spouses their children would not have been categorized as “white,” because, in the minds of the whites, that would have “elevated them in social status.”

The equally invalid assumption that a change in skin color was arbitrarily linked to a change in culture was also reflected in the census listings. Unkechaug families such as the Caesars, Wards, Maineses, and Hawkinses had not changed from Indian to African American, but the perception of the census taker had clearly shifted.<sup>26</sup>

**The Myth of Extinction** <sup>27</sup>

The “disappearance” of the Indian “race” on Long Island is a recurring theme in Long Island histories. Daniel Denton, the son of the first Hempstead minister, wrote in 1670 that the Indians had “decrease by the Hand of God...a Divine Hand makes way for [the English] by removing or cutting off the Indians either by wars one with the other, or by some raging mortal disease.” Denton set the tone for the extinction myth by asserting that the native people were nearly gone and that it was God’s will rather than any action by white settlers which was responsible. Denton, as well as later Long Island historians, ignored the devastating wars waged against the native peoples by the English and the Dutch on the mainland, and the fact that Europeans, not a “Divine Hand,” inadvertently caused Native American epidemics of smallpox, cholera, and measles. In spite of wars, disease, and pressures to assimilate, the Native Americans did not disappear as Denton predicted.<sup>28</sup>

Native Americans were still around when the historian Gabriel Furman announced their virtual extinction in 1874. He pressed the theme, introduced by Denton, that nature itself, in the form of disease, was wiping out the Indians to make way for the more progressive white race. Furman added a twist which appealed to intellectuals in the latter half of the nineteenth century, following publication of Darwin’s work on evolution. Furman argued that miscegenation between whites and Indians “scarcely ever lasts beyond the second generation...but gradually wastes away.” Furman’s conclusions about mixtures of “Indian” and “African” blood are not recorded, but the obvious implication is that this “inferior blood” led to the extinction of “Indianness” in the descendants. Culture and “blood” were blended into one concept by nineteenth-century writers, in spite of the fact that blood has nothing to do with either physical appearance or culture.<sup>29</sup>

Local newspapers always announced the death of an elderly Indian as the passing of the “last pureblood.” This biological inaccuracy, with its false ring of finality, implied that the “real Indians” had died out. When Wickham Cuffee died in 1915, for example, he was anointed “last of the Shinnecocks” by the historian John Morice. Ironically, many people of African descent who were marrying into local Native American communities during the seventeenth century had been born and raised in tribal systems in Africa. Possibly, this mixture enriched and strengthened traditional belief systems.<sup>30</sup>

The public accepted the “myth of extinction” because some Long Island Native Americans did not “look Indian”: that is, they did not conform to a stereotyped image based on the features of Sitting Bull and Geronimo. According to D’Arcy McNickle, an anthropologist and a member of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai tribes of Montana:

[T]he Indian population [before Columbus] was not, in fact, all of a single type. Skin color varied from ivory to darkest brown. Hair ranged from the coarse black of Columbus’ observation to shades of brown and degrees of waviness. Stature and body build showed great variability. With respect to Mongoloid features that are generally considered to be

typically Indian—the slanting eye fold, the low-bridged nose, the smooth, straight brow, prominent cheek bones, scantiness of beard and body hair—these are not equally manifested in all Indian population groups.<sup>31</sup>

Another aspect which magnifies the misconception is the tendency on the part of whites to look past those Long Island Native Americans who do have “Indian features” and focus on those with darker skins and “Negroid features.” Many Shinnecock have “classic” Native American features, and some could pass as white.

The problem is compounded when social and mental attributes are arbitrarily fused onto the biological criteria. Native Americans, for example, have been idealized in the minds of many non-Indians into two compelling cardboard images: the “noble savage,” and the “brutal savage.” There is also a historical dimension to the stereotyped image. The idealized “true Indian” is dressed in buckskin and feathers, on horseback or in the woods staring stoically at the horizon. The “Indianness” of Native Americans dressed in contemporary clothes and driving cars is questioned. This view, frozen in time, assumes that social change and cultural adaptation discredit “authentic Indianness.” The more important assumption here is that the dominant white group has the right to certify the cultural identity of non-whites. During the centuries of conflict on the frontier, white people often said the only good Indian was a dead one. Today, particularly in the east, many whites apparently believe that the only “true Indian” is a dead one. Until quite recently, the press, as we have noted, seldom acknowledged the “full-bloodedness” of Indians until they died.<sup>32</sup>

When C. Matthew Snipp analyzed the 1980 federal census, he divided the data base on those who identified themselves as Native Americans into three major subcategories: persons who identified themselves as Native American by race and culture, classified as “Native American”; those who identified themselves as Native Americans of multiple ancestry; and those who identified as white or African American with some Indian ancestry. The census enumerated some 947,500 people in the first category, 269,700 in the second, and more than five million in the third. Eliminating the third group, whose primary identity was non-Indian, Snipp compiled his data from the first two. However, the cultural boundary between the second and third categories has become a significant political problem for Native American groups, particularly in eastern states.<sup>33</sup>

Often people in category three, who grow up living as white or African American, seek to enhance their social status or benefit financially by shifting from a vague assertion of “Indian heritage” to a claim to membership in an existing tribal community. According to a demographic report by the Urban Institute, the birth and death records of Native Americans indicated a population increase of 760,000 between 1970 and 1990, yet the 1990 census shows an increase of 1.4 million Native Americans. It appears that nearly 700,000 people shifted their identity to Native American during the last

twenty years.<sup>34</sup>

Such claims to membership in the Shinnecock and Poospatuck tribes become an issue when the individual seeks residence rights on a reservation, or a share in some government benefit. Claims are handled by tribal trustees, who examine the records to determine whether the claimant can trace Shinnecock or Poospatuck ancestry through either parent. If a clear genealogical connection can not be documented, the claim is rejected.<sup>35</sup>

### **Native American Cultural Articulation on Long Island**

It is impossible to point to the date or event that marked the emergence of an articulatory movement that reaffirmed Native American identity and expanded political, social, and economic contacts with outside agencies. Many of the elders claim a deep and clearly defined consciousness of their ethnicity, but acknowledge, since the 1960s, an increased emphasis on overt expression of Native American identity and much more interaction with outside agencies.

Three fundamental cultural patterns, the communal ownership of land, the renewal of family and tribal ties at seasonal gatherings and funerals, and the identification as Native American, have, as elders assert, remained intact in spite of pressures from the outside world to conform to the mainstream culture. The most obvious and persistent cultural value for most Native American people is their relationship with the land, which all of the Indians view as a sacred trust linking them to their aboriginal ancestors. Communal ownership of land is part of their identity as Native Americans, because residence on the reservation preserves a cultural boundary between the Indians and outside ethnic groups. Protection of this land base has been a near obsession with the Shinnecock and Poospatuck over the centuries. The struggle to regain their lost lands has been the single most important unifying focus of the Matinecock and Montauk communities.<sup>36</sup>

Another surviving, if modified, pattern is the concept of kinship. The extended family system unites members into subclans or "branches" which may be vestiges of the ancient clan system. The anthropologist Rose Hayes, who did her dissertation on the Shinnecock, found that the tribe was divided into eight branches of about forty members each, and several smaller family groupings. Branch members are expected to support each other in times of trouble or in disagreements with other branches. Generally, all branches come together against a threat from outside the tribe.<sup>37</sup>

Four seasonal meetings--June Meeting, Powwow, Nunnowa (Indian Thanksgiving), and the Mid-Winter Feast--have been held at Shinnecock with few interruptions as far back as anyone on the reservation can remember. All of these communal celebrations have their roots in traditional Algonquian culture. Nunnowa is held at Shinnecock the week before the national Thanksgiving holiday. The tribal trustees purchase food for the whole reservation and the women prepare the communal dinner at the community center. All Shinnecock people are invited, along with guests from

the non-Indian communities who are to be honored by the tribe. The celebration, which may vary slightly from year to year, includes traditional drum and chanting ceremonies, dancing, and tobacco rituals. The midwinter feast, held in January or February, is a less formal social event for the Shinnecock families. Food is prepared in the homes and carried to the community center where it is shared in common.<sup>38</sup>

### June Meeting

One of the most persistent seasonal ceremonies is the annual June meeting. Although there are no tribal records, the elders at Shinnecock and Poospatuck say that this has been held every year as far back as they remember. The ceremony appears to be related to the concept of death and rebirth common to spring celebrations in many cultures.

Lone Otter (Donald Treadwell), a Poospatuck elder, says the June Meeting celebrates the birth of a new spring and also honors the dead. According to Lone Otter, the dead were honored early in the spring with a ceremony originally called *Wi-kan-da-min-na-bo* (feast of the dead); he remembers that, as a child, he went with the family to the cemetery, placed lilacs on the graves, and then to a dinner with relatives on the reservation. In June, a large social gathering celebrated the renewal of life and emergence of the first plants. In 1901, Charles Bunn, a Shinnecock elder, told a *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* reporter that June was the “moon of the flowers,” and that June Meeting was originally “the Feast of the Moon of the Flowers.” The flower theme, symbolizing the rebirth of plant life after the winter, apparently played a central role in the ceremony. In time the two occasions were blended into one large community celebration.<sup>39</sup>

The Shinnecock, who resisted conversion to Christianity until the latter half of the eighteenth century, were introduced to the new religion within the context of June Meeting. Azariah Horton, the Presbyterian missionary who preached to the Shinnecock from 1740 through 1743, did not convert many—he had to rely on interpreters because so few of his prospects spoke English. No further missionary activity was undertaken until after the American Revolution, when the Reverend Paul Cuffee, a Shinnecock convert, began to preach to his people. Cuffee overcame the resistance to conversion by gradually integrating Christian themes into aboriginal ceremonies. He began to preach at June Meetings, with considerable success in winning converts.<sup>40</sup>

In 1845, the historian Nathaniel S. Prime reported that the June Meeting was still a popular social and religious event. Prime, a Presbyterian minister who wrote to celebrate the role of Christianity in the historical development of Long Island, had little interest in Native American religion. Although he tended to overlook or ignore any aboriginal themes, his is the first written record to mention the ceremony:

“June Meeting,” which has been long maintained by this interesting people...is kept up to the present time. Its origin is not exactly known, but its design is entirely of a social and religious nature. It is a holy

convocation of all the remnants of the tribes, and the colored people connected with them on the first or second sabbath in June, for the purpose of religious worship. In former days, a delegation from New England was usually present; but of late years, it has been confined to the residents of the island. The place of the meeting is Poosapatuck as being the most central... The whole day is spent in exercises of religious worship...The people generally traveled to the meeting place on Friday or Saturday and set up tents near the meeting grounds at Poosapatuck. Most remain for a week, visiting friends and renewing family ties.<sup>4</sup>

Prime was upset over the social aspects of the meeting, which he saw as secular and quite decadent, noting that “hundreds of giddy and thoughtless youth of both sexes assemble from all parts of the island for the mere purpose of diversion and dissipation.” He also disapproved of the commercial aspects of the gathering, to which people brought foods and other goods to sell or exchange. Unfortunately, he did not describe these items. This phase of the meeting may have its roots in the aboriginal ceremonial gatherings, where trade goods were brought in from great distances.

Flowers continued to be an important part of the spring rituals. In 1871, a newspaper article described a June meeting near the Shinnecock reservation, attended by Montaukett, Shinnecock, and many white spectators. The ceremonies included a procession of Native American women and elders carrying wild flowers to place on a platform. David Pharaoh, the Montauk leader, stood on the dais and gave a long, impassioned oration invoking the “Great Spirit.” Afterwards, he led the men in a circle around a fire casting evergreen boughs into the flames as they walked.<sup>42</sup>

At the beginning of the twentieth century, June Meetings were held at Shinnecock on the first Sunday and at Poospatuck on the following week. Frances Collins Bullock, whose grandparents lived in Center Moriches in the 1890s described the preparations for June Meetings.

“Always in June the local churches would prepare foods to be packed in farm wagons and driven to the Poospatuck Reservation...Hams were roasted and salads made. No stores had bread or biscuits in our area in the early 1890's and so a good supply of baked goods was prepared. A caravan of vehicles would drive to the reservation and everyone would help in setting up tables and fixing food. Among the Poospatuck who would greet the visitors I can recall the names of Martha Hill, Henry Edwards, Old Ike and Tilly.”<sup>43</sup>

A poignant account of the 1901 June Meeting appeared in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*. At this meeting, Richard Ward, the Unkechaug sachem, announced that he was retiring from tribal leadership. Ward, who was more than eighty years old and could not read or write, gave a moving farewell oration:

My father and grand fathers kept June Meeting. I have kept June Meeting eighty years and more and this is my last June Meeting on earth. My time to go is at hand. I shall hear the call before another June Meeting and I shall bid you all good by.



He then went through the gathering solemnly shaking hands, bidding all the people farewell. The following January the old sachem died as he had foretold.<sup>44</sup>

June Meeting changed little over the next few decades. In 1933, Martha Mayne, one of the Poospatuck elders who supervised preparations for the June Meetings, recalled that they had always been the social highlight of the year, second only to the Christmas party. The daughter of Joel and Sabra Davis, both identified as “full blooded Indians,” Martha, who lived with her daughter Abbe on the reservation, died a month after June Meeting that year, at the age of ninety-eight.<sup>45</sup>

Abbie Mayne Carle assumed her mother's role in the preparations for the June Meeting celebration. In 1950, she was listed as the program assistant on the flyer circulated to invite the general public to the celebration. Osborn Shaw, the Brookhaven town historian, gave a short address on the history of Poospatuck, and Flying Eagle (Walter Shepard) was inducted as a ceremonial chief for the occasion.<sup>46</sup>

After the 1960s, the June Meeting at Poospatuck became a quieter, less visible celebration within the tribal community. Families reunite informally in private homes. It is a time for relatives who have left the reservation to return home and visit. Food is prepared for “open houses” where unannounced guests are welcome to come and go all weekend. At Shinnecock, the transition to less formal reservation family took place much earlier. Elders recall that after World War I the meeting gradually came to resemble church socials in the outside community. However, the elders emphasize that the deeper community meaning for the Shinnecock never was lost. Although the religious form changed, the annual gathering continued to be a rite of intensification, unifying the Shinnecock and Poospatuck communities.

### **The Powwow**

The most dramatic seasonal celebration is the Powwow. This colorful social, economic, and religious occasion serves to intensify a sense of community and mark the Shinnecock as distinct from their non-Indian neighbors. Public observance of this ancient harvest celebration, banned by colonial authorities in 1665, did not resume in public at Shinnecock until several small “pageants” were held between 1912 and 1945. Once again, the elders assert that the old ways were not forgotten, but simply went underground. The change from summer to fall continued to be marked quietly by individual families on the reservation.<sup>47</sup>

The modern Powwow did not become an annual event until after World War II. Chief Thunder Bird (Henry Bess) served as Shinnecock ceremonial sachem from 1939 until his death in 1989, at the age of eighty-two. He hosted a small gathering on his homestead after visiting a Narragansett Powwow in Charleston, Rhode Island, in 1946. The Presbyterian mission church and the tribal trustees assumed responsibility for the Powwow, held every Labor Day weekend since 1946. In the early postwar years, few Shinnecock knew the traditional Algonquian dances and chants; most Powwow performers came

from southern New England tribes or the enclaves of Iroquois high-steel construction workers in New York City.<sup>48</sup>

During the 1960s, the Shinnecock youth began to restore some of their ancient traditions, and started to learn from their visitors. By 1973, Shinnecock dancers with regalia of their own manufacture dominated the program. The booths surrounding the Powwow grounds, which formerly hawked rubber tomahawks and Korean imports, now offer authentic Native American crafts and foods, literature on Native American issues, history and culture, and original paintings by Native American artists. Charles Smith II and Lamont Smith, whose father served as a tribal trustee for three decades, are representative of the new generation at Shinnecock. Charles has become an accomplished drummer, dancer and singer, while Lamont grows heritage seed crops in his garden on the reservation, prepares traditional recipes to sell at the Powwow, and is experimenting with peppers and herbs from his garden to make a sauce to complement shellfish.<sup>49</sup>

The Powwow has grown from a small gathering to a festival attracting Native American people from all over North America. In 1992, some thirty thousand visitors attended the reservation during a three-day period. The modern Powwow, a lucrative source of capital, also serves to develop administrative and public relations skills and provide important ethnic and cultural boundary markers. It dramatically reminds outsiders of the Native Americans' unique heritage, while at the same time it intensifies the hosts' own sense of identity.

Chief Thunder Bird believed the Powwow was a factor in the 1954 court case in which the Shinnecock prevented a developer from seizing a strip of land along the northern border of the reservation: "People began to know that there were Indians existing here, that they had a right to live on the land...and I think that helped the judges and the people who ruled in our favor." James Clifton describes the Pokagon Powwows as "a public enactment of their Native American identity," and J. Anthony Paredes notes the importance of the Powwow as a source of pride to the Escambia County Creeks in Alabama. The Powwow is also a major communications network, linking Native Americans into a common source of ideas and information.<sup>50</sup>

### **Funerary Rituals**

A significant community rite dealt with passage into the spirit world. Archaeological evidence from the Archaic and Woodland Periods on eastern Long Island indicates the existence of complex mortuary rituals, involving cremations, grave goods, funerary feasts, and dog sacrifices, but little is known about the rituals or symbolism represented in the artifacts and features. Excavation of an eighteenth-century cemetery in East Hampton revealed that by 1730 the local Native Americans were incorporating Christian forms into their ancient practices. The grave goods placed with the deceased for use in the spirit world now included pewter dinnerware, glass bottles, clay pipes, brass kettles, and glass beads. Twenty-one burials were in the traditional

flexed position, but seventeen were extended, in the Christian fashion.<sup>51</sup>

By the nineteenth century, the preparation of the body and its interment was handled by professional morticians, but many traditional mourning ceremonies remained in practice. According to Hayes, the tribe acted as a unit at funerals:

As in earlier times, when the entire tribe participated in the mourning and mortuary services surrounding the demise of one of the group's members, such a tragedy still activated the cohesive instincts of the group. When a reservation Shinnecock dies everyone on the reservation enters into the funeral preparations. The house of the deceased is prepared for the arrival of all the Shinnecock who return to the reservation for such crisis...Whatever is needed is brought in by the various tribal members.

Mourning rituals often include a procession, or "walking," to the cemetery from the church, in which positions are determined by kinship, with the spouse and eldest son in the lead. Siblings come next unless they failed to meet their family responsibilities to the deceased while he or she lived.<sup>52</sup>

When Princess Nowedonah (Lois Hunter) died in 1975, the younger Shinnecock, influenced by the resurgence of Indian consciousness following the demonstrations at Wounded Knee, introduced more overt Native American symbols and rituals into the funeral ceremonies. Nowedonah, a respected elder who had served as tribal historian, spent most of her life encouraging her people to be proud of their Indian heritage. Her Christian funeral ceremony at the reservation church was followed by a procession to the cemetery led by drummers and singers.<sup>53</sup>

Since the 1970s, more Native American rituals have been integrated into funeral ceremonies. Following the Christian services at the grave site, rituals involving the use of tobacco and sage, drumming, and chanting are observed. Two funeral chants are usually sung. The first is an honoring song for the deceased and the second is the sacred "calling of the spirits." According to Sherry Blakey-Smith, an Ojibway woman married to Charles Smith of Shinnecock, the latter is so sacred that it has never been recorded or written down. The song is passed down to each new generation who must listen and commit it to memory. According to *Newsday*,

Chief Thunder Bird (Henry Bess), the ceremonial chief of the Shinnecock for more than thirty years, was buried in full regalia. Following a traditional Native American funeral service at the Brackett Funeral Home, Southampton, the casket was returned to the Bess home on the reservation, where male family members performed a tobacco ritual, repacked the pipe with Kinni-kanick, and placed it in the chief's hand before the casket was closed and carried to the cemetery on a horse-drawn wagon, followed by drummers, singers and mourners.<sup>54</sup>

### **Shinnecock Community Associations and Services**

In all societies, community bonds are strengthened by age-set associations, which unite generations around common needs, and voluntary associations, which focus on shared interests, but in tribal societies these associations also reaffirm group identity. Since 1972, there has been a significant expansion of such community organization on the Shinnecock reservation, where previously the two primary institutions were the tribal government and the Presbyterian Church.

The Shinnecock Indian Development Board and Steering Committee, established in the late 1960s, encouraged the young people to learn more about their Native American traditions. This led, in 1972, to the organization of the Shinnecock Native American Cultural Coalition (SNACC), which received funding from government and private sources to establish a Native American arts and crafts program. The members studied traditional dancing, perfected their skills in bead work and other Native American crafts, and traveled to nearby schools and community groups to put on traditional dance programs. Out of SNACC came the nucleus of the Youngblood Singers, a small group of Shinnecock people dedicated to learning traditional Algonquian songs, chants, and drum rituals.<sup>55</sup>

In the same year that SNACC was formed, the Shinnecock Senior Citizen's Nutrition Program was established through the efforts of Shinnecock elders including Charles Randall, Alvilda Crippen, and Walter Wise Sr. The program, now under the direction of Michelle Johnson, a Shinnecock woman, provides hot lunches, transportation for shopping and medical appointments, and health check-ups at the community center. Johnson received a grant this year to expand and improve the facilities of the parish hall where her program is located. A small addition to the building will house a toilet facility for the handicapped. Several of the elders who come regularly for lunch organized their own senior citizen's club, which runs craft programs and weekly card games. The success of these programs encouraged exploration of other community development programs.

The Shinnecock's economic relationship with their environment has undergone many changes from the time when they depended for food on rich sources of shellfish, finfish, and water fowl. Their ancient villages, located on two overlapping ecosystems--the wetland estuaries and the deciduous woodlands--provided a balanced, nutritious diet. Today, although most of the Shinnecock earn their living off the reservation, many still supplement their diets with shellfish, game, and waterfowl.

In 1974, the tribe was awarded a grant to send four representatives to the Lummi reservation in Washington State for a year-long, intensive course in aquaculture. When these students returned in 1975, they helped to develop a tribal oyster project, beginning with the construction of four hundred oyster beds in the shallow ponds on the reservation. In 1977 and 1978 they experimented with a small hatchery to test the feasibility of a full-scale operation. The results were positive, leading to the construction of a

\$295,000-solar-heated facility in 1979 and 1980. The hatchery became a tribal business, managed and staffed by members of the reservation. Unfortunately, the operation experienced difficulty entering the commercial shellfish market and is temporarily closed.<sup>(54)</sup>

The tribe received a "Title V" federal grant to establish daily tutoring sessions after school for all Shinnecock students, and to sponsor school assembly programs featuring Native American drama, songs, dance, and poetry performed by Shinnecock children. The first reservation school was established by the state in 1831. After 1900, Shinnecock children began to attend the Southampton public schools for their high school education. The elementary school on the reservation was phased out in the 1950s, when the New York State Department of Education designated the Southampton public school district as a "contract school" system for Native American children. Under this program, developed to serve the educational needs of children on the Shinnecock, Poospatuck, and Iroquois reservations, each school receives funds from the state in lieu of property taxes on reservation lands, and is obligated to follow state guidelines for the education of Indian children.<sup>56</sup>

The Title V program has been supplemented by additional grants to fund a Native American resource library, a Shinnecock heritage project to develop curricula on Native Americans for the public schools, a computer literacy laboratory, and a summer program for the youth. A Shinnecock woman's group, established in the 1980s to focus on issues facing the community, publishes a newsletter and organizes support for community programs. In 1989, it supported the Montaukett Indians, led by Robert Cooper and Olive Pharaoh, her son Robert, and their family, in a successful protest to prevent construction of a road across the corner of an eighteenth-century Montaukett graveyard. The Shinnecock sent a car caravan to Montauk, the Youngblood Singers performed a drum ceremony at the endangered site, and a Shinnecock elder, Starleaf (Harriet Crippen-Gumbs), spoke in support of the Montaukett cause.

In 1992, a Shinnecock Youth Council was formed under the sponsorship of two Shinnecock women, Tracey Gardner-Pace and Lauren Randall-Williams. Shinnecock between the ages of fourteen and twenty-five meet every Wednesday evening in the community center to raise funds and plan social events. One of their concerns is to "get high on life," rather than on drugs and alcohol.<sup>57</sup>

The increased activity and participation of Shinnecock women led them to press for the right to vote in tribal trustee elections. In 1967, Nowedonah and Starleaf raised the issue in the press and Hunter testified before the Suffolk County Human Rights Commission, but no action was taken. The women had some success in fall 1992, when the trustees granted them the right to vote in tribal meetings on the reservation. The issue came to a head in November 1992 when Roberta Hunter, a Shinnecock woman with a law degree, was elected to the Southampton town board, a highly publicized victory, as she was the first non-white person to win any election in that town.<sup>58</sup>

Hunter's election, an inspiration to many Shinnecock women, made a

positive impact on men as well. At a tribal meeting early in 1994, the directors of the community programs, many of whom were women, reported on the past year's achievements. The accomplishments were so impressive that many men raised their voices to praise the contributions of the tribal women. When one of the women again raised the question of voting rights, the men agreed that the time had come to extend the franchise to women in tribal elections. It was an historic moment. The ancient power of women in tribal affairs had been restored.<sup>59</sup>

On 4 April 1994, the women came with the men to the Southampton Town Hall for the annual vote. In an ironic twist of history, the election was witnessed by Marietta Seamon, the first woman elected as town clerk. According to Marguerite Smith, the voting was not along gender lines, as some expected. Both men and women voted for three of the seven candidates nominated (all males) whom they considered best qualified for the office of trustee. Two incumbents, Peter Smith and Kevin Eleazer, were re-elected and the third, who declined to run, was replaced by Lyle Smith. However, the precedent set by the vote undoubtedly made a fundamental change in the political process at Shinnecock.<sup>60</sup>

Another important recent event at Shinnecock was the 1990 establishment of a board of directors and staff to plan a cultural center and museum on the reservation. The directors, Betty Cromwell, Dr. Edwin Garrett, Barbara Williams, Denis King, and Chee Chee (Elizabeth Haile), monitor the project and serve as a liaison with the outside community. The tribe received a three-year grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, to plan the facility and establish a fund-raising program to finance construction and maintenance. According to the board of directors, the primary purpose of the Shinnecock Nation Cultural Center and Museum is

to increase awareness, understanding and appreciation of Shinnecock history and culture; to collect, preserve and interpret artifacts, documents and other materials related to Shinnecock history and culture; and to carry on and promote research on Shinnecock history and culture.<sup>61</sup>

Several committees have been established under the supervision of Gerrod Smith, the museum director, to implement the project. Some programs have already been implemented by the museum staff. Gerrod Smith has conducted several highly successful overnight "Outdoor Living" workshops for small groups. The staff has developed a nature trail on the reservation, where visitors can observe medicinal and nutritious wild plants. The assistant director, Donna Collins, has initiated a half-day program which includes a nature walk, story-telling sessions presented by a Shinnecock story-teller, Elizabeth Haile, and a traditional Shinnecock meal of succotash, fry bread, and sassafras tea. According to Collins, several Boy Scout troops, and a tour group of fifty people organized by the American Museum of Natural History have participated in these programs.

The most recent program, the Shinnecock Indian Health Service, was

established in a September 1993 grant from the state of New York. This program, directed by a Shinnecock woman, Diane Smith, provides a clinic staffed by two community health workers, Lisa Goree and James Phillips, a clinic aide, Loretta Reddick, and a transportation coordinator. Suffolk County has equipped the clinic with scanning machines, vaccines, an EKG machine, and needles. The clinic is open five days a week for annual check-ups and preventative care. On Thursday, when a physician is on duty, and on Wednesday, when a nurse-practitioner comes in, the office is busy all day. The clinic also provides information on health care; transportation to local doctors, dentists, and hospitals; family support services; substance abuse referrals; a pharmacy program; AIDs; and prenatal care.<sup>62</sup>

The health clinic is a good example of effective contracting with outside agencies for services that are important to the survival of the community but do not threaten its sovereignty. The program draws on private as well as county and state resources. The Shinnecock Hills Golf Club donated a building it was replacing on the course to serve as the clinic, and the director is reaching out to raise funds through private donations.

### **Cultural Articulation among Poospatuck, Montaukett and Matinecock**

The Matinecock and Montaukett communities face a difficult challenge because they have no land base. The Montauketts have organized to protect their burial grounds, and to establish a tribal membership role based on genealogical records. Members of the tribe, such as Robert Cooper of East Hampton, Carolyn, Olive, and Robert Pharaoh of Sag Harbor, and the Reverend Sharon Jackson, John Fowler, and Corrine Whitaker, from other parts of the Island, have met yearly since 1990 to discuss tribal issues and to work on the membership roll. Robert Cooper, who shares with Roberta Hunter the distinction of being the first Native Americans elected to their respective town boards, and the Pharaoh family all are direct descendants of Maria Pharaoh, one of the last Montauketts to live on the reservation at Montauk. In 1992, Cooper and Olive Pharaoh organized a community support group, The Friends of the Pharaoh Museum, to expand the small Stephen Pharaoh Museum now in the Montauk County Park. The support group includes many non-Indian supporters of the Montauketts.<sup>63</sup>

The Matinecock longhouse suffered the loss of Sun Tama (Ann Harding Murdock), who died in 1969 after leading an unsuccessful fight to reclaim Matinecock land in Huntington. Her sister Brown Thrush (Lila E. Harding) replaced her in the 1970s. In the 1980s, the longhouse organization was strengthened by the efforts of Chief Little Moose (John Sylvester Williams), Chief Osceola Townsend, who succeeded him in 1987, Little Fox (Sonny Stevens), the tribal historian, William Hawk, the community faithkeeper, and Asibe Tupahache, editor of the *Spirit of January*, a newsletter on the issues facing Native Americans.<sup>64</sup>

Following the death of Little Moose in 1989, at the age of eighty-one, internal disputes have troubled the longhouse. Osceola Townsend continues

to press Matinecock claims to an unspecified area of land on Long Island. In a 3 May 1993 *Newsday* interview, Townsend said that his primary goal was to regain the lost land. Absence of a communal center and unresolved tensions dividing the Matinecock make this a difficult challenge. The Matinecock and the Montaukett have been unable to develop the contractual connections with outside communities which have strengthened the Shinnecock community, in large part because they have no land base.

The Poospatuck have a land base but, until recently, have been plagued by internal divisions. The annual elections were not held in 1992 and 1993 because of a court injunction, imposed as a result of a suit brought by one of the factions. However, a turning point was reached this year when the tribe agreed to an election to be held 4 April and monitored by Suffolk County officials. Widespread participation resulted in the election of a new tribal chief, Harry Wallace, as well as a tribal council.

Wallace focuses on the reaffirmation of traditional culture at Poospatuck. With Margo Thunder Bird's help, he established an educational program for Poospatuck children, and a research project on Poospatuck history and language. Margo, whose classes and workshops on traditional culture involve most of the reservation youth, is proudest of her language program. Using the few surviving Algonquian word lists, like that collected at Poospatuck by Thomas Jefferson in 1791, she developed a workshop for children which meets once a week in her home. The other classes teach beadwork, drum ceremonies, and eastern woodland dances.<sup>65</sup>

## **Conclusion**

The experiences of the Long Island Indians have been examined in the context of Nancy Lurie's analysis of developments in Native American communities throughout North America. Lurie describes these developments as articulatory movements which emphasize cultural boundaries, but, at the same time, establish "contractual" relations with non-Native Americans. The Long Island Indian communities, along with many other eastern Native Americans, have been burdened with the additional task of responding to negative perceptions about their status as Native Americans. They have never doubted their status, and have enthusiastically embraced the renewed emphasis on cultural boundaries which spread throughout Native American communities after 1960. A central theme in this response is the overt expression of such symbols as dance, crafts, and regalia.<sup>66</sup>

Of greater significance to the Shinnecock are the many programs which help to stabilize and strengthen the community, most of which were developed through interaction with outside agencies. As Lurie notes, most Native American communities have no desire to turn inward and close themselves off to the outside world; the Shinnecock, for example, have obtained help from government agencies for their health and educational programs. It is these community bonds and not the more superficial overt symbols that develop skills, improve health, and instill the self-pride that



provide the strength to survive as a distinct people who can pass their ancient values along to future generations.<sup>67</sup>

The Poospatuck appear to be experiencing a rebirth which has united them. The new leadership places an emphasis on reaffirming their Indian heritage, establishing more community services, and asserting their tribal sovereignty.

The two non-reservation Indian communities, the Matinecock and the Montaukett, face a much more difficult struggle. That they have survived with their identity intact to the present day, however, suggests that they will continue to defy the attempts to define them out of existence.

## NOTES

*The author is indebted to the Matinecock, Montaukett, Poospatuck, and Shinnecok people who provided him with information about their history and current status.*

1. William Sturtevant and Samuel Stanley, "Indian Communities in the Eastern United States," *The Indian Historian* 1 (1986):15; Frank Porter, "Nonrecognized American Indian Tribes in the Eastern United States," in *Strategies for Survival; American Indians in the Eastern United States*, Frank Porter, ed. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1986), 18-19.

2. Carleton Beale, "An Overview of the Phenomenon of Mixed Race Isolates in the U.S.," *American Anthropologist* 74 (1972): 704-10; Brewton Berry, *Almost White* (New York: Macmillan, 1963), 33; C. Matthew Snipp, *American Indians: The First of This Land* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1991), 310; William Hagan, "Full Blood, Mixed Blood, Generic, and Ersatz: The Problem of Mixed Identity," in *The American Indian*, Roger L. Nichols, ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1992), 300-301.

3. Faith Roessel, "Federal Recognition: A Historical Twist of Fate," *Native American Rights Fund Legal Review* 14 (1989): 3-5; Federal Register, 25 Feb. 1994, Part 28, 83.7.

4. "Second Tribe Recognized As a Nation," *New York Times*, 8 March 1994; Melissa Fawcett, "How the Mohegan Tribe Won Federal Recognition," paper, International Congress of Americanists, Stockholm, July 1994.

5. This connection tended to legitimize the claim to "Indianness," because the government looked on the Sioux, with all their feathers, as "true Indians"; *New York Times*, 26 March 1973; Margo Thunder Bird to the author, 23 July 1994.

6. Nancy Ostereich Lurie, "The Contemporary American Indian Scene," in *North American Indians in Historical Perspective*, Eleanor Burke Leacock and Nancy Ostereich Lurie, eds. (New York: Random House, 1971), 419. Lurie's model is more appropriate for developments at Shinnecock than "cultural revitalization," the term used by Anthony Wallace for such phenomena as the Ghost Dance and The Handsome Lake movement. Wallace defined revitalization as a conscious effort to create a more satisfying culture, characterized by dramatic, innovative changes far beyond "discrete items" of change or renewal (Anthony Wallace, "Revitalization Movements: Some Theoretical Considerations for Their Comparative Study," *American Anthropologist* New Series 58 (2, 1956):264-81, and *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (New York: Random House, 1969). In Wallace's model, a group experiences profound cultural dislocation as the primary social institutions begin to break down. Promiscuity, alcoholism, and political anarchy are often exacerbated by military defeat, famine, and disease. In response, a movement for revitalization, restoring social order and transforming the culture, emerges to instill new values and revive some old ones. The Shinnecock revival, emerging in the 1960s in the larger context of this pan-Indian articulatory movement, did not spring from the frustration and depths of despair experienced by the Ghost Dance members at the turn of this century.

7. Lurie, 449-51.

8. Jonathan Smith and Lanette Cooke to the author, 2 April 1993.

9. Unfortunately, these references describe the structures but say little about ceremonies associated with the sweat lodge (Eva Butler, "Sweat-Houses in the Southern New England Area," *Massachusetts Archaeological Society Bulletin* 7 [1:1945]:14). Some lodges were about 6-to-8 feet in diameter and dug into the side of hills, while others were wigwams covered with an extra layer of bark or mats sealed with clay. A 1643 account by Roger Williams described the ceremony as a healing ritual, especially effective for the "French disease" (Roger Williams, *Key to the Languages of America* [Detroit: Wayne State Univ. Press, 1973], 131). The primary purposes of the sweat-house were spiritual and medicinal healing; they were less common in New England by 1725, when Paul Dudley wrote about them for the Royal Society in London (Butler, 12-13); see also Edward Barton Banai, *The Mishomis Book* [St. Paul, MN: Red School House Press, 1988], chap. 12, "The Sweat Lodge."

10. Sweat-Lodge Videotape Interview, January 1992; for a viewing, contact John A. Strong, History Department, Southampton Campus of Long Island University, Southampton NY 11968, phone (516) 287-8204.

11. The Pokagons, incorporated as the Potawatomi Nation of Indians, own land, with a communal meeting house; the land is not a recognized reservation but has symbolic meaning for the tribe (James Clifton, *The Pokagons, 1683-1983: Catholic Potawatami Indians of the St. Joseph River Valley* [Lanham, MD: Univ. Press of America, 1984], 131).

12. John A. Strong, "The Evolution of Shinnecock Culture," in *The Shinnecock Indians: A Culture History* (hereafter cited as Shinnecock), Gaynell Stone, ed. (Stony Brook: Suffolk County Archaeological Association (hereafter SCAA), 1983), 7-51. These village communities were divided in two general culture zones which overlapped in the area of the Hempstead Plains. Western Long Island groups probably spoke a Munsee dialect of Algonquian, and were closely related to the people in what is now New Jersey and Pennsylvania (Ives Goddard, "Eastern Algonquian Languages," in *Handbook of the North American Indian*, vol. 15, *The Northeast*, Bruce Trigger, ed. [Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1978], 72, and Robert Steven Grumet, "We Are Not Such Great Fools: Changes in Upper Delaware Socio-Political Life, 1630-1758," [Ph.D. diss., Rutgers Univ., 1979], 5-7); see also T. J. Brasser, "The Coastal Algonquians: People of the First Frontiers," in *North American Indians in Historical Perspective*, Eleanor Burke Leacock and Nancy Ostereich Lurie, eds. (New York: Random House, 1971), 66, and Bert Salwin, "Indians of Southern New England and Long Island," in Trigger, 160-65).

13. Grumet, 28.

14. William Hawk, *The Revitalization of the Matinnecock Indian Tribe of New York*, Ph. D. diss., Univ. of Wisconsin, 1984: 12-17,43-63; Brasser, 66; Salwin, 160-65.

15. William Simmons, "Southern New England Shamanism: An Ethnographic Reconstruction," in *Papers of the Seventh Algonquian Conference*, William Cowan, ed. (Ottawa: Carleton Univ. Press, 1975), 222-25, and *Spirit of the New England Tribes*, Hanover, NH: Univ. Press of New England, 1986), 91-117).

16. See E. B. O'Callaghan and Benjamin Fernow, eds., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 15 vols. (Albany: Weed, Parsons, 1856-1887):14:647, 756, and *Records of the Town of Southampton*, William Pelletreau, ed. (Sag Harbor, 1874-1877) 2:202

17. Milton Fried, *The Notion of Tribe* (Menlo Park, CA: Cummings Publishing Company, 1975).

18. Strong, "How The Shinnecock Lost Their Land," *Shinnecock*, 62.

19. Lisa Strong and Frank Holmberg, "The Shinnecock Trustee System," in Strong, *Shinnecock*, 226-30.

20. The state approved the 1859 transaction (*Laws of the State of New York, 82nd Session of the Legislature* [Albany, 1850], 101-3), but Congress took no action. During the nineteenth century, congressional sanction for Indian land sales required by the 1790 Non-Intercourse Act was applied only to those made west of the Appalachians. In 1975, the Passaqmaqoddy and Penescot tribes of Maine invoked the 1790 law to contest the sale of their land, which Congress had never approved; a declaratory judgement by the federal district court upheld them, ruling that all land sales in the country needed congressional approval. The Shinnecock, who seem to have a good case (although complicated by the legal distinction between a sale and a lease) have

entered a claim, but the cost of litigation is beyond their present means. Unlike the Maine tribes, the Shinnecock are reluctant to seek federal recognition and the concomitant right to use federal lawyers

21. Toby Papageorge, "Records of the Shinnecock Trustees," in Strong, *Shinnecock*, 191.

22. The Montauk population remained fairly stable for nearly two decades after 1703, because members of remnant southern New England and Long Island groups married into it. The town responded in 1719 by imposing a treaty on the Montauk prohibiting them from marrying "strange and foreign Indians" (Raymond Smith, ed. *In Re Montauk* (East Hampton: East Hampton Trustees, 1926), 56-57. To survive as a community, the Montauk began to marry African Americans, but this also was prohibited by a 1754 treaty (*ibid.*, 59-61). Several Montauk families moved to a Christian Indian community at Brotherton, New York, near the Oneida reservation, while many other Montauk moved elsewhere on Long Island where they could find work and marry whom they pleased. Those who remained at home frequently petitioned the state that East Hampton officials and townspeople harassed them and pressed them to abandon their lands (Ellice Gonzales, "Montauk Ethnohistorical Sources," in *The History and Archaeology of the Montauk*, Gaynell Stone, ed. (Stony Brook: SCAA, 1979):126-45. One petition, carried to Albany by Benjamin and Stephen Pharaoh, complained that East Hamptonites came onto Montauk land to shoot dogs, burn wigwams, impound hogs and cattle, strip firewood, and ply the people with liquor. A commission appointed by the legislature affirmed these abuses, reported some destitute and poorly clothed Montauk who might not survive the winter, and recommended that the governor appoint an overseer to prevent further abuse. However, no appointment was made and the abuses continued.

23. John A. Strong, "Who Says the Montauk Tribe is Extinct? Judge Abel Blackmar's Decision in the Case of Wyandank Pharaoh v. Benson," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 16 (1, 1992): 1-22; Long Island folklore has it that the Native American tribes gradually dwindled, leaving only "remnants" whose "Indianness" was lost through miscegenation with African Americans. This "myth of extinction" reflects archaic racial concepts, discredited by contemporary social science (Snipp, 28-40). To many anthropologists and geneticists, the term "race," imbued with negative stereotypes and racist perceptions, should be abandoned (Joseph Aceves and H. Gill King, *Introduction to Anthropology* (Morristown, NJ: Silver Burdett, 1979), 152-57). Most agree that identifiable phenotypes are found in certain population groups, but the more important reality is constant fluidity of genes throughout all human societies. Miscegenation on Long Island began early on: the Rockaway sachem reminded a Dutch visitor in 1643 that his people had given Dutch traders "their daughters to sleep with, by whom they had begotten children and there roved many an Indian who was begotten by a Swanneken [Dutchman]" (J. Franklin Jameson, ed., *Narratives of New Netherland* [New York: Barnes and Noble, 1909], 231). Records from colonial Hempstead include references to petitions from Native American women who claimed that the English fathers of their children had abandoned them (Bernice Marshall, *Colonial Hempstead* [Port Washington, 1962], 50). The exploitive relationship between European men and Native American women was seldom mentioned by local historians, who tended to focus on Native American relations with people of African descent.

24. "Black, Indian Enclave Is a Landmark," *Newsday*, clipping file in Patchogue-Medford Library, undated, entry in file marked 9 May 1977; "Long Island Indians Are Powwowing on Long Island Again," *Long Island Sunday Press*, 25 February 1959; Hawk, 59-60.

25. Ellice Gonzalez, "From Unkechaug to Poospatuck," monograph prepared for the National Park Service, Fire Island National Seashore, Patchogue, 1984: chap. 2, 10-11 (chapters paginated independently).

26. *Ibid.*, chap. 4, 3-4.

27. Portions of this section appeared in John A. Strong, "The Thirteen Tribes of Long Island: the History of a Myth," *Hudson Valley Regional Review* 9 (2, 1992): 63-69.

28. Cornell Jaray, ed., *Historic Chronicles of New Amsterdam, Colonial New York and Early Long Island*, Series 2 (Port Washington: Ira J. Friedman, 1968), 7; Hawk, 6-8.

29. Gabriel Furman, *Antiquities of Long Island* (New York: J. W. Bolton, 1874), 52.

30. Southampton Town Archives, "Death Records for 1867," n.p.; Long Island Press, 22 April 1936. A popular fourth-grade history text used in many Long Island schools has a photograph of a nineteenth-century Montauk with the caption "Stephen Pharaoh, the last full-blooded Montauk, lived until 1879" (Gloria Sesso and Regina White, *The Long Island Story* [Austin, TX: Steck-Vaughn, 1991], 21). A seventh-grade Long Island history text leaves a similar impression (George Mannello, "The Disappearance of the Indians," *Our Long Island* [New York: Barnes and Noble, 1984], 22). Paul Bailey, "Decline and Fall of Tribal Life" (*Long Island Forum* 19 [1956]:165-66, 175-77, reprinted as "The Indian's Decline," *The Thirteen Tribes of Long Island* [Syosset: Friends for Long Island's Heritage, 1982]), accepted the nineteenth-century concept of an absolute relationship between genetic phenotype and social behavior, and assumed that miscegenation and Indian identity are incompatible. In the late-nineteenth century, racial characteristics were used to define population boundaries, thus raising more questions than answered because there was little consensus among scholars about the meaning of "race." Lewis Morgan, a founder of modern anthropology's view that each race has a distinct blood type, soon became fixed in the popular understanding of "race," and continues to influence perceptions of human differences. The federal government began, at that time, to use blood quantum as a criterion to determine access to public funds by Native American groups, and continues that policy on many western reservations; federal agents set up tribal roles by looking at people in every household and listing them by "blood quantum," an often arbitrary designation left to the agent and the Indian family to settle. Once a marriage was on the roll as "full-blooded," subsequent marriages were monitored and recorded in tribal books. Varying standards for membership are often changed by administrative or legislative acts. The federal government, in 1986, proposed to fix a blood quantum of 1/4 for medical service at Indian Health Service clinics, yet tribal governments have set limits for membership ranging from 1/2 to 1/16. "American Indians," commented C. Mathew Snipp in his analysis of the 1980 census for Native Americans, "are the only group in American society for whom bloodlines have the same importance as they do for show animals and race horses." Snipp noted that blood quantum was an archaic concept which provides no sound rationale for determining when an individual is no longer an Indian (Snipp, 34).

Morgan's "blood quantum" theory is rejected by modern scientists. Biologists, on the basis of such physical indicators as blood type, pigmentation, hair texture, nasal index, and earwax, classify humans into four "major" groups: Australoid, Negroid, Mongoloid, and Caucasoid, and some twenty-six subgroups (Ashley M. F. Montagu, *An Introduction to Physical Anthropology*, 3d ed. (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1960), and Richard A. Goldsby, *Race and Races* (New York: Macmillan, 1971). This system is impossible to apply in the real world. Native Americans have been identified as a subgroup of the "Mongoloid" race, but there are nearly as many physical differences within this category as there are to distinguish them from other "Mongoloids." Geneticists agree that pure Native American genotypes, if they ever existed, disappeared soon after conquest (Harold Driver, *Indians of North America* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1969), 5-6). At best, these racial classifications are general groupings with limited use in dealing with real human beings.

31. D'Arcy McNickle, "Americans Called Indians," in Leacock and Lurie, eds., 41.

32. Robert F. Berkhofer Jr., *The White Man's Indian* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978; Lee Eldridge Huddleston, *Origins of the American Indians: European Concepts, 1492-1729* (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1967); obvious problems with "blood quantum" and genetic "ideal types" led Congress to define "Indian" as anyone who identifies as an Indian and is accepted by an Indian community as a member. Although many federal agencies in western states continue to limit access to services to one-quarter "bloods," and many reservations use blood quantum criteria as an arbitrary solution to controversies over membership, the trend is toward a more objective, value-free classification system based on self-identification and ethnicity (Snipp, 59-61)

33. Snipp, 50-53; the issue is so sensitive that some scholars use pseudonyms for tribes they research. Rose Oldfield Hayes referred to the Long Island tribe she studied as the *Presqu'île* (Rose Oldfield Hayes, "An Ethnographic and Demographic Study of the Presqu'île: The Adaptation of a Social Group in A Pluralistic Society" (Ph. D. diss., Univ. of Buffalo, 1975). George Hicks and David Kertzer referred to the southern New England tribe in their study of

"retribalization" as the *Monhegan*, and published in a southwestern rather than in an eastern journal (George, L. Hicks and David I. Kertzer, "Making a Middle Way: Problems of Monhegan Identity," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 28 [1]: 1-24).

34. *New York Times*, 9 May 1993.

35. A major confrontation over the question of tribal membership occurred on the Poospatuck reservation in 1979, when Edwin and Howard Treadwell petitioned the court claiming that Junius Langhorn, Barry Miller, and Ronald Bell, whose supporters controlled the tribal council, were not Poospatuck and had no right to live on the reservation or administer expenditures of a federal grant. A year later, a third group, living off the reservation, claimed residence and voting rights. In 1982, a state court dissolved the tribal council and requested all claimants to Poospatuck membership to submit genealogical documentation, after which a new election was held. The new council was authorized to rule on future applications for membership (New York State Supreme Court, 10 May 1983 [File #79-3079]; Gonzales, chap. 6:3-4).

36. Strong, "Shinnecock," 53-117; Stone, "A Case of Cultural Continuity: The Shinnecock Kinship System," in *Shinnecock*, 336-43; Henry S. Manley, "No Man's Land, Southampton," in *Shinnecock*, 130-34; Harriett Gumbs, "The Land Defended: The Cove Realty Case," in *Shinnecock*, 118-29; "Interview With Osceola Townsend," *Newsday*, 3 May 1993; Robert Cooper to the author, 21 April 1994.

37. Hayes, 336-43; Eugene Cuffee and Gaynell Stone, "Shinnecock Families," in *Shinnecock*, 311-29.

38. Shinnecock Reservation to June Marshall and Sherry Franklin, April 18 1994.

39. Lone Otter (Donald Treadwell) to author, 5 April 1993 and 20 April 1994; Butler, 24-26; *New York Herald* 10 June 1907; "June Meeting Day, the Easter Tide of the Long Island Indians," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 8 June 1901.

40. Azariah Horton, "Diary," reprint, *The Montauk*, Stone, ed., 195-223; Edward Eells, "Indian Missions on Long Island," part 6, reprint, *ibid.*, 170-77).

41. Nathaniel S. Prime, *A History of Long Island, From Its First Settlement by Europeans to the Year 1845, with Special References to Ecclesiastical Concerns* (New York: Robert Carter, 1845), 118.

42. Harry D. Sleight, "Historical Long Island, 6. June Meeting," *Long Island Railroad Information Bulletin*, n.d., clipping file, "Indians. Shinnecock," Queens Borough Public Library, Jamaica.

43. Frances Collins Bullock, "Poospatuck June Meetings," *Long Island Forum* 32 (1969), 210.

44. "June Meeting Day. Chief Ward Bids Farewell to His Poospatuck Indians," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 10 June 1901; "Lost Glory of the Long Island Indians Recalled by the Death of Chief of Poose-pah-tucks and the Coming of His Successor," *New York Herald Tribune*, 16 February 1902.

45. "Martha Mayne, of Poosepatuck Tribe, Dies at 98," *New York Herald Tribune*, 8 July 1933.

46. "Poospatuck Indian Tribe Gets New Chief in Colorful Ritual," *Patchogue Advance*, 15 June 1950.

47. Harvey Laudin, "The Shinnecock Powwow," in *Shinnecock*, 345-66; Charles Z. Lincoln, ed., *The Colonial Laws of New York from 1664 to the Revolution* (Albany: James B. Lyon, 1984) 1:42; Elizabeth Haile Bess to the author, April 1993.

48. *Newsday*, 18 July 1989; Laudin, 354.

49. *Southampton Press*, 10 September 1992; profits from the powwows bring many non-Indians, or "hobbyists," into the powwow circuit. Native Americans resent white vendors' cashing in on their culture ("The Pow-wow Patrol," *New Jersey Star Ledger*, 5 May 1992). Ethnic groups need symbols and rituals to mark their boundaries with non-members, symbols which must translate positively across the boundary lines if the goal of the group is to interact in a pluralist system (Anya Peterson Royce, *Ethnic Identity: Strategies of Diversity* [Bloomington, IN: Indiana Univ. Press, 1982], 7).

50. Laudin, 353; For the Powwow's impact on tribal identity see Clifton, 132, and J. Anthony Paredes, "The Emergence of Contemporary Eastern Creek Indian Identity," in *Social and Cultural Identity: Problems of Persistence and Change*, T. K. Fitzgerald, ed. (Athens, GA: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1974), 75-76.
51. Strong, "Shinnecock," 12-24, 28-32; H. Foster Saville, "A Montauk Cemetery at Easthampton, Long Island," in *Readings in Long Island Archaeology and Ethnohistory*, Gaynell Levine, ed. (Stony Brook: Suffolk County Archaeological Association, 1977), 17-29.
52. Hayes, 341-42.
53. Margo Thunder Bird to the author, 22 July 1944.
54. *Newsday*, 26 June 1989.
55. Charter members included Fred Bess, Diane Smith, Skip and Pat Hobson, Reginald and Tracey Gardner, Grace Valdez, Marguerite Bess, Doreen Dennis, Ben and Darlene Silva, and Dondi Williams.
56. Shinnecock Trustees, "The Shinnecock Oyster Project, Photographs by Wickham Hunter," in *Shinnecock*, 400.
57. Sherry Blakey-Smith to the author, 25 April 1994.
58. *Shinnecock Tribal Newsletter*, Nov.-Dec. 1992.
59. *Suffolk Sun*, 16 January 1967.
60. Michelle Johnson to the author, March 1994.
61. "Shinnecoaks Elect New Tribal Trustees," *Southampton Press*, 14 April 1994; Marguerite Smith to the author, April 1994. "History is Made," *Shinnecock Nation Cultural Center and Museum Newsletter*, Jan.-Feb., 1994:1.
62. Donna Collins to the author, 25 April 1994; *Shinnecock Nation Cultural Center and Museum*, 1 December 1993:1.
63. "First Clinic Opens on Reservation," *Southampton Press*, 3 February 1994.
64. Robert Cooper to the author, 21 April 1994 (the author spoke briefly on the Montauk land case at the 1993 meeting).
65. Hawk, 63-66, 76-83, 118-25; *Spirit of January*, monthly, by subscription, 4162 Old Village Station, Great Neck, NY 11027.
66. Margo Thunder Bird to the author, 20 April 1994; for the Jefferson vocabulary, see Gaynell Stone, ed., *Language and Lore of the Long Island Indians* (Stony Brook: SCAA, 1980), 17-19.
65. Lurie, "Contemporary American Indian Scene," 419.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid.

# The Revolutionary War and Its Aftermath in Suffolk County, Long Island

*By Gaetano L. Vincitorio*

Lexington, Bunker Hill, and other crises in 1775 impelled patriots on Long Island and elsewhere to press harder for independence from Britain. When the British were forced to evacuate Boston in March 1776, they regrouped in Halifax, Nova Scotia, and then decided to make New York City their principal base for defeat of the Revolution. From 25 June through 12 August, their commander, General Sir William Howe, assembled on Staten Island “the greatest expeditionary force Great Britain had ever sent out from its shores”—an army of thirty-two thousand well-armed professional soldiers and an armada of warships and transports manned by more than ten thousand seamen under his brother, Admiral Lord Richard Howe. On 22 August, General Howe ferried fifteen thousand troops across the Narrows to land on the shores of Gravesend Bay, where they were joined three days later by five thousand Hessian grenadiers.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, General Washington had split his nineteen-thousand-man army between Manhattan and Brooklyn, unsure which of the two Howe would choose to attack. When the British, in overwhelming force, assaulted the patriot lines on Brooklyn Heights, the vastly outnumbered Americans were unequal to the enormous task. After winning the decisive battle of 27 August 1776, the Howes failed to close in, allowing the beaten Continentals to slip away to Manhattan in a masterful, Dunkirk-like retreat. However, the British triumph enabled them to take control of the city as well as Long Island for the duration of the war. It took the victors less than six weeks to complete the occupation of the Island and the imposition of martial law.<sup>2</sup>

The rift between patriots and Loyalists deepened. The former were stronger in Suffolk, while Loyalists prevailed in Queens, Kings, and New York Counties. The outcome of the battle caused many patriots to flee to Connecticut, leaving behind their houses, farms, and livestock. For the next seven years they waged guerrilla “whaleboat warfare” against British and Tories on the Island. Connecticut-based troops, observed the historian Claude Van Tyne,

disarmed and confined known Loyalists, ferried many patriot families, with removable property, across the Sound, and then drove cattle, fourteen hundred head in a single day, into hiding, firing the grain fields,

dismantling the mills, and leaving misery and want in their wake.<sup>3</sup>

On 23 May 1777, Lieutenant Colonel Return Jonathan Meigs led 170 raiders from Guilford, Connecticut, to Southold, destroyed a dozen ships and provisions at Sag Harbor, and captured ninety prisoners without suffering any casualties. In another mission, on 30 November 1780, commanded by Major Benjamin Tallmadge, of Setauket, eighty men in whaleboats landed at Old Man's (the present Mount Sinai), and marched to Fort St. George in Mastic to destroy British supplies and capture more than fifty prisoners; on their way back, they burned three hundred tons of hay stacked at Coram. Patriot raids continued to assault British strong points along the Sound. On 3 October 1781, Major Lemuel Trescott captured Fort Slongo (later Salonga), east of Smithtown.<sup>4</sup>

Long Island patriots kept watch on enemy movements through an efficient intelligence operation often called the "Setauket Spy Ring" (which also functioned in Oyster Bay and Manhattan), directed from the mainland by Major Tallmadge, with the aid of fellow Long Islanders. In Setauket, Abraham Woodhull relayed information to Caleb Brewster, who then crossed the Sound alone at night in a whaleboat.<sup>5</sup>

To secure the British Navy against the French fleet that sailed into Newport, Rhode Island, in 1780, a fleet under Admiral Marriot Arbuthnot blockaded Gardiners Bay. Sir William Clinton, British commander-in-chief (1778-1782), admonished Arbuthnot that, if they lost control of Long Island, "a detachment of French and New England troops will be passed immediately over to Long Island, where they will be joined by most of the people at the east end of it, who are generally disaffected."<sup>6</sup>

The Revolution divided the loyalties of Americans. In one sense, they were in the grip of a bitter civil war. Many championed American independence; others supported George III and the mother country; a third group took a stance based on expedience rather than principle. Kenneth Roberts brilliantly described the times in his historical novels, from the patriot perspective in *Arundel* and *Rabble in Arms*, and from the Loyalist point of view in *Oliver Wiswell*.<sup>7</sup>

In the winter of 1776 and 1777, three battalions of Loyalists under Brigadier General Oliver De Lancey, a prominent New York Tory, wintered in Oyster Bay, Huntington, and Setauket, respectively. The 1st and 2d Battalions left the Island in May that year, but the 3d, commanded by De Lancey, remained for the duration and was at Lloyd Neck at the end of the war. British regulars were stationed in Southampton and East Hampton, and also manned a fort at Sag Harbor. The estimated number of British, Loyalist, and Hessian troops in 1779 on Long Island was 8,500 men, not counting militia. These were opposed from behind the lines by patriot farmers, craftsmen, merchants, and certain large proprietors like General William Floyd, of Mastic, a member of the Continental Congress and a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Floyd and thousands of other patriots took



refuge in Connecticut during the British occupation. Many leading families were linked by economic and marital connections, as exemplified by Mary Floyd, daughter of William, who wed Benjamin Tallmadge; her sister Charity, who married Ezra L'Hommedieu, of Southold; and Ruth, another sister, who became the wife of General Nathaniel Woodhull.<sup>8</sup>

Families supporting the Crown included the Gardiners of Gardiner's Island and East Hampton, the Nicolls of Islip, and some of the Smiths of Smithtown. Their enemies were patriots like the Porters and Wicks of Huntington, the Smiths of Moriches, the Thompsons of Sagtikos Manor, and the Woodhulls of Mastic.<sup>9</sup>

The Revolution occasioned family divisions, of which the Lloyds are an interesting example. When British troops occupied Queens Village, the family's manor on Lloyd Neck, John Lloyd and his uncle Joseph fled to Connecticut (Joseph later committed suicide). The British confiscated their estates, from which they cut 100,000 cords of timber and assigned about eight hundred Loyalists to serve as woodcutters as well as guards against Connecticut-based attack. On the other hand, some Lloyds supported the Crown. When Henry Lloyd II went to London, the patriots confiscated his estate, about seven hundred acres of farmland and a smaller parcel of salt meadow (his nephew John bought it in 1784 for £2,900). Patriots resented a base at Lloyd Neck at the disposal of a fleet, manned by associated Loyalists widely regarded as pirates, with the mission of attacking the New England coast. Van Tyne observed that "so many of these marauding ventures went forth under the cover of night that owls and ghosts, and thieves and Tories' came to be identified in Whig minds." An especially bitter enemy of the American cause was Colonel Benjamin Thompson (later Count Rumford, the accomplished scientist) who commanded a regiment known as the King's American Dragoons and supervised construction of Fort Golgotha, in Huntington, in 1782-1783. According to the historians Myron H. Luke and Robert W. Venables, not only was this fort useless because hostilities had ended, but Thompson "desecrated Huntington's old burying ground by pulling up the tombstones and using them as baking stones."<sup>10</sup>

The war took a heavy toll. The loss of life was tragic, and the destruction of property severely depleted the resources of the Island; insatiable demands for timber, foodstuffs, and other supplies exhausted supplies and produced scarcity. British officers requisitioned cattle, wood, forage, and fresh provisions from Island farmers, who had no other outlet for sale, and confiscated boats, mill, and arms in Suffolk. What these officers did not purchase was plundered by British soldiers, who stripped farmers of their foodstuffs, drink, and horses. Both Loyalists and patriots were victims, because their families and their customers were denied what they needed for survival.<sup>11</sup>

New York's legislature retaliated against Loyalists and Tories on Long Island and elsewhere in the state. On 1 April 1778, the Assembly passed "An Act to Enable the Persons Administering the Government of New York to

Remove Certain Disaffected and Dangerous Persons and Families.” This was followed on 22 October by an act of attainder that confiscated, among others, the estates and revenues of Thomas Jones, of Oyster Bay, and Richard Floyd (William’s cousin), of Mastic, who escaped with his family and did not return until 1789. Another act, of 30 March 1781, punished those who supported George III, and still another, of 6 April 1784, provided for the immediate sale of certain forfeited estates. The legislature, which “disfranchised and deprived of other civil rights all those who in any way lent comfort to British forces,” also passed the Trespass Act, in 1783. Its object, according to Allan Nevins, “was to enable any citizen, whose property had been occupied or entered upon by British authority during the occupation, to bring suit for damages against such occupant.”

British defeat at Yorktown late in 1781 signaled the end of foreign domination over the former thirteen colonies (though it took another two years to negotiate peace). The departure of the British from New York City and Long Island finally came late in 1783, when the last contingents embarked from Long Island on 4 December. The immediate result was relief, mixed with disorder. Even before the occupiers departed, vigilantes attacked some properties. On 23 August 1783, for example, the house of Israel Youngs in Cold Spring was attacked and its owner assaulted and robbed.<sup>13</sup>

### **The Aftermath of the Revolutionary War**

Seven years of fighting wrought much destruction. When William Floyd returned to Mastic in 1783, he found that much of his timber had been cut and his fences were in disrepair. Eventually, his son restored the house. On 15 July 1783, Sylvester Dering, of Shelter Island, wrote that:

We have removed from Connecticut \* are returned again to our farm on this Island, which has been very much damaged in Wood, Fences & Buildings during the late War...make this war a very unfortunate one for us, and we are not beginning the world as it were anew \* with a common blessing we shall put ourselves in as happy situation as we was [sic] before the War.<sup>14</sup>

Fortunately, the task of restoring farms and houses proceeded well and the forests filled in with time.

During the period of British occupation, Loyalists were dominant; however, after the British evacuation, those who had not fled to England, Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia found themselves at the mercy of their foes. A number of laws since 1778 aimed at New York Loyalists deprived them of their civil rights. Those attainted were forbidden to buy back their confiscated lands, and could not hold legislative, judicial, or executive office--prohibitions that affected an estimated 20 percent of Suffolk citizens. The state legislature rejected the recommendation of the Continental Congress to treat Loyalists leniently, in accordance with Article 5 of the Treaty of Peace

with Great Britain, of 3 September 1783, which provided that:

Congress shall earnestly recommend it to the Legislatures of the respective States to provide for the Restitution of all Estates, Rights and Properties which have been confiscated, belonging to real British subjects, and also of the Estates, Rights and Properties of persons resident in Districts in the possession of His Majesty's Arms, and who have not borne arms against the said United States.<sup>15</sup>

All told, one of every six inhabitants had fled Long Island.

Although some large Loyalist estates were divided into smaller lots for public sale, confiscation did not go as far as it might have. Considering that the occupation lasted until December 1783, the popular outcry for revenge cooled off since the more inflamed early years of the Revolution.

Although the colonial elite retained considerable influence until about 1800, it began losing its authority earlier. One commentator observed, "No longer did common folk pay them the customary deference." Another effect of the Revolution was to alter the ownership of land and certain features of land law designed to preserve a landholding aristocracy. In addition to confiscation of Loyalist property, New York ended entail and primogeniture.<sup>16</sup>

Gardiner's Island typified family control over properties. On 7 March 1788, New York State annexed Gardiner's Island to the town of East Hampton, and to the state. However, when the practice of primogeniture ended, the Gardiners did not lose their grip over family property. John Lyon Gardiner, who reached his majority in 1791, became the seventh proprietor as well as a prominent and active Long Islander.<sup>17</sup>

The Revolution produced some remarkable women. Ruth Floyd Woodhull, upon hearing that her husband Nathaniel lay mortally wounded after the Battle of Long Island, drove a wagon from their Mastic estate to his British prison in New Utrecht. After his death a few days later (20 September 1776), she returned to Mastic with the body of her heroic husband for burial in the family graveyard. With her brother Robert, Sarah (Sally) Townsend became a key member of the Long Island spy ring after the British chose her family's home in Oyster Bay for their headquarters. Having learned that Benedict Arnold planned to surrender West Point to the British, Sally sent a message across the Sound to Major Benjamin Tallmadge, the leader of the spy ring, that resulted in the arrest of Arnold's colleague, Major John André. An outstanding member of the "Setauket Spy Chain" was Anna Smith Strong, of Strong's Neck, Setauket, who conveyed information according to the pattern of washing on her clothesline.<sup>18</sup>

Mary Beth Norton maintains that the American Revolution changed American notions of womanhood and broke the barrier insulating women from politics. They had to be caught up in changes resulting from the British occupation. Like their sisters elsewhere, Long Island women organized mass spinning bees to revive the craft of homespun; wrote poems and essays to encourage patriotism; boycotted British goods; and showed their distaste for

the British practice of quartering troops in civilian homes.<sup>19</sup>

Population figures before the first national census (1790) are useful, if not always accurate. Table 1 estimates the population of Suffolk County in 1771.

**Table 1**

WHITE			BLACK		
<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total White</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total Black</u>
5,912	5,764	11,676	798	654	1,452

Source: *Edgar J. McManus, A History of Negro Slavery in New York* (Syracuse University Press, 1966), Appendix, 199.

In comparison, the population of Queens was 10,980, New York City 21,863.<sup>20</sup>

The Census of 1790, the first taken under the Constitution, showed a total population of 3,929,214. Table 2 summarizes data for New York State and Long Island:

**Table 2**

Location	Population
New York State	340,211
New York City	60,489
Westchester County	23,941
Long Island	36,949
Queens	16,014
Kings	4,495
Suffolk	16,440
Southampton	3,408
Brookhaven	3,224
Huntington	3,260
Southold	3,219
Easthampton (then one word)	1,497
Smithtown	1,022
Islip	609
Shelter Island	201

Source: *McManus*, 199.

From 1771 to 1786, the white population increased by 47 percent, while the slave and free black population decreased by about 5 percent. By 1790, free blacks in Suffolk numbered 1,126 and slaves 1,098 (the white population was 14,216); blacks comprised 7.6 percent of the population of New York State. Some small farmers owned one or two slaves.<sup>21</sup>

A well-to-do proprietor, John Lloyd II, owned fourteen slaves in 1790. The Lloyds had the reputation of providing good care for these slaves, the most famous of whom was Jupiter Hammon (1711-ca.1790), the first widely read black writer in America. Although he did not make a plea for emancipation, he

believed that slavery was wrong and young blacks should be freed.<sup>22</sup>

The Revolution brought some relief. Black veterans of the Continental forces were freed, as were slaves of Loyalists who fled the state. According to the historian Benjamin Quarles, "Since the war had been fought in the name of liberty, many Americans were led to reflect seriously upon the impropriety of holding men in bondage."<sup>23</sup>

However, the pace of emancipation was slow, as the Articles of Confederation Congress, with its limited powers and strong Southern presence, failed to grapple with slavery and the slave trade, except for the far-sighted Ordinance of 1787 that banned the institution from the entire Northwest Territory. Certain states progressed faster, like Massachusetts, whose 1780 constitution effectively ended slavery. In 1785, the New York state legislature provided for gradual emancipation, and a 1799 law freed the children of slaves born after 4 July 1799 (at the age of twenty-eight for males and twenty-five for females). On Long Island, encouraged by Quaker manumissions, the number of freed people increased, most notably in Suffolk where Brookhaven counted 275 and Southampton 284 (some of whom intermarried with Shinnecock and other Indians not usually counted in census figures). Racial prejudice unfortunately persisted.<sup>24</sup>

By the end of the eighteenth century, the Indian presence was minimal on Long Island. As the historian Peter Ross commented, "the main weapon which led to destruction of the aborigines, more deadly, more certain, more widespread than the ruin caused by the musket, by disease or by persecution, was rum." For example, in 1761 there were 192 Montauks; by 1827, five families remained (about twenty persons). In 1798, John Lyon Gardiner lamented that "there are only four or five who speak the Indian language...in a few years more, it will be gone forever."<sup>25</sup>

New and broadened educational institutions were needed. After Governor Clinton told the 1784 legislature that "neglect of the education of youth is among the evils consequent of war," it appointed a committee on education. An immense task confronted reformers, as no established system of elementary or secondary schools existed before the Revolution. The Board of Regents in 1793 urged the establishment of schools and the allotment of public funds. The most notable achievement in Suffolk was the Regents' 1784 incorporation of Clinton Academy, in East Hampton. The female academies that followed in the wake of the other schools founded in the 1780s produced "a generation of literate women."<sup>26</sup>

Eastern Long Island had many contacts with New England, especially with Connecticut. The Sound was both a barrier and an avenue of communication. The town of Southold was founded by a congregation from New Haven; Southampton by one from Lynn, Massachusetts. New England's influence was evident in architecture, as in the Connecticut salt-box house, and the custom of building houses along both sides of main streets, as in East Hampton. Contacts between clergy and school teachers were frequent and important.<sup>28</sup>

Timothy Dwight, a past president of Yale College who visited Long Island

in 1804, commented that the character of Suffolk originated in New England. In his view, the people were

distinguished [from their neighbors in the two western counties] by their names, their pronunciation, their manners, their attachment to the education of their children, their intelligence, their morals, and their religion. All of these are of New England origin.

And, to a modern historian, Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, Suffolk was “distinctly an outpost of New England civilization.”<sup>28</sup>

Dwight contended that the people of all three Long Island counties had few ties to the outside world: “Almost all their concerns are absolutely confined to the house, or to the neighborhood: and the neighborhood rarely extends beyond the confines of a small hamlet.” In his judgment, “Comparatively few persons of talent and information reside here...a considerable number of such men born here are accordingly found in New York City and elsewhere.”<sup>29</sup>

Dwight's view reflects the patronizing view of a quintessential Connecticut Yankee. Compare him with Nathaniel S. Prime, the nineteenth-century Long Island historian, who gave a different description of the English emigrants who became the first settlers of Suffolk and most of Queens: “Some of them had resided for a short time in New England, while others had only made a stop there, to obtain information in regard to the new world.” Because the colonies both of New Haven and Connecticut were founded in 1638, the Southold pioneers of 1640 could have dwelt no more than two years in New England; the same applies to the 1640 founders of Southampton, who departed from Lynn, Massachusetts in 1638 after selecting Long Island over New England as a better place to raise cattle. Long Island's East End found itself beyond the orbit of domination, far distant from the centers of Dutch and British power. The early towns, wrote Prime, 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, 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.” Their formation as scale-model city-states set the tone for the South Fork towns' enduring allegiance to freedom.<sup>30</sup>

In the judgment of Alexander C. Flick, probably the most important result of the Revolution was that the masses of people believed that somehow a mighty change had occurred and “they acted under this conviction.” Once the patriots overthrew British rule they created a new kind of nation, a constitutional republic with no established church or hereditary ruling class. On 10 July 1776, after endorsing the Declaration of Independence, the Provincial Congress of the Colony of New York transformed itself into the Convention of the Representatives of the State of New York, and soon after

appointed a committee to frame the state constitution. The session of the convention that adopted the state constitution in April 1777 included four deputies from Suffolk but none from Loyalist Kings or Queens, although the document provided for an eventual seventy-member assembly with five delegates from Suffolk, four from Queens, and two from Kings. The new constitution acknowledged the eight towns of Suffolk: Brookhaven, East Hampton, Huntington, Islip, Shelter Island, Smithtown, Southampton, and Southold (Riverhead was spun off from Southold in 1792, Babylon from Huntington in 1872). Town meetings before and after the Revolution were vital parts of political life, expressing views, passing regulations, and judging cases. The constitution confirmed popular election of supervisors and other town officials, although the citizens of Suffolk were precluded from voting during the British occupation from 1776 to 1783.<sup>31</sup>

From the end of the Revolution until the adoption of the Constitution, Suffolk politics were lively and acrimonious, exacerbated by hard times and the depreciation of paper money. Long Island delegates attended the 1788 convention which met in Poughkeepsie to consider ratification of the federal Constitution. Although Suffolk (and Queens) elected an antifederalist slate, all but one of its delegates joined the other Long Islanders present in voting for ratification, albeit with reservations; the convention's narrow passage of ratification, thirty to twenty-seven, was based on the delegates' "full confidence" that a bill of rights would follow. The Suffolk dissenter, Thomas Tredwell, a lawyer from Smithtown, feared a new government might reduce state powers, opposed the clause permitting the slave trade to continue for twenty years, and, like many of his colleagues, deplored the lack of a bill of rights. Long Island elected General William Floyd of Mastic to the First Congress (1789-91), and the nay-sayer, Thomas Tredwell to the Second (1791-1795); General Floyd's grandson, John Gelston Floyd, served later, both from Utica (1839-43) and from Mastic (1851-53). In the era of the early Republic, eastern Long Island became a center of opposition to the Federalist administrations of George Washington and John Adams.<sup>32</sup>

A memorable event in the history of Suffolk was a visit in April 1790 by President Washington, who traveled along the South Shore to Sagtikos Manor and points east, turned north through Coram to Setauket, and westward to the city by way of Huntington and Oyster Bay. Washington's diary of his trip reveals his keen interest in agriculture, from crop yields to the advantages of applying fertilizer.<sup>33</sup>

### **Suffolk Meets Postwar Challenges**

That Long Island was bounded by bay, ocean and Sound profoundly influenced life in Suffolk. Fine harbors on the East End and along the North Shore provided access to New York City, New England, the rest of the East Coast, the Caribbean, and Europe. Hundreds of small vessels engaged in coastal trading, while enterprising fishermen netted abundant catches from

surrounding waters and the Atlantic. Whaling, which began in colonial times, blossomed into a major industry; during the nineteenth-century deep-sea “golden age,” the ports of Cold Spring Harbor, Greenport, and, especially, Sag Harbor were whaling centers second only to Nantucket, New Bedford, and New London.<sup>34</sup>

Shipping, shipbuilding, and allied trades, were mainstays of the economy. Ferries carried passengers, goods, and commodities between Brooklyn and Manhattan, and from Suffolk and Queens to the city and Westchester. After 1789, a ferry crossed from Huntington Harbor to Norwalk, Connecticut. Moreover, ocean-going vessels docked in many East End and western Long Island harbors. A symbol of the importance of shipping was the opening in spring 1797 (Congress appropriated \$255.12 to buy the land) of the lighthouse at Montauk Point, designed by Ezra L’Hommedieu.<sup>35</sup>

Travel by ship, barge, and ferry was easier and more convenient than by wagon on primitive roads. Before the Revolution, it took three days for a stage coach to carry its passengers and mail from Brooklyn Ferry to Sag Harbor, via the Hempstead Plains, Smithtown, and St. George’s Manor. Long Island and New York City derived mutual benefit from their extensive trade. The latter’s food supply depended in part on the bounty of the former. New Yorkers subsisted on cattle, chicken, pigs, sheep, game, many fruit and vegetables, grain, Indian corn, eggs, fish, and oysters from Long Island, whose economy grew.<sup>36</sup>

Sag Harbor, with its excellent harbor, was designated by the First Congress in 1789 as a port of entry and the location of a customs house. There was a triangular trade between Sag Harbor, New England, and Caribbean ports dealing in rum, sugar, and molasses. At one time, more ships engaged in foreign trade were in Sag Harbor than in New York Harbor. In 1791, in Sag Harbor, David Frothingham began to publish the *Long Island Herald*, the Island’s first newspaper. When Dwight visited in 1804, he reported that the townsmen had three ships in whale fishery on the coast of Brazil and some fifty other vessels. The village had about 120 houses, most of them built along a winding street ending at the shore. There was “an appearance of thrift,” he continued, because several residents had accumulated considerable wealth from trade, fishing, and shipbuilding.<sup>37</sup>

Dwight also took note of East Hampton,

built principally on a single street, running very nearly from North-East to South-West. Its site is a perfect level. It is compactly built; and contains an ancient Presbyterian church; an academy; and about one hundred dwelling-houses.

He found “a general air of equality, simplicity, and quiet [and] a large number of virtuous citizens.”<sup>38</sup>

The occupation took a heavy toll on forests. According to Lois J. Meyer,



“At the end of the war no tree on Long Island over six inches in circumference was left standing except the Great Oak in Lloyd Neck. Most fences and orchards were also used as firewood by the British troops in Huntington and New York City.”

This may be an overstatement, as a large part of Suffolk's 640,000 acres was covered by forest, with cordwood both a source of fuel for the Island's residents and a cash commodity sold in New York City and elsewhere. Dwight observed that half the forests consisted of yellow pine and the remainder of chestnut, hickory, and oak. Abundant game found cover in the woods and was an important source of food. When fires devastated the forests, the resilient pitch pine and scrub oak continued to grow in a wide belt from Farmingdale to the East End.<sup>39</sup>

Like their fellow Americans everywhere, 90 percent or more of Long Islanders depended on farming for their living. The size of farms was about one hundred to one hundred and fifty acres, fenced in by rails or posts. The soil was generally fertile, with some of the richest on necks such as Lloyd Neck, enriched with shells and fish by the Indians before the coming of white settlers. In some localities, springs furnished pure water for personal and farm use.

People lived in relative isolation, far from the scattered towns and the city. Daily life for men, women, and children was frontier-like in its rigorous hard work, a life style that encouraged self-reliance and a belief in social equality. Farmers raised wheat, rye, barley, oats, corn, flax, grasses for hay, and a wide variety of vegetables, grazed cattle and sheep on their pastures, and tended fruit trees in their orchards. Dwight was impressed by the fruit of the North Shore: “No where do they more generally, or in greater abundance, yield fruit of [such] excellent quality.”<sup>40</sup>

One writer suggests that the county had more cattle and sheep than its neighbors in New York or New England. The “agricultural revolution” in eighteenth-century England, France, and America increased crop yields and the weight of cattle. Among Suffolk County's agricultural leaders was Ezra L'Hommedieu, the Southold patriot and public servant, who wrote in 1795 that yields could be increased if the soil were enriched by manure or by fish. In addition to serving in rebel and post-Revolutionary government, he was active in the New York Society for Promoting Agriculture, Arts, and Manufactures, founded in 1791, and a prime mover in forming the state Board of Regents in 1784, to which he belonged until his death in 1811.<sup>41</sup>

Each locality had a mill, powered by water or wind, which ground wheat for flour for local people, New Yorkers, or other consumers along the East coast. Although farm families made many of their own implements and furniture, skilled craftsmen were highly prized, including mechanics, shipwrights, sailmakers, carpenter-cabinet makers, saddlers, and seamstresses in this predominantly agricultural county.

The primarily Calvinist churches of Suffolk played important parts in the lives of most people. However, a “fluidity of religious loyalties” existed.

Brookhaven Presbyterians, for example, “saw nothing wrong in hearing Anglican prayers and sermons, especially when they lacked a minister of their own faith.” This syncretic tendency was accompanied by a certain relaxation of the strict faith of the early settlers. William W. Sweet, a historian of colonial religion, contends that, “By the end of the colonial period, there had come to be more unchurched people in the American colonies in proportion to the population than were to be found anywhere else in Christendom.”<sup>42</sup>

Many of the nation's founding political and intellectual leaders espoused the ideas of the “Age of Reason”: as stated by Sydney E. Ahlstrom, a modern historian of religion, “The American nation was born in the full illumination of the Enlightenment, and this fact would permanently distinguish it from every other major power in the world.” The revolutionary generation was led by Deists like Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Paine, philosophical liberals who acknowledged but did not formally worship a Supreme Being, and helped to create a republic in which church and state were separate and there could be no religious test for office.<sup>43</sup>

However, massive numbers of Americans continued to look toward the clergy for guidance. Bernard Bailyn, a keen observer of the colonial scene, observes:

For the vast majority of Americans it was the clerics who provided the continuing contacts with the explicit, articulate cultural inheritance. They were the main agents of transmission, and the way they fulfilled this role affected the character of evolving culture.

Congregational and Presbyterian clerics were foremost in the ideological struggle against the British and imperial control. In truth, they were agents of political change. A nineteenth-century editor closed the introduction to *The Pulpit of the American Revolution* with this exclamation: “To the Pulpit, the Puritan Pulpit, We Owe the Moral Force Which Won Our Independence.”<sup>44</sup>

Churches following the Calvinist tradition were influential on eastern Long Island, with strong links to New England. Presbyterian churches were established in 1640 in Southampton by a congregation from Lynn, Massachusetts, and in Southold by one from New Haven. Important congregations gathered in East Hampton, Huntington, and Setauket. Among widely known ministers were the Rev. Samuel Buell, pastor in East Hampton from 1746 to 1798, and the Rev. Ebenezer Prime, of Huntington, both of whom vigorously supported the patriot cause. British and Tory forces retaliated by desecrating Presbyterian churches and forbade the Presbytery of Suffolk from meeting from 1775 to 1784. When peace came, Presbyterians arranged their church government on a national basis.<sup>45</sup>

Except in New England, the Church of England was established almost everywhere in the colonies before the Revolution. The Caroline Church, in Setauket, the first of the few Anglican churches in Suffolk, was founded in 1730. Until after the Revolution, Anglican congregations were part of the

Diocese of London, a major bone of contention with American Calvinist denominations. In 1784, the Anglican church in America became the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America, and continued to attract a number of wealthy and educated adherents. Other denominations included Methodists, Baptists, Quakers, Lutherans, Moravians, Dutch Reformed, and German Reformed. The A.M.E. and A.M.E. Zion Churches were organized toward the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>46</sup>

As for the small clusters of Roman Catholics in the thirteen colonies at the opening of the Revolutionary era, according to Sweet, "The deep-seated prejudice with which they were everywhere regarded almost beggars description." When the Quebec Act of 1774 established the Catholic Church in this newly acquired British province,

The colonial argument ran like this: if Roman Catholicism can be established by the British Parliament in one British colony, what is to hinder its establishment in other colonies? The plain justice of the Act was entirely lost upon...patriot orators, who found that "Popery and Arbitrary Power" was one of the most effective rallying cries, since to the great majority of American colonists the danger from Roman Catholicism seemed very real.

Except in Quebec, however, the British did not relax the harsh laws against Catholics at home, in Ireland, and in their other colonies. To eliminate them in the thirteen colonies would have infuriated those latter-day Puritans who perceived the hierarchical Catholic Church as the enemy of free government and their interpretation of the Bible.<sup>47</sup>

On the other hand, in his history of colonial New York, Michael Kammen observes that, by 1777, "freedom of conscience had become characteristic of the colony as a whole and was one of the salient attributes of thought and culture in New York after mid-century." In a "genuine benchmark in New York's movement toward complete secularization," article 38 of the state constitution (adopted in 1777) proclaimed "that the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall forever be allowed within this State to all mankind." The Franco-American alliance disposed American leaders to be more sympathetic to the Catholic minority, and, in 1784, a New York law gave further legal protection to priests in saying mass and exercising their ministry. Finally, the federal Constitution assured national religious freedom by building a wall between church and state, a condition heralded by the "official toleration" and "formal separation" guaranteed by New York State.<sup>48</sup>

Political and religious equality under New York's constitution also extended to its Jewish minority, which Howard M. Sachar estimates at three hundred to three hundred and fifty of the two thousand Jews in America in 1776. According to Arthur Herzberg, "Most [American] Jews were partisans of the Revolution, but a pronounced minority were Loyalists"; Sydney E. Ahlstrom contends that although of divided opinion, like most colonials, they

“tended toward the Patriot cause, in which one of their number, Haym Salomon, participated actively.”<sup>49</sup>

The Revolution and its aftermath were important in the development of Suffolk. Loss of life and property was high; scarcity of goods and services led to soaring prices; and economic and social disorders strained society. Among those who suffered most during the war were patriots forced to flee to the mainland, and, afterwards, the attainted Loyalists who fled to Canada or Britain and lost their careers and property. The Trespass Act of 4 May 1784 imposed a £100,000 fine on the Southern District, which included Westchester and Long Island, “as compensation to other parts of the state, they not having been in condition to take an active part in the war.” Long Island’s share was £37,000. In “Hardships Imposed by the State Legislature,” a section of his 1824 history, Silas Wood deplored the fine imposed on occupied Long Island “for not having been in a condition to take an active part in the war against the country!”<sup>50</sup>

Nevertheless, the American Revolution was not followed by a reign of terror, as in France, or by a total war like twentieth-century conflicts characterized by unlimited destruction of non-combatants and property. Some Suffolk farmers and merchants profited from their neighbors’ distress. Moreover, Suffolk’s farms and forests, its surrounding water teeming with fish and shellfish, its advantageous location, and, especially, its freedom-loving, hard-working people, not only compensated for wartime losses but promoted prosperity.<sup>51</sup>

The hard realities of military or civil life were the furnace that tested American mettle. The ideals of the Revolution—though not always fully realized—somehow energized the war-weary in Suffolk and throughout the former thirteen colonies. As the historian Richard Alden concluded his history of the Revolution: “The patriots won independence; they also made a good start on the long run toward establishing and securing the `rights of mankind.’”<sup>52</sup> The energy and optimism of Long Islanders virtually assured that they would benefit from and participate in the prosperity and progress of the American Republic.

#### NOTES

1. Christopher Ward, *The War of the Revolution*, ed. John Richard Alden, 2 vols (New York: Macmillan, 1952), 1:208-9; Myron H. Luke and Robert Venables, *Long Island in the American Revolution* (Albany: New York State American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, 1976), 19-25; see also Alexander C. Flick, ed., *The American Revolution in New York: Its Political, Social and Economic Significance* (1926; reprint, Port Washington: Ira J. Friedman, 1967), and James E. Bunce and Richard P. Harmond, *Long Island As America: A Documentary History to 1896* (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1977), 69-81.

2. For the Battle of Long Island, see Ward, 216-37; Luke and Venables, 19-31; James Thomas Flexner, *George Washington in the American Revolution (1775-1783)* (Boston: Little Brown, 1967, 1968), chap. 12; Henry Onderdonk Jr., *Revolutionary Incidents of Suffolk and Kings Counties* (1849; reprint, Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1970), 132-65; see also Lois J. Meyer, *The Irony of Submission: The British Occupation of Huntington and Long Island 1776-1783* (Huntington: Town Historian, Rufus B. Langhans, 1992), 1-37; Claude H. Van Tyne, *The War of*

*Independence: American Phase* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1929), 289-90; for the British perspective, see Piers Mackesy, *The War for America 1775-1783* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1964).

3. Van Tyne, 290; Frederic Gregory Mather, *The Refugees of 1776 from Long Island to Connecticut* (Albany, 1929); whaleboats were about thirty feet long, pointed at both ends, and could be navigated by a few oarsmen (Mary Voyse and Sydney Bivin, *History of Eaton's Neck Long Island* [n.p., 1955], 32).

4. Alvin R. L. Smith, *Maj. Benjamin Tallmadge Trail: The Capture of Fort St. George and the Burning of Hay at Coram, L.I., N.Y.* (Town of Brookhaven, 1980); John Reynolds, *Long Island Behind the Lines During the Revolution* (Setauket: Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities (SPLIA), 1960), 33-35; see also Onderdonk, 95-99, and Marilyn E. Weigold, *The American Mediterranean* (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1974), 15-28; the first Purple Heart medal was awarded for action at Fort Slongo.

5. Morton Pennypacker, *General Washington's Spies on Long Island and in New York* (Brooklyn: Long Island Historical Society, 1939); James Fenimore Cooper recreated these operations in *The Spy* (1821), and lived in Sag Harbor while writing the novel.

6. "Lloyd's Neck seems...important both as a refugee shelter, from which they could assist the British under a pretense of semi-security and as a shipping and supply dock" (Meyer, 16); William B. Willcox, ed., *The American Rebellion: Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative of His Campaign, 1775-1782* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1954), 47-48, 479.

7. Kenneth Roberts, *Arundel* (Garden City, Doubleday, 1930); *Rabble in Arms* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1933), and *Oliver Wiswell* (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran, 1940).

8. Reynolds, 28; Luke and Venables, 35-36; William Q. Maxwell, *A Portrait of William Floyd, Long Islander* (Setauket: SPLIA, 1956), 5; see also L. Carroll Judson, *The Sages and Heroes of the American Revolution* (1851; reprint, Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1970; Maxwell, 6-7; for Nathaniel Woodhull, see Silas Wood, *A Sketch of the First Settlement of the Several Towns of Long Island, with their Political Condition, to the End of the American Revolution* (1824; reprint, in *Historical Chronicles of New Amsterdam, Colonial New York and Early Long Island*, Cornell Jaray, ed. (1865; reprint, Port Washington: Ira J. Friedman, 1968), 123-39.

9. Maxwell, 7.

10. Kenneth Scott and Susan E. Klaffky, *A History of the Joseph Lloyd Manor House* (Setauket: SPLIA, 1976), 26-29; Claude H. Van Tyne, *The Loyalists in the American Revolution* (1929; reprint, Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1959), 182; Voyse and Bevin, 32; Luke and Venables, 46, 44.

11. Van Tyne, *Loyalists*, 289; Wood, 119-22.

12. Benjamin F. Thompson, *History of Long Island From Its Discovery and Settlement to the Present Time*, 3rd. ed., (1849; reprint, Charles J. Warner, ed., Port Washington: Ira J. Friedman, 1952) 2:452; Allan Nevins, *The American States During and After the Revolution 1775-1789* (1924; reprint, New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1969), 273, 269.

13. For Israel Youngs, see Zell Morris Gould and Henrietta M. Klaber, *Colonial Huntington 1653-1800* (Huntington: Huntington Historical Society, 1960), 76, and Onderdonk, 18-19.

14. Dering, quoted in Dean Failey, *Long Island Is My Nation* (Setauket: SPLIA, 1976), 151; see also Ralph G. Duvall, *The History of Shelter Island 1652-1932* (Shelter Island Heights: n.p., 1933), chaps. 8 and 9; Thompson 1:468-69; Helen Otis Lamont, *The Story of Shelter Island in the Revolution* (Shelter Island Historical Society, 1978).

15. For the Treaty of Paris see Richard B. Morris, *The Peacemakers: The Great Powers and American Independence* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), 463.

16. Frank Monaghan, "The Results of the Revolution," in Alexander C. Flick, *History of the State of New York* 10 vols. (Port Washington: Ira J. Friedman, 1962) 4:325; see J. Franklin Jameson's seminal essay, *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement* (1926; reprint, Boston: Beacon Press, 1956), chap. 2.

17. Henry Isham Hazelton, *The Boroughs of Brooklyn and Queens, Counties of Nassau and*

*Suffolk, Long Island, New York, 1660-1924* (New York: Lewis Historical Publications, 1925) 2:777; Failey, 156; John Lyon (most Gardiners with this name spelled it Lion) Gardiner, "Notes and Memorandums Concerning Gardiners Island, Written in May 1798 by John Lyon Gardiner the Present Proprietor of That Island," *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1859* (New York, 1970), 270-71.

18. Edna H. Yeager, "Long Island's Unsung Revolutionary War Heroines," in *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine*, October 1975, 907-11; for longer accounts see Mollie Somerville, *Women and the American Revolution* (Washington: National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, 1974); Mrs. Alton B. Parker, "Mothers of New York," in Flick, *New York 4*, 283-319; *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800* (Boston: Little Brown, 1980), chap. 7.; Thomas R. Bayles, *During the Revolution in Brookhaven Town* (Brookhaven Town Bicentennial Commission, 1980), 11-13; Catherine Currie, *Anna Smith Strong and the Setauket Spy Ring* (Setauket, 1992).

19. Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1980), chap. 7; see Parker, "Reflections on Women in the Age of the American Revolution," in Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert, eds., *Women in the Age of the American Revolution* (Charlottesville, VA: Univ. Press of Virginia, 1981); Sara M. Evans, *Born For Liberty: A History of Women in America* (New York: The Free Press, 1989), 49-51; Sally Smith Booth, *The Women of '76* (New York: Hastings House, 1973).

20. Edgar J. McManus, *A History of Negro Slavery in New York* (Syracuse Univ. Press, 1966), Appendix, 199, which includes this 1776 census cited from Everts Greene and Virginia Harrington, *American Population Before 1790* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1932):

**Suffolk County Census, 1776**

Town	Whites		Negroes
	Male	Female	Male and Female
Shelter Island	69	72	33
Brookhaven	1,012	1,019	142
St. George's Manor* and Meritches	135	157	84
Southold	1,436	1,510	234
Smithtown	285	270	161
Easthampton	615	635	67
Islip	167	148	60
Southampton W.	666	695	61
Southampton E.	683	747	103
Totals	5,068	5,253	945

Total population: 11,266

\*Old spelling of Moriches; both St. George's Manor and the Moriches Patent were added to the town of Brookhaven, March 1788.

21. McManus, 172, 176, 199; cf. Grania Bolton Marcus points out that in 1790 Suffolk had 2,236 blacks (13.5 percent of the population), about half of whom were slaves, and that 54.8 percent of slaveholding farmers held only one slave, while 33.9 percent held two (*A Forgotten People: Discovering the Black Experience in Suffolk County* (Setauket: SPLIA, 1988), 3-4.

22. For Hammon see Stanley Austin Ransom, ed., *America's First Negro Poet: the Complete Works of Jupiter Hammon of Long Island* (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1970), and Marcus, 64-68.

23. Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973), 185.

24. Romanah Sammis, *Huntington-Babylon Town History* (Huntington Historical Society, 1937), 17; Marcus, 88.
25. Jason Epstein and Elizabeth Barlow, *East Hampton: A History and Guide* (Sag Harbor: Medway Press, 1975), 35; Peter Ross, *A History of Long Island From Its Earliest Settlement to the Present Day* (New York: Lewis Publishing Company, 1905) 1:32-33; Gaynell Stone, "Long Island as America: A New Look at the First Inhabitants," *LIHJ* 1 (Spring 1989): 159:69.
26. Monaghan 3:346-47; Bunce and Harmond, 84-87.
27. Monaghan 3:323; Jean B. Osaan, *Henry Lloyd's Salt Box Manor House* (Huntington: Lloyd Harbor Historical Society, 1978, 1982).
28. Timothy Dwight, "Journey to Long Island," *Travels: In New England and New York*, 4 vols., ed. Barbara Miller Solomon (1822; reprint, Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1969) 3:220-21; Thomas Jefferson Wertebaker, *The Founding of American Civilization: The Middle Colonies* (New York: Cooper Square Publications, 1967), 113.
29. Dwight 3:221, 234-35.
30. 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.
31. Flick, *American Revolution*, 227, 284; 220-33, 328, 335; for the text of New York's constitution see 326-39; see also Nevins, 157-64; John Fiske, *Civil Government in the United States Considered With Some Reference to Its Origins* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1890), 79; Fiske cites G. E. Howard, *Local Constitutional History* (1889) 1:3, for the 1703 law requiring towns to elect supervisors.
32. For the Poughkeepsie Convention, see Luise Weiss, "The Election of Long Island Delegates to the New York State Convention to Consider the Federal Constitution," *LIHJ* 1 (Fall 1988): 71-80; in analyzing the political struggle on Long Island, Richard P. Harmond perceives self-interest in the supporters of the Constitution in "Class, Status, and Power: Long Islanders in Congress, 1789-1899," *LIHJ* 4 (Fall 1991): 63-73; see also E. Wilder Spaulding, *New York in the Critical Period 1783-1789* (1932; reprint, Port Washington: Ira J. Friedman, 1963).
33. For Washington's trip, see Seon Manley, *Long Island Discovery* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1966), 91-96.
34. For early whaling, see John Strong, "Shinnecock and Montauk Whalemen," *LIHJ* 2 (Fall 1989); for the deep-sea era, with emphasis on Sag Harbor, Greenport, and Cold Spring Harbor, see Floris Barnett Cash, "African American Whalers: Images and Reality," *LIHJ* 2 (Fall 1989): 41-51.
35. Robert J. Hefner, "Montauk Point Lighthouse: A History of New York's First Seamark," *LIHJ* 3 (Spring 1991): 209.
36. See Moreau de St. Méry, *American Journey [1793-1798]* (trans. and ed. Kenneth Roberts and Anna N. Roberts; Garden City: Doubleday, 1947), 166-67.
37. George A. Finckenor Sr., *Tales of Sag Harbor: Sag Harbor, Long Island, Development and Early History, with Emphasis on the Whaling Industry* (Sag Harbor, 1980), n.p.; for the first Long Island newspaper, see Steven R. Coleman, "Political Journalism in the 1790s: Frothingham's *Long Island Herald*," *LIHJ* 4 (Fall 1991); Dwight 3:226.
38. Dwight 3:216-19; for East Hampton, see Ilse O'Sullivan, *East Hampton and the American Revolution* (East Hampton: Town Bicentennial Commission, Long Island East, 1970); *Our Hampton Heritage*, ed. Elaine Benson (Bridgehampton: Dan's Papers Ltd., 1983), 26.
39. Dwight 3:302; Meyer, 37.
40. J. L. Mesick, *The English Traveller in America 1785-1835* (1922; reprint, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1970, 155; Dwight 3:212.
41. Maxwell, 11; Bunce and Harmond, 88-90; *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "L'Hommedieu, Ezra."

42. Alice M. Baldwin, *The New England Clergy and the American Revolution* (Durham, NC, 1928); Flick, *American Revolution*, 241-44; Robert E. Cray Jr., "Anglicans in the Puritan Domain: Clergy and Laity in Eastern Long Island, 1693-1776," *LIHJ* 2 (Fall 1989): 193-94; William Warren Sweet, *Religion in Colonial America* (1942; reprint, New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1965), 334.
43. Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1972), 362; for Deism, see Kerry S. Walters, *The American Deists: Voices of Reason and Dissent in the Early Republic* (Lawrence, KS: Univ. Press of Kansas, 1992), and G. Adolph Koch, *Republican Religion: The American Revolution and the Cult of Deism* (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1964).
44. Bernard Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study* (Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1960), 91; John Wingate Thornton, ed., *The Pulpit of the American Revolution* (1860; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1970) xxxviii.
45. *Our Hampton Heritage*, 21; the first four permanent Presbyterian churches in the future United States were on Long Island, in Southold (1640), Southampton (1641), Newtown (1642), and Hempstead (1644).
46. Winthrop S. Hudson, *Religion in America* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965), 109-20; Sweet, *Religion in the Development of American Culture 1765-1840* (1952; reprint, Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1963), 14-26, 67-75, and passim; for the early history of Suffolk churches, see Prime 1:125-30.
47. Sweet, *Religion in American Culture*, 46; according to John C. Miller, "American propagandists enjoyed a field day in conjuring up bugbears from the Quebec Act...pictured...as a deep-laid plot to turn the empire over to the Pope. By associating those twin malefactors, the Pope and the Devil, with the British Ministry, the patriots succeeded in establishing a close connection between the infernal regions, Rome, and Whitehall" (Miller, *Origins of the American Revolution* [Boston: Little, Brown, 1943], 374); Ahlstrom explains the First Continental Congress's denunciation of the Quebec Act somewhat differently: "To a philosophe like Thomas Jefferson, the Roman Catholic was simply the most powerful--and therefore the most dangerous--institutionalization of medieval superstition, sectarian narrowness, and monarchical despotism in religion" (Ahlstrom, 556); for the forming and expansion of Roman Catholicism in America, see Ahlstrom, 527-574, and Sweet, *Religion in American Culture*, 45-50, 75-80. For a Catholic perspective, see the Rev. J. R. Bayley, *A Brief Sketch of the Early History of the Catholic Church on the Island of New York* (1870; reprint, New Rochelle, NY: United States Catholic Historical Society, 1973), chap. 2; John Tracy Ellis, "Catholics in Colonial America," *American Ecclesiastical Review* 136 (Jan.- May 1957): 11-27, 100-119, 184-96, 265-74, 304-21, and Florence D. Cohalan, *A Popular History of the Archdiocese of New York* (Yonkers, NY: United States Historical Society, 1983).
48. Michael Kammen, *Colonial New York: A History* (1975; reprint, White Plains: KTO Press, 1985), 240-41; Flick, *American Revolution*, 329, 337-39.
49. Howard M. Sachar, *A History of the Jews in America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992); Arthur Herzberg, *The Jews in America: Four Centuries of an Uneasy Encounter: A History* [New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985], 62-63; Ahlstrom, 573.
50. Wood, 121-22.
51. R. R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution, vol. 1: The Challenge*, (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1959), 232.
52. Jameson, 84-100; John Richard Alden, *The American Revolution, 1775-1783* (New York: Harper & Row, 1954), 268.



# Western Long Island and the Civil War: A Political Chronical

*By David Osborn*

This article explores the political history of western Long Island during the Civil War, focusing on elections as barometers of opinion on sectional issues of Union, war, and slavery. These issues profoundly influenced political behavior in Kings and Queens Counties. An analysis of them shows a region supporting the military effort to preserve the Republic, but opposing most of the Lincoln administration's war policies, especially emancipation.

On the eve of the war, western Long Island was one of the few remaining Democratic areas in the Northeast. The sectional struggles of the 1850s, and the growing perception that the party represented slavery and Southern interests, weakened the Democrats in the North. But Queens and Kings were parts of a metropolis whose commercial health depended on good relations with all regions, and on trade with the South. Thus, local Democrats supported the slave states on sectional issues, through their mutual party allegiance.<sup>1</sup>

Oyster Bay, furthest east of the towns of Queens, voted Democratic, along with Jamaica, Flushing, and Newtown. Compared with Hempstead and North Hempstead, Oyster Bay had a larger population of immigrants, a prime Democratic constituency, and its factories gave it a greater industrial connection to the city.<sup>2</sup>

There were two exceptions to Democratic strength on western Long Island. First, the Queens towns of Hempstead and North Hempstead tended to vote Republican. Further from New York than Flushing, Newtown, and Jamaica, these towns were less involved with the city's commerce. The other Republican area was the eastern district of Brooklyn, consisting of Williamsburgh, Bushwick, and Greenpoint. Consolidated into the city in 1854, this district's Republican profile was partly a statement of rivalry with the larger western district, which was heavily Democratic. The five small remaining towns of Kings County—Flatbush, New Lots, New Utrecht, Gravesend, and Flatlands—also voted Democratic.<sup>3</sup>

These patterns were reflected in the election of 1860, in which "fusion," a device enabling voters to choose any one of three anti-Republican candidates, swept 57 percent of the presidential vote in Queens. Lincoln won by slight margins in Hempstead and North Hempstead, but fusion polled commanding majorities in Newtown, Flushing, Jamaica, and Oyster Bay. In Kings, the Republicans carried four wards in the eastern district, although their

opponents won the county by an identical 57 to 43 percent.<sup>4</sup>

During the secession period of November 1860 through April 1861, western Long Island favored appeasement on slavery to prevent Southern departure. This was exemplified by support for the proposal of Senator John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, to restore the Missouri Compromise line, extend it to California, and authorize slavery everywhere south of latitude 36' 30." Decidedly pro-slavery, the Crittenden compromise was the major effort of late 1860 and early 1861 to mollify the South and prevent secession. This fit the Northern Democratic profile of Queens and Brooklyn, sympathizing with the South on sectional issues, but committed to the Union.<sup>5</sup>

The Southern attack on Fort Sumter on 12 April altered the picture. Considerations of compromise and slavery were overcome by a visceral sense of defending the integrity of the Union. Convinced they could oppose secession, or treason as they saw it, without supporting emancipation, Long Islanders responded enthusiastically to the onset of civil war.<sup>6</sup>

The fall election of 1862 was the first indication of local opinion. The campaign began in late September with the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, issued following the battle of Antietam. The proclamation was limited in scope. It applied only to areas in rebellion, omitting the border slave states and recaptured sections of the Confederacy. In addition, it said nothing about civil rights for freed people. In that context, the outcry in opposition demonstrated the importance of maintaining slavery to area Democrats, who interpreted it as the beginning of the end of bondage.<sup>7</sup>

Conversely, at a mass meeting in Newtown, Queens, in August 1862, black protesters opposed the colonization program Lincoln presented with emancipation. The meeting passed a resolution stating:

This is our native country...the country of our choice...We have the right to have applied to ourselves those rights named in the Declaration of Independence...Why not declare slavery abolished, and favor our peaceful colonization in the rebel States, or some portion of them?<sup>8</sup>

At the beginning of the war, Long Island Republicans held to the common party position of letting slavery remain in the South but opposing its extension into the territories. This policy differed sharply from that of the abolitionists, who sought the immediate end of slavery. But, in the course of the seventeen months after Fort Sumter, Republicans were ready to support emancipation as a war measure, with some relieved that the president had finally taken the initiative. To antislavery forces, the edict marked a vindication of the country. *The Long Islander*, a Republican organ, claimed:

The great step at last has been taken....We can really hold our heads among the nations of the earth with the consciousness that our practices do not so wickedly belie our professions. The world believes the honesty of our intentions and purposes. The rebels will begin to believe we are in earnest and mean to use the means God has placed in our hands to subdue them and restore the Union.<sup>9</sup>

Rejection of Lincoln's plan was a defining stance for Democrats, breaking the local unity on war issues since Fort Sumter. Soon to spawn a peace movement, the proclamation immediately united Democrats against its message. In the racist-based attack were complaints that the plan was useless, would prolong the war, and violated due process. Convinced that Lincoln was the reluctant captive of radicals, Democrats believed that defeat of Republicans in the fall elections, on the issue of emancipation, would force, or allow, him to rescind the order. They planned an aggressive campaign on that basis.<sup>10</sup>

The Democratic appeal for votes centered on the conduct of the war. Opposition to emancipation was the focus, but criticism of the lack of military progress was also important. Led by its gubernatorial nominee Horatio Seymour, the Democratic campaign remained committed to the war to preserve the Union, seeking to reaffirm the limited objectives of restoration approved by Congress in July 1861. As a party voice in Brooklyn complained: "Hundreds of millions have been spent, hundreds of thousands of lives have been laid down, and...what is there today to show?"<sup>11</sup>

Democratic unity was striking, showing the power of the slavery issue to unite the party. In the Civil War era, local Democrats were usually divided into Hard and Soft wings, with the former more forcefully backing the South on slavery and other sectional issues. This included rival candidates in elections. But in fall 1862, Hard and Soft groups ran joint slates. Mayor Martin Kalbfleisch of Brooklyn was the nominee in the 2d Congressional District, which included the Kings County towns as well as Greenpoint, Bushwick, and most of the city's heavily Democratic districts. The popular mayor had little need to reach for extreme positions, his emphasis on emancipation indicative of the issue's centrality to the Democratic platform. He cited the edict as "inexpedient, unwise and wrong in toto," permitting those in bondage to free themselves at "any cost, even if it be the cutting of their master's throat."<sup>12</sup>

Because the 3d district encompassed the Republican wards of Williamsburgh, James Humphrey, the Republican candidate, had a chance of success. In spite of public sentiment against emancipation, Humphrey courageously supported the proclamation, in contrast to his Democratic opponent Moses Odell's position on abolition.<sup>13</sup>

Republicans received little help from the concept of political Union. This was an effort to forge alliances with pro-war conservatives, often called War Democrats, on a platform supporting the administration's policies. Another strategy behind the Union label was distancing the party from the emancipation image associated with the Republicans. But Democrats ignored appeals to fuse in a Union party in Flushing, infuriating Republicans. While it ran candidates on the Union ticket, the party remained Republican.<sup>14</sup>

As public anger over emancipation emerged, backers of the Union/Republican gubernatorial nominee, James Wadsworth, muted defenses of the edict. They also stressed the expedient aspects of the policy. The *Brooklyn Daily Times*, a moderate Republican voice in Brooklyn's eastern

district, defended emancipation as preferable to forcing the slaves to flee “to the North to fill our Navy Yards and thereby forcing our laboring men, by want of employment, to take their place in the South.”<sup>15</sup>

Lincoln's supporters were reduced to bemoaning the unfairness of Republican candidates' facing defeat because of the reluctance of Democratic generals to attack the rebels. Mostly, they labeled the Democratic apparatus as sympathetic to the Confederacy. Long Islanders, they argued, could not afford “to give aid and comfort to the enemies of their constitution and their country” by electing Democrats.<sup>16</sup>

But voters ignored that plea. Flushing recorded its largest Democratic vote ever, and Seymour won 70 percent of the vote in Newtown. The Democratic ticket swept Queens by twice the margin of 1860. Democrats took all congressional seats, with Odell's triumph over Humphrey in Brooklyn the only close contest. In the 2d district, Kalbfleisch received three-fourths of the vote. Democrats also carried all state assembly races.<sup>17</sup>

### 1862 Vote for Governor of New York

County	Wadsworth (Union)	Seymour (Dem.)
Kings	12,922	19,554
Queens	3,027	4,333

Source: *Tribune Almanac and Political Register for 1863* (New York, 1862), 51.

Seymour garnered 60 percent of the gubernatorial vote in Brooklyn, a gain over 1860 levels. The heavy margin in lower New York overcame upstate Republican votes, allowing the Democrat to regain the governorship. Western Long Island had spoken for preservation of the Union without interference with slavery. Perhaps wistfully, Democrats argued the results required Lincoln to reconsider the proclamation. Republicans digested the numbers as showing disgust with the slow pace of Union military progress.<sup>18</sup>

The “Peace” Democratic, or Copperhead (the derisive term applied by Union supporters to Northern sympathizers with the Southern cause) movement that grew in New York City in the first half of 1863 attracted some support on Long Island. Local and national factors led to that growth. In New York, the squeeze exerted by inflation, along with the approaching draft, led many laborers and artisans to oppose the war. Equally important were federal defeat and heavy casualties at Chancellorsville; the arrest of the prominent Copperhead Clement L. Vallandigham, a former Democratic congressman from Ohio, for making a public speech denouncing the Lincoln administration; and emancipation.<sup>19</sup>

The central message of the Copperheads, led in New York by Fernando Wood, a Democratic congressman, accepted secession and rejected coercing the South to return. A 10 May rally in sympathy with Vallandigham energized antiadministration forces. While not an avowedly peace gathering,

the meeting expressed the range of opposition to Republican war policies. Some speakers called for peace, and resistance to the draft. At a large meeting in Union Square, Manhattan, those disillusioned with the war used the occasion to register frustration.<sup>20</sup>

Long Island Democrats objected to Vallandigham's arrest as part of their consistent opposition to the government's suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, and other wartime restrictions on civil liberties. The *Long Island Democrat* asked, "If such conduct is allowed to proceed, which man is safe?" The paper protested the former congressman's detention, but objected to the "obnoxious Copperhead message," thus showing it was possible to support stridently antiadministration gatherings without fully embracing the peace agenda.<sup>21</sup>

Perhaps more appropriately, Republicans cast Vallandigham as a traitor and the sympathy meeting as an assemblage of disloyalists. Even so, many were troubled by the arrest. They feared, correctly, that the situation would rally those interested in more than free speech. A Brooklyn source charged that General Ambrose Burnside, the arresting officer, had

unleashed the mouth of every traitor in the free states. Every one of them, under the pretext of 'constitutional rights' and 'free speech' will assail the Government and seek to exasperate the people against the power at Washington. They have been laying in wait for this opportunity for some time.

The Copperhead movement peaked in June, when advocates rallied at Riverhead, among other places. At the major gathering at Cooper Union, on 3 June, chaired by state senator Edward Lawrence, of Queens, attendance was nearly thirty thousand, making it the largest demonstration in the city since the Union rally days after Fort Sumter. The peace agenda called for cessation of fighting, and separate Northern and Southern conventions to determine how "the contending sections shall be reconciled."

The most important response came from prominent Democratic quarters. They rejected the message of the rally, largely from a Unionist perspective. Agreeing with nearly all criticism of the administration, these forces broke with the Copperheads over strategy and process. They chastised the peace initiative's vague scheme of sectional conventions leading to restoration. Arguing that the Confederacy only wanted peace with independence, the *Long Island Democrat*, a Queens organ which often took the Hard Democratic outlook, asserted: "So far as the question of peace is concerned, the Democracy will favor none that does not embrace the whole Union under the protection of one Constitution."<sup>23</sup>

The "peace" campaign showed that, in western Long Island, conservative Democrats chose the Union over slavery. The defeatist Copperhead agenda aimed at preserving human bondage even at the price of separate nations. This was too much for those Democrats whose devotion to sustaining the Republic proved stronger than their willingness to maintain black slavery. In an important turning point, they balked over the tone and message of the peace

drive, which showed they might have to surrender the Union if they pushed the anti-emancipation agenda fully. For the next two years, those quarters still attacked abolition and mused about retaining slavery in part of the South, but the emphasis was never again as strong as it had been before June 1863.

The draft riots of July have attracted a great deal of scholarly attention. Queens experienced, in milder doses, most aspects of the disturbances which gripped Manhattan for several days, a common pattern for the county on the edge of the metropolitan area. A crowd of three hundred men in Jamaica destroyed army uniforms meant for draftees, forcing the provost to flee and cancel the 1st Congressional District lottery.<sup>24</sup>

Flushing was swept by rumors of disturbances by mobs from Hunter's Point and College Point. Authorities prepared for an invasion, ordering early closure of stores, but a small antidraft rally by Irish residents was the only occurrence. Black refugees from the onslaught in the cities camped on Long Island, evoking a pledge of moral superiority to not "renew upon the colored race here the barbarities perpetrated in New York."<sup>25</sup>

Brooklyn experienced a more concentrated outburst. Grain elevators on the waterfront were set ablaze by a contingent of two hundred people. Mobs beat black residents on the streets and attacked dwellings of black homeowners. Citizens of African descent took refuge at police stations and sought the protection of ward patrols created to deter outbreaks. Regular law enforcement was depleted, with many officers dispatched to Manhattan to subdue the riots. The shortage left the city vulnerable; precautionary steps taken included stationing a canon at the Navy Yard and withdrawing arms from the arsenal. Yet, no major outbreaks materialized. A few gatherings of artisans and laborers to consider action dispersed with pledges to fight the draft in the courts. Brooklynites seeking to observe or participate in the uprising crossed the river to New York City, confirming its magnet role in local developments. Brooklyn customarily lagged behind New York City in wealth and population, but the riots were a reassuring reminder of the advantages of being part, but not the center, of the metropolis. Boosters were proud of the relative calm of the nation's third largest city, attributed by a *Brooklyn Daily Times* editorial "to the fact that this community is, to so great an extent, composed of property holders, who know their duties as citizens."<sup>26</sup>

The riots produced two important results. One was a general agreement that inequities in the draft law caused the tension that resulted in violence across the metropolis. Town meetings in Flushing and Jamaica, the Queens County Board of Supervisors, and the Common Council of Brooklyn all moved to allocate funds to pay fees for draftees who chose not to serve. The other was an outpouring of paternalistic sympathy for black New Yorkers. Collections were taken to fund relief for the victims and dispossessed. The normally Hard Democratic *Long Island Democrat* advised:

Let us have no outrages upon the persons and property of the colored population...They are helpless; and suffer enough for the inequality of their condition to deserve the protection of the masses.<sup>27</sup>

They were beginning to acknowledge the human, if not civil, rights of those of African descent.

The fall 1863 elections demonstrated the fallout from the peace movement and riots. While the state Democratic platform affirmed the war, the party suffered major setbacks in western Long Island, where voters punished it for the element of disloyalty displayed earlier in the year. The campaign also spawned the emergence of a War Democratic group, especially in Brooklyn, where Alfred M. Wood won the mayoral contest. In the state-wide election, the Democratic margin in Queens was cut to nearly half of the 1862 level, with Flushing returning its lowest Democratic tally in years. As the *Long Island Times*, a conservative organ, acknowledged, "many of the present leaders of the party, instead of co-operating in the war are doing all they can to hinder it. They people have discovered this fact and repudiated the policy." In Brooklyn, Democratic totals fell to 52 percent from 60 percent one year earlier.<sup>28</sup>

Political attention focused on the mayoral race. The incumbent, Martin Kalbfleisch, elected to Congress in 1862, remained at the helm of the city until the House met in December 1863. His decision to seek another mayoral term surprised Democrats—the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* was particularly chagrined. Given this paper's previous support of Kalbfleisch, its anger at the attempted monopolization of posts seems genuine. It asked, "Are we so poor in men that we must place in the hands of one man two or more offices?" Influential in Democratic quarters, the Eagle's opposition to Kalbfleisch's renomination was pivotal. It backed Benjamin Prince, a member of one of Brooklyn's wealthiest families and a former county treasurer. In a bitter convention, with contested delegations from several wards, Prince defeated the incumbent for the nomination. German Democratic clubs refused to back the regular nominee.<sup>29</sup>

Kalbfleisch launched an independent candidacy to retain the mayoralty, counting on the disaffected Germans as his base of support. Relying on his record and reputation, the mayor's sole explanation of the unorthodox move was that "circumstances of a private nature" led to the abandonment of the House seat. He also charged that fraud in the Democratic primary cost him the regular nomination.<sup>30</sup>

Alfred Wood, a federal treasury agent, was captured at First Bull Run in July 1861, leading Brooklyn's celebrated 14th Regiment. In accepting the Union nomination for mayor he said:

I need not remind you that I am a War Democrat, fully impressed with the conviction that this war must be vigorously prosecuted and efficiently out worked to the very end, and that I have determined since the very commencement of the contest to know no party save the party of the Union.

With barely a mention of local issues, the Union/Republican campaign focused on Colonel Wood's war experience and the need for political unity in the face of rebellion. Campaign speeches noted that Wood's "political opinions had

been molded while suffering in rebel dungeons.” The nominee advised:

Every vote for this ticket is a vote against the Rebellion. I know what I say, for I have been with the soldiers and I know their feelings and I say that every vote for the Union ticket strengthens every Union soldiers in the field.<sup>31</sup>

Prince was the forgotten man of the contest. He made few appearances, and Democratic rallies rarely alluded to the nominee. Since the popular incumbent was in the field, references to the advantages of Democratic administration of the city would not help Prince. His campaign counted on the regular Democratic vote and stressed a conservative, pro-war outlook. In the competitive three-way race, Wood carried twelve of twenty wards and polled 45 percent of the vote to win the election. He ran well in usually Republican eastern district wards, and picked up several western wards where the War Democratic label proved effective; it enabled voters both to reject the Copperhead-tainted Democratic ticket and support the war without endorsing Republicanism. Kalbfleisch carried only his home ward of Bushwick, receiving a mere 15 percent of the tally, a resounding defeat for the man who had won impressive victories in 1861 and 1862. It was a condemnation of his weak explanation for forsaking the House, and the apparent vanity that inspired his drives for office.<sup>32</sup>

### 1863 Vote for Mayor of Brooklyn

Wood (Union)	13,136
Prince (Dem.)	11,199
Kalbfleisch (Ind.)	4,446

Source: *Brooklyn Daily Times*, 5 November 1863, 2.

The election of 1864 was marked by a few important developments. One was the Democrats' nomination, in August, of General George B. McClellan for president on a peace platform, and his repudiation of that message in September, following the fall of Atlanta. Another was the Republican effort, through the Union party, to attract “War” Democratic voters. Copperheads insisted that McClellan honor the Chicago peace platform. Yet, based on the tone of the campaign, the local Democratic effort was overwhelmingly dedicated to the military struggle. It stressed that only through war could the Union be preserved, an understanding spawned at the height of Copperhead strength in 1863. Speaking at a Brooklyn rally, a top Democrat advised:

Put George McClellan in the Presidential chair, make him the head of your armies, and in thirty days you will see indications of returning into the Union among the Southern people, whatever may be the feelings of their leaders.



The general's campaign also expressed continued lack of enthusiasm for emancipation among the great majority of metropolitan-area Democrats. This included opposition to the proposed Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery, a cornerstone of the Republican platform.<sup>33</sup>

Republicans highlighted "peace" planks in the Chicago platform and depicted the entire Democratic campaign as a Copperhead movement. A speaker at a gathering of German Republicans in Brooklyn's eastern district insisted:

The peace platform was intended to promote an object, that object to reconstruct the Union on the basis of slavery, and if McClellan is elected, all the blood and treasure sacrificed will be for naught.

While peace-baiting was the chief campaign tactic, Republicans also felt more comfortable applauding emancipation than they did in 1863, in keeping with a major change across the North. They emphasized the consummation of an effort undertaken in 1854, fulfilling war gains, and the triumph of free labor, an issue especially important to Germans. The focal point was the proposed emancipation amendment to the Constitution.<sup>34</sup>

Unionists in Queens tried to lure possible War Democrats. Elected in 1862, Long Island Congressman Henry Stebbins had functioned as a War Democrat, giving the appearance of a strong Union arm in Queens and Suffolk. But Stebbins won in the anti-emancipation, conservative landslide. His postelection shift to a pro-administration stance, probably a reaction to the Copperhead movement of 1863, angered some of his constituents. Partly for that reason, Stebbins resigned in October: thus, in addition to the regular biennial election, the 1st District held a special election to choose a successor to finish his term. Still, Republicans sensed a potentially sizable War Democratic vote, and designed events to entice it. One Flushing rally featured an Irish military officer from Manhattan. These and similar tactics yielded some results. The *Hempstead Inquirer*, a normally non-partisan paper, endorsed Lincoln to "complete what we have begun."<sup>35</sup>

Democrats on Long Island responded with as many as four rallies per night, and resorted to such pranks as stealing the Lincoln banner from Union headquarters in Flushing. They also implored supporters to remain loyal to the party, claiming defections would mean "the triumph of abolitionism has been secured."<sup>36</sup>

Presidential elections in midcentury New York were tense because of widespread intimidation and ballot fraud, but the campaign of 1864 had additional points of concern. Plots to manipulate the soldiers' vote were uncovered. Rumors of Confederate strategies to undermine the process were given credence by attempted Confederate raids from Canada into upstate New York. The presence of many Southern refugees, especially in Brooklyn, was an added cause for worry. The local military commander, Major General John Dix, ordered registration of such persons. Federal troops under Major General Benjamin F. Butler were present to insure a peaceful canvass.<sup>37</sup>

The election results demonstrated that the McClellan message of Union,

war, and social conservatism reflected the outlook of the majority of western Long Islanders. Democratic totals were lower than in 1862, but higher than in 1863 and similar to the levels of 1860.

#### 1864 Vote for President, by County

	Lincoln (Union)	McClellan (Dem.)
Kings	20,838	25,726
Queens	4,284	5,400

Source: *Tribune Almanac for 1865* (New York, 1864), 48.

In Queens, the general carried Newtown, Flushing, Jamaica, and Oyster Bay comfortably, and took the county by about 1,100 votes. That compared with a Democratic margin of 1,400 in 1862 and 700 in 1863. Typical of the metropolis, soldiers of the Flushing Battery voted for the Democrat on absentee ballots. As in 1860, Lincoln triumphed in Hempstead and North Hempstead.<sup>38</sup>

The president confirmed Republican strength in Brooklyn's eastern district, carrying five wards in the Williamsburgh-Greenpoint-Bushwick area. However, McClellan's record of military service (lackluster as it was) undercut the possible War Democratic vote for the Union ticket in the western district, where Lincoln ran behind Alfred Wood's 1863 levels.<sup>39</sup>

For an array of reasons, western Long Island was a Democratic region on the eve of the war, opposed to change and in sympathy with the South on sectional issues. Foremost among its interests was the crucial trade link between the metropolis and the cotton states, and the fear that a rupture of the Union would harm the region's commerce. That outlook broadly determined wartime political behavior in Kings and Queens Counties.

Fluctuations in returns and results of elections were shaped by new dimensions of those sectional issues—Union, war, and emancipation. The major political statement western Long Islanders consistently expressed was a commitment to the war as the only way to sustain the Republic. The Union and all it represented—stability, history, nationalism, commerce—was the prime operating force.

However, they hoped to maintain the Union without disrupting slavery. This was due to racial prejudice, an antagonism to progress that opposed overturning even oppressive social institutions, and fear of economic competition with former slaves. These concerns were illustrated in the 1862 election, a reaction both to the lack of Union military progress and to opposition to emancipation.

The response to the "peace" movement and draft riots of 1863 demonstrated that, if forced to choose, western Long Island favored the Union over slavery. The acceptance of secession by Copperheads chilled the Unionist sensibilities of the region, producing the important rejection of the peace message by Hard Democrats.

The election of Alfred Wood as mayor of Brooklyn was the clearest

indication of the reaction against the peace forces. Running as a War Democrat on what was essentially the Republican ticket, Wood supported the military effort to sustain the Union and largely ignored the slavery issue. It was, significantly, the only time in the period that Brooklyn gave a plurality of the vote to a Republican. At the end of the war, a substantial segment of western Long Island voters endorsed the McClellan candidacy as supporting the battlefield struggle to achieve the Union's restoration, with a lingering, but secondary, opposition to emancipation.

#### NOTES

1. David Osborn, "Queens County and the Secession Crisis," *LIHJ* 5 (Spring 1993): 132-34; *Brooklyn Daily Times*, 15 Apr., 8 June 1959, 2; *Brooklyn Evening Star*, 20 Jan., 7 Nov. 1860, 2. 2.
2. *Population of the United States in 1860* (Washington, DC, 1864), 322-23, 339; population schedule, Queens County, New York.
3. Osborn, 133.
4. For fusion, see Osborn, 135; *Records, Town of Flatbush*, 1860, Brooklyn Historical Society; *Brooklyn Daily Times*, 15 Apr. 1959, 2, and 20 Feb., 11, 15 Mar. 1861, 2; *Brooklyn Evening Star*, 17 May and 12 June 1860, 2. In 1860, the population of Brooklyn was 266,661, making it the third-largest city in the nation; the combined population of the five remaining Kings County towns was approximately 12,000 (see *Population of the United States in 1860*, xxxi, 335.)
5. For the Crittenden Compromise, see David M. Potter, *The Impending Crisis 1848-1861* (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), 531-32, 547, 549-54.
6. Osborn, 136; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 7 Nov. 1860, 2; *Brooklyn Evening Star*, 7, 8 Nov. 1860 2.
7. For the Emancipation Proclamation, see John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans*, 4th ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), 221-25; for colonization, principally to Liberia, see *ibid.*, 184-87.
8. Quotation from *The Liberator*, 12 Sept. 1862, cited in Herbert Aptheker, ed., *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States*, 2 vols. (New York, 1951) I:471-73; see also *Brooklyn Daily Times*, 23 Sept. 1862, 2.
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10. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 23 Sept., 17 October 1862, 2; *Long Island Democrat*, 30 Sept. 1862, 2.
11. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 3 Nov., 23 Oct. 1862, 2; *Long Island Times*, 23, 30 Oct. 1862, 2; "Democratic Rally," *Long Island Democrat*, 4 Nov. 1862, 2; for congressional war objectives in July 1861, see James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York, 1988), 312.
12. Kalbfleisch speech quoted in *Long Island Democrat*, 31 Oct. 1862, 2, also 17 Oct., 2; *New York Times*, 15, 16, 20 Oct. 1862, 8; *Brooklyn Leader*, 18 Oct. 1862, 2; Osborn, 132.
13. *Brooklyn Daily Times*, 24 Oct. 1862, 2; *Brooklyn Evening Star*, 25 Oct. 1862, 2.
14. *Flushing Journal*, 25 Oct. 1862, 2.
15. *Brooklyn Daily Times*, 1 Nov. 1862, 2.
16. Humphrey speech, quoted in *Brooklyn Daily Times*, 3 Nov. 1862, 2; see also *The Long Islander*, 26 Sept. 1862, 2; *Brooklyn Evening Star*, 25 Oct. 1862, 2; *Brooklyn Daily Times*, 16 Oct. 1862, 2.
17. *The Long Islander*, 7 Nov. 1862, 2; *Long Island Democrat*, 11 Nov. 1862, 2, 18 Nov. 1862, 2; *Flushing Journal*, 8 Nov. 1862, 2; *Hempstead Inquirer*, 8 Nov. 1862, 2; *Long Island Times*, 6

- Nov. 1862, 2; *New York Times*, 6 Nov. 1862, 8, 5 Nov., 1; *Brooklyn Evening Star*, 8 Nov. 1862, 2, 3; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 5 Nov. 1862, 2, 3.
18. *Brooklyn Evening Star*, 8 Nov. 1862, 3; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 5 Nov. 1862, 2; *New York Times*, 5 Nov. 1862, 2; *Flushing Journal*, 8 Nov. 1862, 2.
19. *New York Herald*, 13 Nov. 1863, 1. Vallandigham's arrest, a major civil liberties case, was for speaking critically of the administration on 1 May; he was convicted of disloyalty by a military commission, and imprisoned for the duration, a sentence Lincoln commuted to banishment behind the Confederate lines (see McPherson, 596-97).
20. *New York Times*, 8 April 1863, 8, and 8 May 1863, 5; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 11, 19 May 1863, 2; *Brooklyn Evening Star*, 23 May 1863, 2.
21. *Long Island Democrat*, 25 May 1863, 2; see also *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 12, 19 May, and 11 July 1863, 2; *Long Island Democrat*, 30 Sept. 1862, 2; *Long Island Times*, 21 May 1863, 2;
22. *Brooklyn Daily Times*, 21 May, 3, 4 June 1863, 2; *The Long Islander*, 17, 24 July 1863, 2; *New York Herald*, 4 June 1863, 3, and 5 June 1863, 4; *Brooklyn Evening Star*, 6 June 1863, 2; *New York Times*, 4 June 1863, 1.
23. *Long Island Democrat*, 9 June 1863, 2; see also *Long Island Times*, 11 June 1863, 2; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 4 June 1863, 2.
24. For the draft riot in Queens, see *History of Queens County*, New York (New York: W. W. Munsell, 1882), 65; for a recent study of the New York riots, see Iver Bernstein, *The New York City Draft Riots: Their Significance For American Society And Politics In The Age Of The Civil War* (New York, 1990); *Brooklyn Daily Times*, 15, 16 July 1863, 3; *The Long Islander*, 17 July 1863, 2; *Flushing Journal*, 18 July 1863, 2; *Long Island Democrat*, 21 July 1863, 2.
25. *Long Island Times*, 16 July 1863, 3; *Flushing Journal*, 18, 25 July 1863, 2; see also "Diary of Caroline Dunstan," 15 July 1863, Ms. Collection, New York Public Library.
26. *Brooklyn Daily Times*, 14, 16, 17 July 1863, 3 (for Mayor Kalbfleisch's proclamation, see 16 July, 2); *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 15, 16, 14 July 1862, 2; *Brooklyn Daily Times*, editorial, 15 July 1863.
27. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 17 July, 2; *Long Island Times*, 23, 30 July 1863, 3 (see also letter from James Quarterman, 30 July, 2); *Long Island Democrat*, 21 July 1863, 2.
28. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 11 Sept., 23 Oct. 1863, 2; *Long Island Times*, 12, 5 Nov. 1863, 2; *Long Island Democrat*, 10 Nov. 1863, 2; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 4 Nov. 1863, 2.
29. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 5, 6, 12, 13 Oct., 30 Sept. 1863, 2; *Brooklyn Daily Times*, 14 Oct. 1863, 2.
30. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 22, 23, 26, 30 Oct. 1863, 2; see also *Brooklyn Daily Times*, 14, 24 Oct. 1863, 2, 27 Oct., 3.
31. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 21, 7, 19, 28 Oct. 1863, 2; *Brooklyn Daily Times*, 20, 21, 31 Oct., 3 Nov. 1863, 2; David W. McCullough, *Brooklyn: And How It Got That Way* (New York, 1983), 34.
32. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 17, 29, 30, 4 Nov. 1863, 2; *Brooklyn Daily Times*, 30 Oct., 4, 5 Nov. 1863, 2.
33. McPherson, 771-76; "Democratic Rally," *New York Herald*, 4 Nov. 1864, 8; see also "Democratic Rally in Brooklyn's 14th Ward," *Brooklyn Daily Times*, 14 Oct. 1864, 2; "Democratic rally in Brooklyn's 19th Ward," *ibid.*, 21 Oct. 1864, 2; "Democratic Rally in Brooklyn Eastern District," *ibid.*, 1 Nov. 1864, 2; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 22, 25 Oct. 1864, 2; *Long Island Democrat*, 11, 18, 25 Oct. 1864, 2.
34. *Brooklyn Daily Times*, 12, 20 Oct., 7, 3 Nov. 1863, 2.
35. *Hempstead Inquirer*, 5 Nov., see also 29 Oct. 1864, 2; see also *ibid.*, 29 Oct. 1864, 2; Meeting, Queens County Union Committee, October 1864, Prince Family Papers, Queens Borough Public Library; *Flushing Journal*, 15, 29 Oct. 1864, 2.
36. *Long Island Democrat*, 11, 25 Oct. 1864, 2; *Long Island Times*, 13, 27 Oct. 1864, 4.

37. *New York Times*, 28, 31 Oct., 7 Nov. 1864, 1; *Brooklyn Daily Times*, 20 Oct. 1864, 1, 31 Oct., 2; for the raids, see McPherson, 781-82.
38. *Hempstead Inquirer*, 12 Nov. 1864, 2; *Flushing Journal*, 19 Nov. 1864, 2; *Long Island Democrat*, 15 Nov. 1864, 2; *Long Island Times*, 27 Oct., 10 Nov. 1864, 4; *New York Express*, 9 Nov. 1864, 3; the town vote in Queens for governor mirrored that for president (*Tribune Almanac for 1865* [New York, 1864], 52).
39. *Brooklyn Daily Times*, 9 Nov. 1864, 2; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 9 Nov. 1864, 2; *New York Herald*, 10 Nov. 1864, 5; *Tribune Almanac for 1865*, 51

# Robert Moses and the Making of Jones Beach State Park

By R. Marc Fasanella

## Part 1: Persistence

Jones Beach State Park, to a great extent, is the realization of one of Robert Moses' dreams. Although a number of architects, designers, and engineers participated in the creation of what, according to Robert A. Caro, "may be the world's greatest oceanfront park and bathing beach," Moses was largely responsible for providing the initiative and securing the needed financial and political resources to create a public park which could achieve such high standards.<sup>1</sup>

Much of what makes the park an oasis for the metropolitan area may be attributed to the work of Moses and the Long Island State Park Commission (LISPC). This article addresses the formation of the commission, the controversies it faced concerning the planned and created design of the park from its 1929 opening through its first year of operation, and the aesthetic views of Moses and others responsible for its creation.<sup>2</sup>

In 1921, Moses began taking vacations in Babylon, Long Island, where he soon maintained a small summer house. Enchanted by the South Shore's natural beauty, he spent increasingly more of his time exploring its waters in a bayman's boat he acquired. Eventually, his interest led him to investigate the barrier islands, including the section known as Jones Beach. According to Caro,

He looked at Jones Beach with eyes that had looked at crowded New York City...and he realized that the emptiness of the strand, its endless, untouched vistas, was a clean canvas on which he could draw whatever he chose...all the landscape needed was the painting in it of people to make it...a great bathing beach such as America had never seen. Moreover, the people, the masses of New York City, were amazingly close. Jones Beach had seemed so cut off from the world, but he realized...that when he stood on its western end he was less than twenty-five miles from Times Square.<sup>3</sup>

Although the actual contemplation of the project came more slowly and reflected more influences than in this passage, Caro captures the breadth and scope of Moses' thinking.

The barrier beach on which the park would be situated was viewed for

many years as sandy wasteland unusable for purposes other than saving the victims of shipwrecks, as a fisherman's station, or for beachcombing. Moses himself thought little of the beach as it existed before the development of the state park. In a speech to the Freeport Historical Society in 1974, recalling his involvement with the Jones Beach and Fire Island state parks, he observed:

Let us have no illusions about Jones Beach as we found it. It was an isolated swampy sand bar accessible only by small boats and infrequent ferries, inhabited by fishermen and loners, surf casters and assorted oddballs, and beachcombers trying to get away from it all...the tales told of a lovely primitive, paradised wilderness with indestructible dunes were fiction...Jones Beach was in fact a mosquito-infested tidal swamp full of stagnant pools, flanked by shifting dunes.

The Long Island Railroad issued similar reports throughout the nineteenth century, describing some areas of Long Island as of value only if the land were reclaimed and utilized for farming.<sup>4</sup>

Throughout 1922 and 1923, as secretary of the New York State Association and a member of its State Park Plan Commission, Moses communicated with park officials, drafted a park consolidation and bond funding bill, and lobbied for its support. He acquired much of the information necessary for creating the LISPC by studying the legislation that created the Bronx River Parkway Commission, the Westchester County Park Commission, and the Palisades Interstate Park Commission. The initial version of the park consolidation bill was defeated in 1923 because of Governor Alfred E. Smith's opposition. Although a supporter of state park development in principle, Smith was concerned that the parks bill would present a financial conflict with a 1923 bond issue for hospital construction. He felt that two such expensive measures could not pass in the same year, and that the park bill would be considered more favorably next year. During 1924, as a top advisor to State Senator James J. Walker, a protege of Governor Smith's, Moses drafted a final version of the bill which called for consolidation of the agencies of park administration in the state of New York. Moses also wrote to senators, civic organizations, and newspapers asking for a letter-writing campaign in support of the bill and suggestions for improving it. Throughout 1924, Smith read several messages to the state senate arguing the need for parks. As the original typescripts with notations in Moses' hand are in his personal files, much of the material for these memorandums appears to have been drafted by Moses. A memorandum he submitted to Smith to be read as a special message to the senate, dated 9 January 1924, declared that,

It is essential that there be a regional commission for Long Island to carry out the comprehensive program which has been developed. This program is of vital interest not only to people in Nassau and Suffolk counties, but also to people of New York City, who are pressing out into Long Island for recreational facilities. If the residents of Nassau and Suffolk counties

are not to be overrun and the people of New York City and Long Island are to be afforded recreational facilities, the park and parkway plans which have been developed must be put under way immediately.<sup>5</sup>

Chapter 112 of the park consolidation bill submitted by State Senator Trubee Davison, and passed 9 April 1924, established the LISPC, with power to create and acquire state parks in Nassau and Suffolk Counties. Shortly after, Smith appointed Moses president of the LISPC, with \$225,000 for the formation and maintenance of parks on Long Island. By May, Moses had communicated with the other commissioners, Judge Townsend Scudder and Clifford Jackson, who became vice president and treasurer, respectively. All three of these full- or part-time Long Islanders were appointed on an unsalaried basis, and had different political allegiances: Moses was a registered Independent, Scudder a Democrat, and Jackson a Republican.

Moses set aside \$200,000 for land acquisition and \$25,000 for the commission's expenses. He began to acquire land, using the budget and a clause attached to the bill that granted the power of eminent domain, enabling the LISPC to seize, condemn, and develop private lands for the creation of state parks, without payment, the price to be decided later by a judge. The condemnation powers Moses included in the bill were outlined in a 1921 article by Theodosius Stevens, chief counsel of the Bronx Parkway Commission. Moses received at least one letter from him on the merits and flaws of condemnation law, which Moses tried to make fairer in accord with Stevens's suggestions. Moses' park bill rested responsibility for the amount paid to a landowner on the decision of a judge rather than, as formerly, of a group of park commissioners.<sup>6</sup>

The environment in which Moses began his work at Jones Beach reflects the magnitude of the undertaking. Almost immediately, the LISPC ran into well-publicized legal trouble concerning his appropriations methods. The best-known case was initiated by W. Kingsland Macy, part-owner of the Taylor recreation estate which the LISPC had condemned and appropriated, much to the chagrin of the wealthy sportsmen who frequented it. Macy was a prominent businessman, banker, and publisher, as well as the chairman of the Suffolk County Republican Committee from 1926 to 1951. His political strength eventually led to his becoming a state senator and congressman. His political influence as a Republican boss was considerable at the time of the Taylor Estate dispute, causing a protracted delay over the fight for ownership of the estate. This and similar cases were eventually settled in the courts, some after years of litigation, with judgments that often favored the LISPC. Moses emphasized in the press that his efforts and methods merely reflected the struggle to place the public interest above that of private, wealthy, and selfish interests. However, this initial conflict led residents of communities near Jones Beach to conclude that the LISPC was an outside interest insensitive to their needs.<sup>7</sup>

Shortly after the LISPC was formed in 1924, the Nassau County



Committee came into being, employing the services of Charles Downing Lay. Lay and Moses were friendly correspondents throughout 1922 and 1923, but their relationship soured over a disagreement on solving the park problems of New York City. In 1922, Lay wrote a paper suggesting that parks for the city be built outside its borders. This, and a report by Nelson Lewis the same year, "A Metropolitan Park Study," concurred with many of Moses' ideas. During this period, Moses was developing plans to use many city-owned lands on Long Island to create state parks for relief of the urban masses' need for recreational space. Both Lay and Lewis's views contrasted, however, with Moses.' In their correspondence, Lay suggested creation of a metropolitan district planning commission, which Moses argued against on grounds that the state association already performed this work. Moses probably sensed a threat to his developing park program; Lay believed that his own knowledge and skills should be utilized.<sup>8</sup>

Judging by the dates of Nassau County Committee reports, soon after the LISPC set to work the committee embarked on a campaign to dissolve the commission's powers of land appropriation. Beginning in 1925, the committee commenced this effort through lobbying and a series of published reports by Lay appealing to the legislature to rescind the LISPC's land-condemnation power. The committee wanted the formation of Nassau and Suffolk park commissions, modeled on that of Westchester County, formed in 1922 and operated by county commissioners responsible to local authorities. They opposed the LISPC because it was a state organization, superseding the power of local authorities. A report by Lay, published by the Nassau County Committee, surprisingly reiterated many LISPC suggestions, including those for additional park space to relieve overcrowding in Long Island's western counties, and the construction of fast-moving, safe highways. The report pointed out the need to develop Jones Beach:

The crowded condition of Long Beach suggests the advisability of a state park at Jones Beach which could be connected with the mainland by road...It is indeed the most important single undertaking to which the commission can turn its attention.<sup>9</sup>

The report also stressed the proportionately large population of Long Island in comparison to the rest of the state, and its disproportionately small number of large parks and roadways. The report laid claim to Long Island's right to a greater share of park funds, but faulted the LISPC's method of creating park space. It suggested that work on Long Island should be the product of careful, deliberate, well-paced planning, and should have the full confidence of local residents. According to the report, these elements were missing from LISPC work. The report also stressed the negative impact of the commission's work on property values and social life.

In reviewing the commission's work and proposals for parks and parkways on Long Island, Lay argued that there was no need for ornamental plantings or restricted-access parkways, like those the LISPC was constructing. He

believed that the days of the pleasure parkway had passed, and that any new, large-scale road construction should be in the form of high-speed expressways, for which ornamental plantings would be an unnecessary expense and a source of distraction. The report faulted the commission for creating parkways where highways should be built, and, more properly, by the local highway department. The whole notion of park space proposed in the Nassau County Committee report differs from the LISPC's in that the committee believed privately owned lands should remain in private hands, and that undeveloped lands should be improved by the towns to increase their value and accessibility. However, Lay saw some beauty in the natural scenery of largely undeveloped Jones Beach, about which he remarked: "Salt marshes abound and have their peculiar beauties which are destroyed when anything is done to them."<sup>10</sup>

The Nassau County Committee pressed the fight against Moses' ideas in Report No. 3, *The Development of Jones Beach, Long Island, as a Great Ocean Park*. It suggested pumping sand from the bay bottom to reclaim lands from the back of the beach (marsh area), and outlined a development plan that differed significantly from the LISPC's. It provided for hotel, concession, institutional, and amusement structures similar to those on Coney Island. Report 3 also proposed the separation of parks by their means of access, creating different parks for local people and for those from more distant areas. The report strongly asserted that Nassau County retain control of the land and tax base of a park development on Jones Beach.<sup>11</sup>

The Nassau County Committee was joined in its criticism of the LISPC by the Suffolk County Taxpayers Association. In a "Park Memorandum" on 4 August 1924 and a subsequent letter to taxpayers, the Suffolk association expressed alarm about the formation of the commission and its powers of appropriation granted by the bill drafted by Moses. Particularly feared was the power of the commission to condemn private land and appropriate it without payment. The association pointed out that the power of the LISPC superseded the laws of the ten towns of Suffolk; it asked that Chapter 112 of the laws of 1924 be amended to remove the LISPC'S powers to purchase, condemn, or appropriate land or parkways without prior approval of county boards of supervisors. The Suffolk County Board of Supervisors reiterated the criticism of the LISPC, and, during the winter of 1924, adopted a resolution against its creation.<sup>12</sup>

On 1 February 1925, complaints against the work of the LISPC were heard at a joint hearing of the State Finance and Assembly Ways and Means Committee. Assemblyman John Boyle Jr., of Suffolk, argued on behalf of the Suffolk County Board of Supervisors for removal of the power of appropriation from the bill which created the LISPC. Boyle argued that control of park locations in Suffolk should rest with the county's board of supervisors, and pointed to continuing traffic problems that would result from the work of the LISPC. Moses countered that no large-scale public park or parkway system could be constructed without the power of eminent domain

by the state. Moses then called on Jay Downer, the chief engineer of both the Westchester County Park and Bronx River Parkway Commissions, to argue on the LISPC's behalf. Downer eloquently pointed out that without the power of eminent domain, construction of any system of public projects, such as sewers, could indefinitely be stalled by a single land owner. He also alluded to the fears and reservations voiced by residents and planning boards of Westchester during construction of the Bronx River Parkway. He noted that these concerns turned into appreciation, once the parkway's convenience and role in reducing local traffic congestion became apparent. The hearing concluded that the LISPC would retain its right of eminent domain.<sup>13</sup>

Although the LISPC generally encountered severe and widespread opposition, some elements of the local community supported its work. In a 1924 editorial, "A Long Island Park System," the *Bay Shore Journal* opposed

a current theory that there is an inherent conflict in suburbs of great cities between the demands of the public for parks and parkways and the vested rights and interests of local residents and owners of large estates who have already preempted most of the best locations. There is no such conflict....[T]he best interests of local property owners are served by intelligent long-term planning for facilities, for only by such planning can local residents prevent the over-crowding of roads...trespassing on private property and other results of the irresistible pressure of the masses to reach the shore and countryside. The program...will protect the landscape, provide for the public and prevent private owners from being over-run by making adequate provision for public facilities. It does not matter whether this subject is approached from the point of view of conservation, national health and efficiency, or selfishness—the paths all lead to the same conclusion.

In spite of sporadic support in the press, opposition from local civic groups continued.<sup>14</sup>

Instead of trying to acquire land from all the towns that owned part of Jones Beach at one time, the LISPC decided to work with Hempstead, which it considered the most cooperative and strategically placed. Late in 1925, the commission presented a proposition to the voters of Hempstead for ceding to the state certain lands off the town's south shore. Rumors spread about a Coney Island-type development of Jones Beach, the profit from which would be made by the state and not the local communities. Many people in Hempstead believed that if the project proceeded unchecked the area would be overrun with tourists and cheap amusements catering to them. On election day, 1925, the *New York Herald Tribune* commented in its Westchester and Nassau sections:

In two towns within Nassau County, Hempstead and Oyster Bay, a peculiarly important issue is to be voted upon, of moment to all Long Island. The question is upon surrendering the marvelous ocean shore of Jones Beach to a state body, the Long Island State Park Commission,

and to a private individual in the case of Oyster Bay. Both towns should defeat the proposals. A Nassau County park commission can handle this problem far better than the arrogant Moses commission or private development. The voters of Hempstead and Oyster Bay should keep this priceless heritage for the benefit of their towns and all Long Island.<sup>15</sup>

Of the 26,604 people who turned out to vote, only 5,331 supported the LISPC proposition, as opposed to 12,695 against and 8,578 abstentions. From this crushing defeat Moses learned that before he could expect to obtain the land for Jones Beach he first would have to court and educate the public.<sup>16</sup>

One of the LISPC's earliest outside expressions of institutional support appeared early in 1926 in *Parks on Long Island both Regional and Local*, the first annual report of the Committee on a Regional Plan for New York and its Environs, chaired by Frederick A. Delano. The report made suggestions similar to those of the LISPC and rejected the kind of development recommended by the Nassau County Committee. Pointing to the inevitability of the expansion of the Island's population and a continual growth in the number of visitors from New York City, the report proposed an extensive program of park development on Long Island, including Jones Beach. Because of a speculative boom spurred by developers' buying South Shore land for future commercial and residential construction, the report recommended prompt action before much of the open space on Long Island was eliminated.<sup>17</sup>

Development of all of Jones Beach as a park was strongly suggested in the report, one section of which on "Particular Locations on the Outer Beach" affirmed the desirability of the site for a resort. Jones Beach was an excellent location for a regional park because of its expansive area (more than 2,000 acres of dunes and another 2,500 of marshy islands). The report also stressed its proximity to New York City and its possible accessibility through the construction of a relatively inexpensive causeway. In addition, its lands were publicly owned by the towns of Hempstead, Oyster Bay, and Babylon. The section on "What Regional Parks Should Be" described the size and comprehensive nature of facilities to be included in a regional park owned by the state:

Discriminations between the would-be visitors to regional parks who come from nearby and those who come from a distance will prove to be intolerable...such a park, when appropriately developed and administered, affords a protection to the local community...of greater need every year...[and] relieves the locality of the burden of maintaining roads, public utilities, and police within its boundaries.<sup>18</sup>

Support of the type provided by the report proved highly valuable to the LISPC. Shortly after its publication, Moses pursued a different course toward land acquisition and achieved greater success. Late in 1925, he formed the Hempstead Planning Commission, made up of LISPC and Hempstead town

board members. By selecting prominent citizens and members of the town board to form a delegation concerned with both town and LISPC interests, he eventually won control of the lands on the western end of Jones Beach. A planning commission was formed, chaired by Thomas A. McWhinney, of Hempstead, with Moses serving as vice chairman. McWhinney was the owner of a Long Island real estate firm, had been a Republican Assemblyman from 1914 to 1923, was active in local politics, and was to become the chairman of the Hempstead Planning Board from 1926 until his death in 1933. Moses quickly became friendly with McWhinney and subsequently obtained the Hempstead delegation's favor by assuring that all construction costs at Jones Beach would be borne by the state, and that the town would maintain control of a tract containing a lifesaving station at Short Beach, immediately west of Jones Beach. However, Zach's Inlet, which separated Short Beach from Jones Beach, closed through natural processes by the end of 1926 and now is part of Jones Beach proper. The Hempstead Planning Commission became a legal entity on 31 March 1926, through enactment of Chapter 205 of the Laws of New York. This, in conjunction with campaigning by McWhinney and close cooperation between the LISPC and the Hempstead town board on plans for the beach, enabled Moses to gain the trust of the people of the town. The planning commission submitted a "Plan for the Disposition of the Common Lands of the town of Hempstead," suggesting conveyance to the state of all land between Hempstead's south shore and Short Beach, including Jones Inlet. On 2 November 1926, the voters of Hempstead passed a slightly adapted, more specific version of the LISPC's 1925 proposition. This time, 18,872 of the 38,036 ballots cast favored ceding the Hempstead town lands on Jones Beach to the state, with 5,076 people voting against and 14,088 abstaining. Undoubtedly, McWhinney played a part in getting out the vote. Perhaps it was his influence that put the Republican party and the Long Island Chamber of Commerce solidly behind the state park program by 1928.<sup>19</sup>

Although the LISPC received institutional support in the form of the regional plan, and the town of Hempstead eventually supported its work at Jones Beach, other towns proved harder to convince. On 24 August 1926, the newly formed Planning Commission of the Town of Oyster Bay held a hearing after the Hempstead Planning Commission gave it an opportunity to express its concern with the Jones Beach State Park project. The Oyster Bay group questioned Moses and his Hempstead allies about their plans for expanding the project, along with the use of the Seaman Gore, an area whose ownership was under dispute among individuals and the two towns. However, Moses and the LISPC counsel, Raymond P. McNulty, declined to discuss any plans not covered in the Hempstead proposition, although they were open to suggestions from the Oyster Bay Commission. Surely Moses was reluctant to involve himself in a prolonged discussion about Long Island park plans in general; some of his previous bold pronouncements may have cost him the initial vote in Hempstead.<sup>20</sup>

The five Oyster Bay people at the hearing displayed a variety of attitudes toward the LISPC, most of which reflected the Nassau County Committee's position on land development of Jones Beach. Frederick H. Maidment, however, discussed at length his conviction that the Oyster Bay land should and would inevitably be turned over to the state. Maidment was disappointed with the LISPC's choice of working with Hempstead only, in a piecemeal fashion, rather than presenting a comprehensive plan to all the towns that would be involved. Thomas A. McWhinney, who became a LISPC commissioner replacing Townsend Scudder in 1927, strongly endorsed the work of the LISPC at the hearing, and offered to campaign in Oyster Bay to have that town's lands on Jones Beach granted to the state. This hearing demonstrated that powerful elements of the Oyster Bay community wished to maintain control of the town lands under question, and have the causeway to Jones Beach re-routed through Oyster Bay rather than Hempstead. Because Oyster Bay planned to retain some of its lands on Jones Beach, re-routing would enhance the possibilities of their private development. Moreover, a causeway and connecting parkway through Oyster Bay would foster access to and development of adjacent areas. Private development also would generate much-wanted property tax income for the town.<sup>21</sup>

Opposition to the LISPC's work on Jones Beach continued throughout its development, as summarized by Edmond S. Fish in a 1941 issue of the *Saturday Evening Post*:

Battle lines reached from Long Island town halls to the capital at Albany. Skirmishes were frequent. In Hempstead, Oyster Bay, Babylon, and Islip, Moses and his associates were carpetbaggers come to take away the priceless way of life of the residents. At Albany Moses and his ideas for a huge beach park were simply called "crazy." Upstate legislators balked at voting public money to be spent "way down on Long Island."<sup>22</sup>

The private and local government sectors still believed that the work of the LISPC on Jones Beach and the parkway to it threatened their own interests. For them, the commission seemed to move too fast, with little respect for affected communities. As stated by the *Babylon Leader*,

Babylon wants this land which has been hers...for nearly a century and a half before the state came into existence to keep as a heritage for its children...Keep it--it is a park at present--a natural park swept by breezes from the bay and ocean. Enjoy it as it is or improve it. But keep it--never surrender one inch.<sup>23</sup>

From late 1926 throughout 1927, the work on Jones Beach State Park progressed. After some initial conflicts with interests that wanted private development of certain sections, Moses won the confidence and support of the people of the towns that owned the remaining land on Jones Beach. On 8 November 1927, the town of Oyster Bay, under the supervision of Chester

Painter, submitted a proposition for the town and the city of Glen Cove to cede land to New York State, under conditions of limited town ownership and construction of a boulevard by the state on the lands in question. The vote in the town of Oyster Bay was 3,803 in favor, 815 against; Glen Cove supported the proposition by a count of 1,412 yeas to a mere 177 nays. The overwhelming support the proposition received stemmed from the adaptation of the LISPC's style of land acquisition to one based on collaboration. Later, the town of Babylon also conveyed additional acreage on Jones Beach to the LISPC, which, together with increased local support, enabled work to progress rapidly. By August 1929, the Wantagh Causeway, the Jones Beach water tower, Ocean Drive, The east bathhouse, and parking fields were largely completed.<sup>24</sup>

On the opening day of Jones Beach, 4 August 1929, the Wantagh Parkway also opened, allowing cars to cross over the causeway to Jones Beach. Opening-day festivities featured Governor Franklin Delano Roosevelt and former Governor Alfred E. Smith as speakers, as well as a visit by the celebrated warship *Old Ironsides*. High winds blew up a sandstorm that nearly halted activities. Many felt that the project would be a financial failure and waste of state expenditures. As the summer season drew to a close, however, appreciation for the park increased. On 5 November 1929, at a biennial Oyster Bay town meeting, the town board's proposition for development of town lands at Jones Beach for use by town residents passed, with 1,115 voting in favor. Some of the 651 voters against the measure may have opposed retaining town ownership of the land, and supported an expansion of the state-owned park. At a special town meeting on 17 December, the people of Oyster Bay voted 572 to 117 to grant the state more land for the widening and protection of Ocean Boulevard. The collaborative efforts of the LISPC proved successful in the acquisition of this additional land in Oyster Bay, title to which required that the commission build three twenty-foot-long underpasses beneath Ocean Boulevard, from the bay to the beach side, and two twenty-two-foot-wide access ramps from the town lands adjacent to the boulevard. The LISPC also consented to the town's construction of beach pavilions, concrete walkways to and from Ocean Boulevard, and additional underpasses if needed. All this was contrary to the LISPC's stated philosophy, and clearly differed from Moses' conception; he felt that the entire barrier island should be developed exclusively as a state park facility. However, through these concessions the LISPC was able to continue its work on Jones Beach State Park.<sup>25</sup>

During 1930, its first full year of operation, one and one-half million visitors made the trip to Jones Beach, a total that rose to nearly four million in 1941, dropped off during World War II, then soared to more than eight million in 1960. Since then, the figure has remained fairly high: the number of visitors counted in 1991 totalled 9,664,769.

The early work of the LISPC at Jones Beach deserves continued study, with at least two important characteristics that merit attention. Because of its

status as a state body, the commission's level of authority allowed the interests of the state to weigh heavier in the balance than local tax-base concerns. And the creation of a commission composed of both state and local interests enabled the LISPC to overcome severe opposition and create a state park from private and town lands. Part 2 of this article, to be published in the Fall 1994 issue of the LIHJ, will discuss the grand design of Jones Beach, the aesthetic influences which shaped the park, and the architectural beauty and harmony achieved.

#### NOTES

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3. Caro, 161.
4. Robert Moses, "Address to the Freeport Historical Society," 1974, Robert Moses Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, New York Public Library (hereafter cited as RMP); A. G. Thompson, *Report on the Wild Lands of Long Island* (New York: Long Island Railroad Company, 1860); see also Winslow C. Watson, "The Plains of Long Island," in *New York State Agricultural Society Proceedings for 1859* (Albany: Charles Van Benthuyssen, 1860):485-505.
5. Moses, memorandum to Governor Alfred E. Smith, 9 January 1924, RMP.
6. Theodosius Stevens, "Acquisition of Land for Park Purposes," *Park International*, January 1921, 57.
7. All citations from *New York Times*; "A Few Rich Golfers Accused of Blocking Plan for a State Park," 8 Jan. 1925, 1:1; "Moses Is Assailed by Park Opponent," 9 Jan. 1925, 19:3; "Price on Park Site Boosted by Buyers," 10 Jan. 1925, 15:4; "Park Board Barred from Taylor Estate," Feb. 1925, 10:1; "Says Rich Gobble up Waterfront Land," 11 Feb. 1925, 17:1; "Battle Over Parks at Albany Hearing," 12 Feb. 1925, 1:7; "Calls Park Council Speculators Foe," 14 Feb. 1925, 15:3; "Long Island Park Seizure Attacked," 16 Feb. 1925, 21:3; "Prohibits Changes on Taylor Estate," 18 Feb. 1925, 21:4; W.K. Macy, letter to editor, "The State Park Commission," 19 Feb. 1925, 18:7.
8. Charles Downing Lay, "New York's Park Problems," RMP, box 6; Nelson Lewis, "A Metropolitan Park Study," 1922, RMP, box 6; New York State Association, Committee on a State Park Plan, "A State Park Plan for New York with a Proposal for the New Park Bond Issue" (New York, 1922); "Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs." Report No. 1, 1926.
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10. Lay, 14.
11. Nassau County Committee, *Report No. 3*.
12. Suffolk County Taxpayers Association, "Park Memorandum," 4 August 1924.
13. LISPC Transcript, Joint Hearing of Senate Finance and Assembly Ways and Means Committees, 11 Feb. 1925, RMP, box 67.
14. "Long Island Park System," *Bay Shore Journal*, 29 February 1924; see also Frederick W. Olmstead, "Constructive State Park Program the Biggest Planning Project in the State," *Garden City News*, 23 January 1924, 4; "Park Program the Biggest Planning Project in the State," *ibid.*, 8; "Constructive State Park Program," *Sea Cliff News*, 23 January 1924, 4.



15. *New York Herald Tribune*, 2 Nov. 1925.
16. Town of Hempstead, *Outside Record*, 28:178.
17. Committee on a Regional Plan for New York and Its Environs, *Parks on Long Island--Both Regional and Local*, First Annual Report, 12 January 1926, New York Public Library,  $\frac{C}{7}$ , PV 1891.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Town of Hempstead, *Outside Record*, 28:178.
20. Transcript, Hearing Given to Members of the Planning Commission of the Town of Oyster Bay, 24 August 1926, 9, 23.
21. *Ibid.*, 23.
22. Edmond S. Fish, "New Swimmin' Hole," *Saturday Evening Post*, 5 July 1941, 12-15, 51, 52.
23. *Babylon Leader*, 18 July 1924; see also Caro, 204.
24. Town of Oyster Bay, Biennial Town Meeting, 8 Nov. 1927, 481-83.
25. *Ibid.*, 5 Nov. 1929, 485-86; Special Town Meeting, 17 Dec. 1929, 487-90.
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# Remembering Great Neck

By Joann P. Krieg

In his most recent study of American history, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, Michael Kammen argues the inevitable interweaving of history, by which he means scholarly chronicles of the past, with memory, the collective traditions, beliefs, and myths of a people. Kammen looks at the ways in which this interweaving has affected our understanding of our national history and its events, how it has enabled Americans to become a people with a past. Borrowing from the historian, the present study seeks to apply his thesis to the interweaving of history and memory that surrounds the brief and discrete episode in the lives of Scott and Zelda Fitzgerald when they resided in Great Neck, Long Island. To do so requires the reiteration of many facts already established about this period in their lives, but by drawing them together in one chronology a complete sequence of events is established. By adding to this chronology the memories of others, as well as those of the Fitzgeralds themselves, the inevitability of the intermingling to which Kammen points becomes clear; indeed, Fitzgerald himself demonstrates in the very working out of *The Great Gatsby* the truth at which the historian has belatedly arrived.<sup>1</sup>

In October 1922, F. Scott and Zelda Fitzgerald, along with their year-old daughter Scottie and Zelda's pet police dog Fritz, moved into a tan stucco house at 6 Gateway Drive in Great Neck, on Long Island's North Shore. They had learned of Great Neck from a resident there, Ring Lardner, whom they had met at the Plaza Hotel when they came to New York from St. Paul, Minnesota, in September 1922. Because of its proximity to Manhattan and its lovely environment, Great Neck was popular with many people in the theatrical and publishing worlds who made their living in the city but did not wish to live there. Other residents at the time included Will Durant, George M. Cohan, Walter Chrysler, Alfred Sloan, Ed Wynn, P. G. Wodehouse, George M. Kaufman, Oscar Hammerstein, Marilyn Miller, and Sam Harris, the Broadway producer who agreed to produce Scott Fitzgerald's only play, *The Vegetable*.<sup>2</sup>

The Fitzgeralds paid \$300-a-month rent for the house at Gateway Drive. It was, in Zelda's words, a "nifty little Babbitt-house," which required three servants to keep things running smoothly. In a letter to her sister Rosalind, Zelda wrote of equipping its kitchen with "flour sieves and cocktail shakers." They had a second-hand Rolls Royce, and Zelda drove "carelessly," like the people in *Gatsby*; she was arrested for speeding once in Douglaston, which is

just west of Great Neck, across the Queens border. Cautioning the arresting officer that she was dangerous, Zelda identified herself as the “Bobhaired Bandit.”<sup>3</sup>

The Rolls was housed in a detached garage which had a room above it, and it was in that room, not in the house itself, where Fitzgerald wrote the opening chapters of *Gatsby*. He also worked there on his accounts, and after each attempt to balance the books he would vow to curb their expenses, but to little avail. Neither he nor Zelda was capable of financial discipline, and in an effort to increase their income Scott worked all that winter in the room above the garage to produce eleven stories for the *Saturday Evening Post*. He received \$17,000 for them. In the year 1922-1923, Zelda sold two short stories, a review, and two articles, earning a total of \$1,300. Another short story, “Our Own Movie Queen,” was completed late in 1923, and Scott entered it in his ledger with a note saying, “Two-thirds written by Zelda. Only my climax and revision.” There was no credit given to Zelda, however, at the time of publication, though the \$1,000 Scott received for the story was split between them.<sup>4</sup>

These, at least, were successful ventures; another, Scott's only attempt at writing for the theater, was not. In fall 1921, the year before the move to Long Island, he had written to his agent, Harold Ober, telling him of a play he had conceived which he believed would make his fortune; it would be, he claimed, “The funniest [play] ever written.” To Maxwell Perkins, his editor at Scribner's, he wrote that he was working on “an awfully good play that's going to make me rich forever.” The play was *The Vegetable*, produced in 1923. After the Theatre Guild had turned it down, Edmund Wilson, a friend of Scott's, promoted the play by praising it and, eventually, Sam Harris took it on for a fall production. In the summer of 1923, then, Fitzgerald commuted from Great Neck to New York for rehearsals. Ever observant, he remembered something of these trips when he was in his late thirties and described himself as being “like the beady-eyed men I used to see on the commuting train from Great Neck.” The play opened in Atlantic City in November, with a fellow Great Necker, Ernest Truex, in the featured role of Jerry Frost, the postman who becomes president of the United States. It closed almost immediately, and Fitzgerald turned his attention to writing the novel that became *Gatsby*.<sup>5</sup>

Zelda's sister, Rosalind, came to stay with them in Great Neck in July and August 1923. She remembered it as a time of great merriment, but added that Scott drank heavily during the time they lived on Long Island. She told Zelda's biographer of a party they took her to at a Long Island estate that lasted all night and into the next morning. Scott was drinking and would not leave, so Zelda left without him. Rosalind claimed it was the only time she ever heard her sister criticize Scott, when she “quietly” stated that night, “I never did want to marry Scott.” It was a lie, of course, but at the words there comes unbidden, from the corner of one's mind, the vision of Daisy Fay in her parents' home half an hour before the bridal dinner, “lying on her bed as lovely as the June night in her flowered dress—and as drunk as a monkey [crying]....‘Tell 'em all Daisy's chang' her mine!’”<sup>6</sup>

In fall 1923, a reporter from the *Baltimore Sun* arrived to interview Zelda, ostensibly to learn if she was the heroine of her husband's books. Zelda coyly protested that she had never been interviewed before, and called for Scott to come help her. There was talk of stories she was writing, and of an absence of typewriters in the house since neither of the Fitzgeralds could type. Zelda said of their home life,

Home is the place to do the things you want to do. Here we eat just when we want to. Breakfast and luncheon are extremely moveable feasts. It's terrible to allow conventional habits to gain a hold on a whole household; to eat, sleep and live by clock ticks.

These references to time cannot fail to evoke similar references that dominate the scene, in chapter 5 of *Gatsby*, when Jay and Daisy meet for the first time after a five-year separation. One wonders whether the cavalier attitude toward time, which Zelda here seems to share with *Gatsby*, is truly hers or if she was merely parroting her husband. In any case, Scott pronounced her "perfect," which the reporter duly noted.<sup>7</sup>

While living in Great Neck the Fitzgeralds celebrated their third wedding anniversary. They also made numerous trips to New York City (perhaps passing Myrtle Drive, just a few blocks from Gateway Drive, a possible source for Myrtle Wilson's name). The city was their place for revelry, and the newspapers reported everything they did there. The fastest (and therefore most desirable) route from Great Neck to New York City was by Northern Boulevard, across the Flushing River and past Flushing Meadow, then west on Jackson Avenue to the Queensboro Bridge. Driving this route, one passed the swamp in Flushing Meadow which was being filled in at the time with a great mound of ashes. As Scott later wrote,

For us the city was inevitably linked up with Bacchic diversions, mild or fantastic. We could organize ourselves only on our return to Long Island and not always there. ...I would take the Long Island atmosphere that I had familiarly breathed and materialize it beneath unfamiliar skies.<sup>8</sup>

In a letter to his cousin in October 1922, not long after the move to Great Neck, Scott wrote,

We are established in the above town very comfortably and having a winter of hard work....Great Neck is a great place for celebrities--it being the habitat of Mae Murray, Frank Craven, Herbert Swope, Arthur Hopkins, Jane Cowl, Joseph Santley, Samuel Goldwyn, Ring Lardner, Fontayne Fox, "Tad," Gene Buck, Donald Bryan, Tom Wise, Jack Hazard, General Pershing. It is most amusing, after the dull healthy middle west. For instance, at a party last night where we went were John McCormick, Hugh Walpole, F.P.A. [Franklin P. Adams], Arthur William Brown, Rudolph Friml, and Deems Taylor. They have no mock-modesty and all perform their various stunts upon the faintest request so it's like a sustained concert.

The list of names, some of them unknown to us today, reads like Gatsby's guest list which is, in its own way, a catalogue to rival those of Walt Whitman.<sup>9</sup>

A letter to Maxwell Perkins in January 1923 finds Scott playfully referring to its place of origin as "Great Necking." By June that year, the house was full of guests and parties, and drinking. Scott and Ring Lardner had become drinking buddies and companion pranksters. The most famous of their pranks was when they danced noisily about the estate of publisher Frank Doubleday, where Joseph Conrad was staying. Fitzgerald admired Conrad's writing, and the two really hoped to attract his attention, but the caretaker threw them off the estate.<sup>10</sup>

The house next door to the Lardners was rented by Herbert B. Swope, an executive editor of the *New York World*. Of Swope, Lardner once said, "He conducts an almost continuous house party. It's almost impossible to work at times and still more difficult to sleep." Ring Lardner Jr. tells of his father and Scott Fitzgerald sitting on the porch of the Lardner house watching the guests arrive for Swope's lavish parties, guests that included Leslie Howard, George M. Cohan, Marilyn Miller, Dorothy Parker, Noel Coward, Edna Ferber, and Irving Berlin.<sup>11</sup>

It may have been during that summer that they met the man Matthew Bruccoli believed to have been the model for Jay Gatsby, the Long Island bootlegger Max Gerlach. Near the end of her life Zelda spoke of a Great Neck neighbor "named von Guerlach or something who was said to be General Pershing's nephew and was in trouble over bootlegging." Scott kept among his mementos a note from Gerlach dated 20 July 1923, in which Gerlach refers to Fitzgerald as "old sport," in the manner Gatsby later displayed. A. Scott Berg, in his biography of Maxwell Perkins, attributes the model for Gatsby to a man named Edward M. Fuller. Fuller was a neighbor of the Fitzgeralds who, with his brokerage firm partner William F. McGee, had been convicted of stealing money from their clients. The man who set Fuller and McGee up in business was the gambler, Arnold Rothstein, husband of the comedian Fanny Brice and model for Meyer Wolfsheim, which strengthens, somewhat, the Fuller connection to Gatsby. But the identification of the actual figure pales into insignificance before Fitzgerald's own statement made after the publication of *Gatsby*. Fitzgerald wrote to a friend that he was right "about Gatsby being blurred and patchy. I never at any one time saw him clear myself--for he started out as one man I knew and then changed into myself--the amalgam was never complete in my mind." If true, the admission points up a startling example of psychodrama that magnifies the kind of changing landscape of memory which this chronology aims to establish.<sup>12</sup>

Scott Fitzgerald's ledgers for the year 1923 indicated earnings of \$36,000--all of which he and Zelda spent--and a debt of \$5,000. His end-of-year note reads, "The most miserable year since I was nineteen, full of terrible failures and acute miseries." Zelda's unpublished novel, "Caesar's Things," says that their life during the time spent on Long Island was "a matter of rendez-vous

and reward...There were many changing friends." One wonders how these friends were treated at 6 Gateway Drive. Anita Loos recalled visiting there one evening, and that Scott bombarded her and Zelda at close range with "two enormous candelabras with lighted candles, a water carafe, a metal wine cooler and a silver platter." The women took refuge under the oak dining table. Early the following year, Scott wrote to a friend, Thomas Boyd, and commented that, "Rebecca West and a rather (not *too*) literary crowd are coming out Sunday for a rather formal party and Zelda's scared."<sup>13</sup>

Whether Rebecca West actually attended that party is not clear, but Nancy Milford records West's impressions of Zelda, which were that she was "very plain...I would almost go so far as to say that her face had a certain craggy homeliness." West says that she "went to a party and saw her," which does not sound as if Zelda were her hostess. More to the point, West says of the meeting that she and Zelda got along well, but "our relationship was interrupted by Scott Fitzgerald's anger at me because I did not come to a party...the trouble was that nobody had told me where the party was."<sup>14</sup>

It was important, in the 1920s, to know where the party was, though the party often masked the reality that lay behind it. In "Echoes of the Jazz Age," Fitzgerald wrote of the decade, "By this time contemporaries of mine had begun to disappear into the dark maw of violence. A classmate killed his wife and himself on Long Island, another tumbled 'accidentally' from a skyscraper in Philadelphia, another purposely from a skyscraper in New York." In another retrospective, Zelda, trying to recover her sanity at a clinic in Switzerland, wrote Scott a very long letter in which she recorded much of their lives together, the good and the bad of it. Of the Great Neck period, she writes,

In Great Neck there was always disorder and quarrels: about the Golf Club, about the Foxes, about Peggy Weber, about Helen Buck, about everything. We went to the Rumseys, and that awful night at the Mackeys when Ring sat in the cloak-room. We saw Esther and Glen Hunter and Gilbert Seldes. We gave lots of parties: the biggest one for Rebecca West. We drank Bass Pale Ale and went always to the Bucks or the Lardners or the Swopes when they weren't at our house. We saw lots of Sydney Howard and fought the weekend that Bill Motter was with us. We drank always and finally came to France because there were always too many people in the house.<sup>15</sup>

As late as the last two years of his life, Scott Fitzgerald was still remembering Great Neck. In a copy of Malraux's *Man's Hope* he wrote Roman numerals I through IX on the back cover, obviously for each of the chapters in *The Great Gatsby*. Next to each he entered names and places connected to the history of his brief stay on Long Island, almost as if he were attempting, at that late date, to reestablish for himself the actual events that gave rise to what might be termed the "mystic" narrative of his artistic creation. The blurring of these actual events with the mythic elements of the American success story, which makes *The Great Gatsby* a classic in our

national literature, has its parallel in the accounts and remembrances of Scott and Zelda and those who participated in the Fitzgerald's Great Neck experience. From one of these participants, Shane Leslie, the Anglo-Irish author who taught at the Newman School where Scott Fitzgerald was a student, we have perhaps the best example, outside of the book itself, of how this blurring occurs. Asked to write a publicity statement for *Gatsby* from Paris, Leslie offered this:

I think this is a marvelous picture book. It brings back to me the world of Long Island like an Arabian Night mixed with a subway sound. I can see the exact big mansion and the flow of guests and the riotous hospitality and the green light blinking on the pier and I can hear the foghorn bleating like a ghost suffering vivisection all night. Long Island cannot have an Epic because its inhabitants are not Sagalike or heroic--only locusts and fireflies that float in an ephemeral radiancy. But this is a wonderful idyll of Long Island--How well I remember the Ash heap off Flushing.

The writer has brought back dead months and dead people to me and nailed down sights and scents and days and atmospheres with nice brass tacks of phrases. Three or four dwell with me--perhaps I shall remember the book long after I have forgotten the background. Yet the background is real and the book art--artificial art, but really wonderful.<sup>16</sup>

To this, one can only add that it is also, in Michael Kammen's terms, mystical.

Adding greater intensity to this process of mystical remembrance is the fact that *Gatsby* itself seems to fall well within the parameters of the argument Kammen describes as having developed in the 1920s between those critics, writers, and scholars who sought to demythologize American history, and the romantics who defended traditional views of our past. The controversy spilled across the pages of journals and magazines, including the *Saturday Evening Post* which was publishing Fitzgerald's stories. While in *Gatsby* he turns his hand to the demythologizing of Benjamin Franklin and the myth of success, absolving his hero of blame by faulting the myth that fed his self(mis)conception, Fitzgerald manages, in the end, to deflect attention from personalities (such as Franklin) who had gained mythic dimensions, and direct it instead toward the original myth, having to do with the land itself. This he upholds and reinforces--though not without resorting to that dubious word, "pander"--by implying that though the dreamt-of prize America offers may yet elude our grasp, we are ever drawn to it by the collective memory of what its first sighting must have aroused in the minds of men. Thus the "memory" of that "enchanted moment" to which the narrator in *The Great Gatsby* refers, when man "must have held his breath in the presence of this continent," has become for us our past as surely as if we had experienced it.<sup>17</sup>

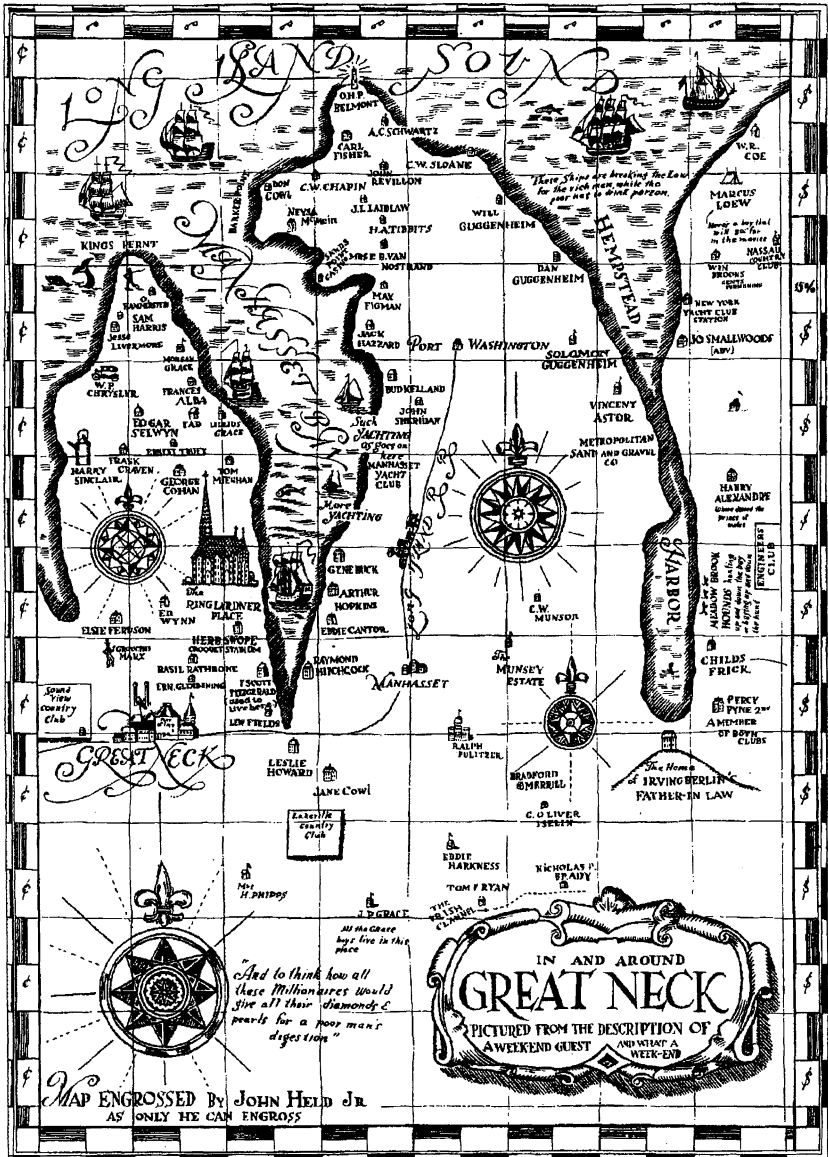
In much the same way Fitzgerald's own past--specifically that portion of it

spent in Great Neck--was mythologized in *Gatsby* through a fusion of history and romantic memory. Matthew Bruccoli hinted at the process some years ago when he pointed to the "sense of authenticity in details" that Fitzgerald created in *Gatsby* in order to encourage the reader to accept and believe in his plot and characters. Arguing that the technique was most easily perceived in the treatment of Long Island, he claims Fitzgerald actually "superimposed his own geography on a real locale." Bruccoli's critical caveat was against a too close identification of places in the novel with actual locations on Long Island. While there is legitimacy in this, it hardly seems the point to be made once one has realized the extent to which memory is involved in this fictional invention, the collective memory of F. Scott and others who shared with him, to whatever degree, the Long Island experience. Clearly, in using an actual locale to create this memory of national myths and beliefs, Fitzgerald went beyond merely superimposing his own geography. One might better say that in recasting his personal history in a cultural mold he transformed the private memory into that mystical realm wherein national myth is contained, and sustained.<sup>18</sup>

## NOTES

1. Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory* (New York: Knopf, 1991), 7; F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Great Gatsby* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925).
2. F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Vegetable* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923); Nancy Milford, "Gatsby, Where Are You?" *Life Style* 19 (November 1971), 24.
3. Nancy Milford, *Zelda, a Biography* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), 102.
4. Matthew J. Bruccoli, *As Ever, Scott Fitzgerald: Letters Between F. Scott Fitzgerald and His Literary Agent Harold Ober, 1919-1940* (New York: Lippincott, 1972), 32-33; Milford, "Gatsby," 26.
5. Fitzgerald, *Vegetable*, ix.
6. Milford, *Zelda* 99-100; Fitzgerald, *Gatsby*, 77.
7. Milford, *Zelda*, 101; Fitzgerald, *Gatsby*, 87-97.
8. F. Scott Fitzgerald, *Correspondence of F. Scott Fitzgerald*, Eds. Matthew J. Bruccoli and Margaret M. Duggan (New York: Random House, 1980), 29.
9. F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Crack-Up*, ed. Edmund Wilson (New York: New Directions, 1956); for Gatsby's guest list, see Fitzgerald, *Gatsby*, 61-63.
10. Fitzgerald, *Correspondence*, 123.
11. Herbert Mitgang, "Retracing Fitzgerald's Footsteps," *New York Times*, 2 February 1976.
12. Matthew J. Bruccoli, "'How Are You and the Family, Old Sport?': Gerlach and Gatsby," *Fitzgerald/Hemingway Annual 1975*, eds. Matthew J. Bruccoli and C. E. Frazer Clark Jr. (Englewood, CO: Microcard Editions Books, 1975), 34, 36; A. Scott Berg, *Max Perkins, Editor of Genius* (New York: Dutton, 1978), 68; Fitzgerald, *Crack-Up*, 271.
13. Milford, *Zelda*, 103; Scott Donaldson, *Fool for Love, F. Scott Fitzgerald* (New York: Congdon and Weed, 1983), 163; Fitzgerald, *Correspondence*, 138.
14. Milford, *Zelda*, 99;
15. Fitzgerald, *Crack-Up*, 20, and *Correspondence*, 246.
16. Fitzgerald, *Correspondence*, 174.
17. Kammen, 493-501; Fitzgerald, *Gatsby*, 182.
18. Matthew J. Bruccoli, *Apparatus for F. Scott Fitzgerald's The Great Gatsby* (Columbia, SC: Univ. of South Carolina Press, 1974), 117.





Drawing by John Held Jr., The New Yorker, 16 July 1927, 17.

# *The Great Gatsby* As Long Island History

By Roger Wunderlich

Scott Fitzgerald moved to Long Island to write about it, or wrote about it because he had moved there. Either way, what Nick Carraway called "that slender riotous island" is the backdrop for *The Great Gatsby*. This masterpiece, published in 1925, laments the American dream dehumanized by the power of wealth; it portrays the North Shore gold coast as a playground for heirs and clones of the robber barons, whose lavishly self-indulgent lifestyle set the tone for the Roaring Twenties.<sup>1</sup>

My purpose is to measure the book in terms of Long Island history, which has reflected as well as contributed to the major phases of national life from colonial times to the present. This is especially true of *Gatsby*, in which the nation is the subject, the main characters come from the Middle West, and the setting is Long Island, the site of thriving suburbs convenient to metropolitan sources of income.

Most of the characters in the novel reside in the villages Fitzgerald calls West Egg and East Egg. West Egg is Great Neck, where Jay Gatsby, an "elegant young roughneck," lives on a forty-acre Kings Point estate from which he can stare across Manhasset Bay at mansions symbolic of older plunder. East Egg is Manhasset Neck, the peninsula that contains Manhasset, Plandome, Port Washington, and Sands Point jutting into the Sound, where the green light burned through the night at the end of Daisy Buchanan's dock. Many readers have searched for the prototypes of the Gatsby and Buchanan houses, but none should waste time seeking the model for Nick's little bungalow next to Gatsby's estate. Such an eighty-dollar-a-month "weatherbeaten cardboard ...eyesore...at the very tip of the egg, only fifty yards from the Sound, and squeezed between two huge places that rented for twelve to fifteen thousand a season," existed only in Fitzgerald's fertile imagination.<sup>2</sup>

Far from coming to life in the jazz age as the setting for *The Great Gatsby*, the Eggs were colonial settlements, Manhasset in the 1640s and Great Neck some thirty years later (it is difficult to be precise because records are sparse for the early years). Endowed with fertile soil, access to the Sound, and proximity to Manhattan, the Eggs prospered through the passing years from fishing, farming, cattle raising, haymaking, fruit growing, sand and gravel quarrying, shipping, and ship-repairing. During the Gilded Age they became favored sites for the hundreds of grand estates that dotted both shores of Long

Island. The completion of the Port Washington branch of the Long Island Railroad in 1898, and its electrification twelve years later, spurred the growth of the Eggs as elegant suburbs. By the early 1920s they were havens for thousands of upwardly mobile commuters to whom Fitzgerald paid little or no attention, and for the far smaller number of "people who played polo and were rich together," whose lifestyle completely absorbed him.<sup>3</sup>

The first hundred fifty houses in Great Neck Estates were built in 1922, at a price of \$25,000 each, with three hundred more in the following year. Nineteen twenty-two was also the year in which Scott and Zelda Fitzgerald decided to stop paying \$200 a week to live at the Plaza Hotel, and, with their year-old daughter, Scotty, moved into a tan stucco house at 6 Gateway Drive. There they lived for nineteen months before migrating to the south of France, Scott paying "the rent [\$300 a month] and last month's overdue bills" by writing seven-thousand-word stories in the "large bare room" above the garage. That is where he began *The Great Gatsby*; by the time of its publication in 1925, some six thousand people lived in Great Neck and another twenty thousand on the Manhasset-Plandome-Port Washington-Sands Point peninsula.<sup>4</sup>

Great Neck, only twenty-six minutes by rail from Penn Station, became the country retreat for scores of writers, actors, and artists. Henry Isham Hazelton's history of Long Island, published the same year as *Gatsby*, presents a roster of show business luminaries similar to the guest list at *Gatsby*'s parties, to which "people were not invited--they went there," and "champagne was served in glasses bigger than finger-bowls." As Fitzgerald concludes his comic catalog of freeloaders with the line "all these people came to *Gatsby*'s house in the summer," so Hazelton ends his roll call of Great Neck celebrities with "Jesse Livermore had his home there and Ring Lardner also is numbered among its residents."<sup>5</sup>

Hazelton's list included Donald Brian, Jane Cowl, Olga Petrova, Guy Bolton, Frank Craven, George M. Cohan, Oscar Shaw, Ed Wynn, Ernest Truex, Arthur Hopkins, Sam Harris, and J. E. Hazzard. In a 1927 *New Yorker*, the cartoonist John Held Jr. drew a map of the Necks on which he indicated the houses of business, financial, and Broadway residents, "pictured from the description of a weekend Guest, and what a weekend." In addition to previously mentioned people are entries marked Will, Dan, and Solomon Guggenheim, Eddie Cantor, Leslie Howard, Gene Buck, Groucho Marx, Walter Chrysler, Ralph Pulitzer, Eddie Harkness, Tom F. Ryan, Nicholas Brady, "Herb Swope croquet stadium," and "F. Scott Fitzgerald (used to live here)."<sup>6</sup>

Scott and Zelda were not the sort of suburbanites who joined the PTA and supported the civic association. In their detached, condescending manner, Zelda referred to 6 Gateway Drive as "our nifty little Babbitt-home," while Scott described Great Neck as "one of those little towns springing up on all sides of New York which are built especially for those who have made money suddenly but have never had money before."<sup>7</sup> Such clever but facile judgments ignored the mainstream majority, the rank and file Long Island

Eggers who came by their money the hard way, paid taxes, built schools, and raised families.

For Fitzgerald, old money is a positive phrase, new money a pejorative. People born rich live in East Egg, presumably more entitled to wealth than West Egg's self-made affluents. Inheritors of old money may be as brutal as Tom Buchanan or as shallow as Daisy, his wife, but the source of their wealth is not open to question--what matters is that they have it. Fitzgerald's surrogate narrator, the usually blasé Nick Carraway, is stunned by the knowledge that Tom Buchanan's

family were enormously wealthy...he'd left Chicago and come East in a fashion that rather took your breath away, for instance, he'd brought down a string of polo ponies from Lake Forest. It was hard to realize that a man in my own generation was wealthy enough to do that.<sup>8</sup>

The Gatsby years witnessed the peak of the Ku Klux Klan's revival, when a powerful nativist movement fanned hatred of the black, Jewish, and foreign-born folk of Nassau and Suffolk Counties. Fitzgerald burned no crosses, but his thumb-nail descriptions reflect a bias not far removed from the Klan's. "A gray, scrawny Italian child" lives in the valley of ashes; a woman speaks of "a little kike" she almost married, whom she knew was "way below" her; Meyer Wolfsheim is a "small, flat-nosed Jew," his wife a "lovely Jewess"; a funeral carriage contains mourners "with the tragic eyes and short upper lips of southeastern Europe"--just as Meyer Wolfsheim's "tragic" feature is his nose. Among those present at Gatsby's parties are the Stonewall Jackson Abrams of Georgia. And, while Manhattan-bound on the Queensborough Bridge, Nick reports that,

A limousine passed us, driven by a white chauffeur, in which sat three modish negroes, two bucks and a girl. I laughed aloud as the yolks of their eyeballs rolled toward us in haughty rivalry. 'Anything can happen, now that we've slid over this bridge,' I thought, 'anything at all.'<sup>9</sup>

Such prejudice, overt and covert, may be rationalized as proof of Fitzgerald's artistry, his ability to capture contemporary thought and speech, but it assumes an added significance in Tom Buchanan's approval of xenophobic sociology. "Civilization's going to pieces," he claims. "The idea is if we don't look out the white race will be--will be utterly submerged." He urges Nick and Daisy to read a book to which he refers as *The Rise of the Colored Empires*, by an author he calls Goddard. "These books are all scientific," he goes on. "It's up to us, who are the dominant race, to watch out or these other races will have control of things." As for the actual book by Lothrop Stoddard, *The Rising Tide of Color against White World Supremacy*, published in 1920 by Scribner's, Fitzgerald's publisher, the title gives the plot away. Stoddard warns not only against the deluge of "the truly alien hordes of the European east and south," but also of yellow, brown, and black migration,

a universal peril, menacing every part of the white world...The grim

truth of the matter is this: The whole white race is exposed, immediately or ultimately, to the possibility of social sterilization and final replacement or absorption by the teeming colored races.<sup>10</sup>

Perhaps not coincidentally, Fitzgerald wrote to Edmund Wilson in 1921 that "the negroid streak creeps northward to defile the Nordic race. Already the Italians have the souls of blackamoors." Stoddard continued to flog his belief in Anglo-Nordic dominance in "Kindred Britain," a 1924 article in the same *Saturday Evening Post* issue as Fitzgerald's light-hearted piece about Great Neck, "How to Live on \$36,000 A Year." Another of Stoddard's books, *The Revolt Against Civilization: The Menace of the Under Man*, was published, also by Scribner's, in the *Gatsby* year 1925. This diatribe against democracy contained chapters defending "The Iron Law of Inequality," and the virtues of "Neo-Aristocracy."<sup>11</sup>

Nick and Daisy are unimpressed by his spouting of Stoddard, but this does not deter Tom. "Nowadays," he complains, "people begin by sneering at family life and family institutions, and next they'll throw everything overboard and have intermarriage between black and white."<sup>12</sup> No doubt the passage neatly captures the hypocrisy of the adulterous Tom, but the allusion to miscegenation—a prime scare tactic against integration—may also speak for Fitzgerald. The question is tempting: was Stoddard's "scientific" doctrine of white supremacy invoked to illustrate Buchanan's slave-master, Indian-fighter mentality, or did it express the racial and ethnic phobias entertained at the time by Fitzgerald?

Mix Lothrop Stoddard's work with Oswald Spengler's *Decline of the West* and add T. S. Eliot's *Waste Land* (without its final suggestion of optimism) to appreciate Fitzgerald's prediction of the twilight of America's gods. The Long Island "waste land" in *Gatsby*, halfway between West Egg and Manhattan, is the famous "valley of ashes—a fantastic farm where ashes grow like wheat into ridges and hills and grotesque gardens, where ashes take the forms of houses and chimneys...and men who move dimly and already crumbling through the powdery air." Surmounting this hell on earth is a billboard on which the faceless "blue and gigantic" eyes of Dr. T. J. Eckleburg "brood on over the solemn dumping ground." Here is Fitzgerald's brilliant metaphor for what one interpreter, Marius Brewley, calls "the withering of the American Dream."<sup>13</sup> Certainly, the image of empty eyes overlooking a garden of ashes suggests the twentieth-century doom of the Garden of the World, that fundamental American myth of an Eden hewn from the wilderness by democratic pioneers.

The problem with Fitzgerald's metaphor is that "It ain't necessarily so." In *Gatsby*'s time, when almost every building was heated by coal, the furnaces of Brooklyn and Queens produced tons of ashes every cold-weather day. Ashes had to be removed. They were picked up at curbside and loaded in trucks by New York City street cleaners, driven to sidings, and dropped down gravity chutes into the Brooklyn Ash Removal Company's high-sided,

wooden gondolas. A Long Island Railroad locomotive assembled these cars into thirty-car trains, which twice a day dumped their cargoes into the hideous excavation of the Corona Meadows dump. Richard ("Richie") Harrison, a retired LIRR engineer, explains in his memoir that, "In spite of an ordinance that required each car to be covered by a tarpaulin...a cloud of white dust always filled the air as the runs were made...these trains became popularly known as the 'Talcum Powder Express.'" The Talcum Powder Express made its last run in 1934, after which the filled-in valley of ashes became the site of two World's Fairs and today's green and pleasant Flushing Meadows Park.<sup>14</sup> Thus, after coal-produced heat gave way to ashless oil and gas, this ecological horror and metaphor for cultural death proved only a temporary blight. Western civilization survived--what turned out to be doomed was the valley of ashes.

From a literary standpoint, few faults can be found with the gorgeously written *Gatsby*, a disturbing portrait of a society short on compassion that judges success in terms of power and wealth. However, while exposing the crack in the wall of greed, Fitzgerald showed no corresponding concern for victims of the predators whose doings he recorded. Perhaps he worshipped the same god Mammon he stigmatized in *The Great Gatsby*. This does not dilute his impeachment of the cult of heartless avarice, but suggests a disconcerting ambivalence toward the flaunters of conspicuous waste, whom he envied but did not trust.

The book ends with a piercing elegy for "the old [Long] island here that flowered once for Dutch sailors' eyes—a fresh, green breast of the new world." This unsurpassed passage evokes Long Island as America, an agrarian utopia flawed by our national obsession for money over fellow-feeling. However, it overstates the event to suggest that when members of Henry Hudson's crew set foot on Coney Island they came "face to face for the last time in history with something commensurate to [mankind's] capacity for wonder."<sup>15</sup> The history of Long Island and the United States did not end in 1609, before they began. If so, there was no town meeting nor due process, no bill of rights, no cradle of aviation, no double helix, no walk on the moon.

Matthew J. Bruccoli's summary of Fitzgerald's short story "The Diamond as Big as the Ritz" applies equally to *Gatsby*: "absolute wealth corrupts absolutely and possesses its possessors."<sup>16</sup> Yes, *Gatsby* paints a disturbingly accurate portrait of restless spendthrifts of old and new wealth who, in spite of personal differences, share a common cultural poverty. But for all its eloquence, *The Great Gatsby* is not a warrant for writing off Long Island or the United States, as imperfect as they were and are.

In a letter to his editor, Maxwell Perkins, six months before he died, Fitzgerald recalled reading Oswald Spengler in "the same summer I was writing *The Great Gatsby*, and I don't think I ever recovered from him. He and Marx are the only modern philosophers that still manage to make sense in this horrible mess."<sup>17</sup> Yet, contrary to Spengler and Marx, the "dark fields of the republic" still roll on, while totalitarian dogmas once considered

inevitable lie destroyed in the wake of their own "foul dust." You could not foresee it, old sport, but, as the West declined, the East collapsed.

## NOTES

1. F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Great Gatsby* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925), 4.
2. *Ibid.*, 48, 3, 5.
3. For the origin and growth of Great Neck and the Manhasset peninsular, see Henry Isham Hazelton, *The Boroughs of Brooklyn and Queens Counties of Nassau and Suffolk, Long Island*, 7 vols. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing, 1925) 2:900-902, 913; for the estates, see Dennis P. Sobin, *Dynamics of Community Change: the Case of Long Island's Declining "Gold Coast"* (Port Washington: Ira J. Friedman, 1968), and Robert B. MacKay, "Long Island Country Houses and Their Architects: 1860-1940," *LIHJ* 6 (Spring 1994):168-90; Fitzgerald, *Gatsby*, 6.
4. Fitzgerald, "How to Live on \$36,000 A Year," *Saturday Evening Post*, 5 April 1924, 94.
5. Fitzgerald, *Gatsby*, 41, 47, 63; Hazelton, 2:913. Ring Lardner was Fitzgerald's neighbor, drinking companion, and closest Great Neck friend.
6. John Held Jr., *The New Yorker*, 16 July 1927, 17.
7. Matthew J. Bruccoli, *Some Sort of Epic Grandeur: The Life of F. Scott Fitzgerald* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1981), 176; Fitzgerald, "How to Live on \$36,000 A Year," , 94.
8. Fitzgerald, *Gatsby*, 6.
9. *Ibid.*, 26, 34, 69, 171, 73, 69.
10. *Ibid.*, 13; Lothrop Stoddard, *The Rising Tide of Color against White World Supremacy* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921), 263, 297-98.
11. Fitzgerald to Edmund Wilson, May 1921, in Andrew Turnbull, ed., *The Letters of F. Scott Fitzgerald* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1963), 417; Stoddard, "Kindred Britain," *Saturday Evening Post*, 5 April 1924, 19, 89-90, 93, and *The Revolt Against Civilization: The Menace of the Under Man* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921).
12. Fitzgerald, *Gatsby*, 130.
13. Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West (Der Untergang des Abendlandes)* (1918-1922; authorized translation with notes by Charles Francis Atkinson, 2 vols. [New York: Knopf, 1926-28]); T[homas] S[tearns] Eliot, *The Waste Land, and Other Poems* (1922: reprint, New York: Harcourt Brace, 1934); Fitzgerald, *Gatsby*, 23; Marius Brewley, "Scott Fitzgerald's Criticism of America," *Sewanee Review* 62 (Spring 1954), 223.
14. Richard J. Harrison, *L.I.R.R. Memoirs: The Making of a Steam Locomotive Engineer* (New York: Quadrant Press, 1981), 8. On the first New York World's Fair's opening day (30 April 1939) a *New York Times* supplement reported that 30,000 men worked 190 days on ash removal, replacing 7 million cubic yards of fill with 800,000 cubic yards of top soil and building two great artificial lakes; removing the ashes alone cost \$2,200,000 (Larry Zim, Mel Lerner, and Herbert Rolfes, *World of Tomorrow: The 1939 New York World's Fair* (New York: Harper & Row, 1989), 31; see also Ron Ziel, *The Long Island Railroad in Early Photographs* (New York: Dover Publications, 1990), 48, and Helen Harrison, "From Dump to Glory: Robert Moses and the Flushing Meadow Improvement," in Joann Krieg, ed., *Robert Moses: Single-Minded Genius* (Interlaken, NY: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1989), 91-100.
15. Fitzgerald, *Gatsby*, 182.
16. Bruccoli, 161.
17. Fitzgerald to Maxwell Perkins, 6 June 1940, in Turnbull, ed., 289-90.

## “Lost and Found”

# Love and Luck: *The Story of a Summer’s Loitering on the Great South Bay*, by Robert Barnwell Roosevelt

*Editor’s note: “Lost and Found” is an ongoing series of reviews of worthwhile but all-but forgotten novels, memoirs, and other books about Long Island and Long Islanders.*

*By Richard P. Harmond*

Robert Barnwell Roosevelt was a man of varied interests and talents. For a number of years he owned and edited a newspaper, the *New York Citizen*. A reform Democrat, he was an active member of a famous Committee of Seventy that delivered the coupe de grâce to the Tweed Ring in 1871. He served a term in Congress (1871-1873), and was a New York City alderman (1882), minister to the Netherlands (1888-1889), and treasurer of the National Democratic Committee in 1892. He was a pioneer conservationist, who may well have helped shape the environmentalist views of his nephew, Theodore Roosevelt. He was a skilled fly fisherman, a yachtsman, and a hunter. And he was the author of eight books.<sup>1</sup>

Several of these volumes dealt with fishing and hunting, and two, *Five Acres Too Much* (1869) and *Progressive Petticoats* (1874), were works of satirical fiction. The former was a clever satire on the amateur farming suggested by Edmund Morris’s *Ten Acres Enough* (1864), while the latter poked gentle fun at the male-female relationship.<sup>2</sup>

*Love and Luck*, published in 1886, was his last book and only romantic novel. Although a work of fiction, it is useful to historians because it is filled with period details and observations. Robert B. Roosevelt, or RBR, as he was called, knew Long Island well—he fished and hunted on the Island for years and owned an estate in Sayville, on the south Shore.<sup>3</sup>

*Love and Luck* is structured around a group of people who spend a summer sailing about “delicious[ly] drifting,” in the author’s words) on Great South Bay in a sharpie named *Morning-Glory*.<sup>4</sup> The ship companions, all of whom, we are assured, come from “good families,” include Laughton Osborn, the “commodore” (clearly modeled on RBR himself); Mrs. Osborn, “fair, fat, and possibly forty”; and their offspring, Kate, a beautiful, headstrong brunette, and three younger children, Kenneth, Madge, and Granville. to this assemblage add Kate’s blonde and giddy cousin, Dolly Belleville, and two eligible young bachelors, Jack Travers, a struggling artist, and Cecil Montague, a wealthy dandy.



As it happens, Jack Travers secretly loves Kate, who, however, is formally engaged to Cecil. But the latter, in turn, is strongly attracted to Dolly, who, it is assumed (at least by the commodore), will one day marry Jack. After several months together on the *Morning-Glory*, Kate discovers she really loves Jack, and Dolly falls into Cecil's embrace. Needless to say, since this is 1880's America, Jack and Cecil are perfect gentlemen throughout, and Kate and Dolly are proper Victorian ladies. A chaste kiss and hug now and then are about the only physical displays of affection shared by the young couples. And when the ladies retire to their bunks at night, they do so without male companionship.

Although the book lacks the sort of lusty action we have come to expect in a novel, RBR manages to hold our attention. He has a lively style, and the novel is spiced with good humor. Lest our attention flag, he includes a boat race (won by *Morning-Glory*), and a near-drowning, with the poor victim, Dolly, at one point rolled back and forth over a barrel to clear her lungs of water.

RBR conducts the reader on a tour of Great South Bay, the eastern segment of which was still fairly remote and isolated. "When they got under way," he informs us, "it seemed as though they had escaped into a watery desert and left human existence behind." "Instead of being shipwrecked on a desert island," he adds, referring to the eastern part of the bay, "they were afloat in a desolate bay."<sup>5</sup>

The western portion of Great South Bay was much less "desolate." Here RBR briefly describes a number of sights, like the Fire Island lighthouse, and a nearby cluster of buildings where vast quantities of the small bony fish called menhaden, or mossbunkers, were malodorously converted into manure and oil.

Here and there, RBR inserts his views on the locals. He makes a point, for example, of the provincialism and apparent lack of ambition of South Shore natives:

it was the rule among the workers in the South Bay of Long Island to attend strictly to their own business, and never go out of their way or waste time on visionary exploring expeditions. The clammer goes clamming, the fisherman looks to his nets, the owner of the pleasure-boat takes his party to the wrecks and the best "drops" for sport, but each confines himself to his own department...and makes no adventurous speculations in unknown waters. There are men who have sailed all their lives from some cove, where they keep their vessels, in as straight a line as they could go, to the spot where they raked clams in the summer and "tonged" oysters in the winter, without ever having travelled a mile in either direction away from these places...If the mussel man brings up a clam he looks at it askance, leaves it in his mussel heap, and adds it to the fertilizer he is composting. If the clammer takes an oyster, overboard it goes as rubbish; and if the bunker-boat makes a haul of Spanish mackerel, into the vat they are pitched, and out they come in the shape of oil and scrap. Long Islanders believe in the division of labor, and not too much of any sort.<sup>6</sup>

Reflecting his own culinary and alimentary interests--RBR was something of a gourmet and trencherman--considerable space in *Love and Luck* is devoted to food and eating. At one point, *Morning-Glory* puts in at Fire Island so that the commodore and his party can dine at Jesse Smith's, a well-known summer restaurant where they are served a solid Victorian meal,

as good a meal of its kind...as could be furnished by the Manhattan Club to its managing members. Among its prominent delicacies was an appetizing soup of the essence of clam, with the tough portions strained out, and just that combination of simple flavors which are the making, when they are properly commingled, of clam-broth. This was followed by a sheep's-head, split into two great steaks and boiled to a turn, over against which stood a dish of channel eels, similarly prepared and a golden brown. Then came the spring chickens, after the admirable style of Baltimore, and a loin of roast lamb, the whole closing with the famous corn-fritters, for which the establishment had a special name, and Camembert and Roquefort, the two kings of cheese. All was washed down with "*Cordon Rouge*," *frappéd* to that condition so it would hardly come from its glass prison without a good shaking of the bottle. "There," exclaimed the commodore, "that dinner ought to satisfy the most unreasonable of souls and stomachs."<sup>7</sup>

Though the commodore, his family, and guests occasionally dine at restaurants in Babylon, most of their meals are prepared on board the *Morning-Glory*, with Great South Bay the main source of food. The commodore, Jack, and others in the party rake for clams a few times and do a great deal of fishing. Chiefly, they catch--and consume--blackfish, sea bass, bluefish, and sheepshead, so called "from the resemblance of their teeth to the round cobble-stones of the sheep's mouth" and, in RBR's opinion, "the very sovereigns of the salt-water."<sup>8</sup>

Not content with dining on fish all summer long, the commodore, Jack, and Cecil decide to go on a bay snipe hunt (along the way killing an owl and a sea gull so that Dolly and Kate might have feathers for their bonnets). Hiding patiently in a blind, they eventually succeed in their mission. Writes RBR,

the flight of birds had been good. Quite a pile of the slain had been collected in the shade of the bushes which constituted the stand. The commodore had been in rare spirits, having shot to his satisfaction.

Later, Mrs. Osborn uses the birds in a meat pie and once again, RBR shares the meal with his readers:

The birds were cooked to perfection, all the strong flavor, which often makes bay-birds rank, gone, qualified or dispersed by the corrective onion, and they were tender, delicate, and juicy. There were no leaded lumps of dough, balls of dyspepsia, purgatorial pot-pie pellets, to be found in it, but the crisp upper crust was light enough to eat as cake and took up the gravy like bread. Nevertheless, the pie was satisfying, and

the layers held out bravely.<sup>9</sup>

What strikes the modern reader in these sections of *Love and Luck*—aside from the author's preoccupation with food and its preparation—is the strong, and doubtlessly accurate, impression of the natural abundance of Great South Bay, and of its casual exploitation by the commodore and his party. Indeed, the commodore boasts of the bay's riches—much as Americans at the time boasted of and exploited the riches of the American West. As the commodore tells Jack, “We are never short of anything here—it is the grandest sporting resort in the world.”<sup>10</sup>

Yet even then there were signs that Great South Bay was coming under environmental stress. The commodore, for instance, was concerned with the future of the menhaden, which he thought were overfished. And, after the success of the snipe hunt, Jack tells Kate that he, the commodore, and Cecil did “wonderfully good for these days.” But then he observes,

there was a time when these birds were so abundant that they could be killed by hundreds almost every day, but their confiding nature was too fatal to them, and they are diminishing so rapidly that in a few years they bid fair to be extinct.<sup>11</sup>

Still, neither the commodore nor Jack—and both obviously mirror the outlook of RBR—seems especially disturbed at the possible disappearance of the menhaden and the bay snipe. Since RBR was prominent in the nineteenth-century conservation movement, *Love and Luck* reminds us of how much more environmentally aware we have become since his day.<sup>12</sup>

In sum, *Love And Luck* is a novel to be valued for the instruction it provides and the pleasure it affords. Unfortunately, the book has been out of print for years. But a reader lucky enough to obtain a copy, perhaps at a garage sale or second-hand book shop, is in for a treat, drawn back to a time of environmental innocence, hearty eating, and Victorian propriety. And, if the reader also happens to appreciate Great South Bay (its resources, alas, somewhat diminished since the 1880s), so much the better.

#### NOTES

1. *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v., “Roosevelt, Robert Barnwell.”
2. Robert Barnwell Roosevelt, *Five Acres too Much: A Truthful Elucidation of the Attractions of the Country, and a Careful Consideration of the Question of Profit and Loss as Involved in Amateur Farming with much Valuable Advice and Instruction to Those about Purchasing Large or Small Places in the Rural Districts* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1869), and *Progressive Petticoats, or Dressed to Death: An Autobiography of a Married Man* (New York: G. W. Carleton, 1874); Edmund Morris, *Ten Acres Enough: A Practical Experience Showing How a Very Small Farmer May Be Made to Keep a Very Large Family with Extensive and Profitable Experience in the Cultivation of the Smaller Fruits* (New York: J. Miller, 1864).
3. Robert Barnwell Roosevelt, *Love and Luck: A Summer's Loitering on the Great South Bay* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1886); for RBR's connection to Long Island, see Richard P. Harmond and Donald Weinhardt, “Robert Barnwell Roosevelt on the Great South Bay, *Long Island Forum* 50 (August/September, 1987): 164-71.

4. The sharpie, a flatbottom boat with one or two masts, and a shallow draught, was an ideal craft for Great South Bay.
5. Roosevelt, *Love and Luck*, 98.
6. *Ibid.*, 224.
7. *Ibid.*, 122
8. *Ibid.*, 175-76; sheepsheads still are caught, though rarely in Long Island waters.
9. *Ibid.*, 132, 147.
10. *Ibid.*, 67.
11. *Ibid.*, 138. Today, the menhaden in Long Island waters are used for bait for bluefish and other denizens of the deep; although not considered endangered, they are fished to the near-maximum limit for their species. The once abundant snipe were slaughtered indiscriminately by late nineteenth-century market hunters, but conservation measures have preserved this long-billed shorebird (John K. Terres, *The Audubon Society Encyclopedia of North American Birds* [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980], 784). Geese and ducks are the only water birds hunted on the Island today, in season, and with bag limits (I thank the staff of the Wildlife and Marine Fisheries Divisions of the Department of Environmental Conservation for information on shore birds and fish stocks of Great South Bay).
12. At the time *Love and Luck* was published, RBR was president of both the New York Association for the Protection of Game, a pioneer conservation organization, and the New York Fisheries Commission, the precursor of today's department of environmental conservation (see Richard P. Harmond, "Robert Barnwell Roosevelt and the Early Conservation Movement," *Theodore Roosevelt Association Journal* 14 (Summer 1988): 2-11.

# Reviews

Joshua Stoff. *Picture History of World War II American Aircraft Production*. New York: Dover Publications, 1993. Illustrations, appendix, index. Pp. 179. 8 7/8" x 11 3/4." \$13.95 (paper).

The fiftieth anniversary of U.S. participation in the Second World War (1941-1945) has prompted a plethora of memorials, exhibitions, films, articles, and books recalling and paying tribute to the sacrifices Americans made in achieving eventual victory. One such book, *Picture History of World War II American Aircraft Production*, should become a standard reference. This work by the prolific Joshua Stoff, curator of the Cradle of Aviation Museum and the author of many studies of aviation and aerospace, continues Dover's long tradition of publishing handsome collections of cogently captioned photographs dealing with New York City, Long Island, ships, planes, trains, lighthouses, and other subjects of historical interest.

The scope of the book is national: it not only details the impressive contributions to victory made by Long Island aircraft firms, but also examines similar companies in other parts of the country, working together to meet and exceed FDR's startling call of May 1940 for an output of fifty thousand planes a year (ix). The author combines a splendid variety of photographs, culled from numerous archives, with concise, informative interviews with experts on aircraft production.

The book opens with a brief overview of the miracle performed by management and labor in filling the skies with "150 separate types of aircraft and...417 different models" (xi). Crammed with statistics, the introduction recalls the difficulties faced by the industry during its rapid conversion from prewar, job shop, lot basis methods to the assembly line mass production required by wartime necessity. Stoff commends the teamwork of executives and workers in stressing standardization, specialization, and coordination among companies, even to the extent of sharing manufacturing secrets during what Stoff refers to as "the first and last time the aircraft production industry was unified" (x).

The well-organized book copiously illustrates the components of aircraft production--fuselage, wings, tails, engine installation, armament, painting, final assemblies, and rollouts in a logical and comprehensive manner. One fascinating chapter recalls strategies used to bolster morale of employees, male and female, who often worked twelve-hour shifts in plants running

twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, 365 days a year; these ranged from dances, concerts, shows with famous entertainers, and personal visits by war heroes to softball, indoor recreation, and pioneer day-care centers for workers' children.

Well-selected photographs highlight the outstanding role played by women ("who eventually made up made up 40 percent of the workforce" [x]), older workers, teenagers, and African Americans (Stoff also refers to the labor leader A. Philip Randolph's threatened march on Washington in 1941, which stimulated President Roosevelt to create the FEPC in building 300, 317 military aircraft from 1940 until mid-August 1945 (xi). Subjects recorded range from the process of assembling planes to the hair and clothing styles of the workers, who, as Stoff points out, were acutely aware that the quality of their products contributed to the safety of their fathers, husbands, brothers, and friends in the armed forces.

Stoff also calls attention to such lesser-known firms as Brewster, in Long Island City, which tried but failed to make planes in a vertical building in an urban environment. By contrast, Grumman, Republic, and most other airplane manufacturers expanded or built new facilities in what were then open, semirural areas, like the Hempstead Plains (see Joshua Stoff, "Grumman versus Republic: Success and Failure in the Aviation Industry on Long Island," *LIHJ* 1 (Spring 1989): 113-27), a major stimulus to postwar suburban growth.

The last chapter, "The End of the Line," depicts how many of these historic aircraft were parked in desert graveyards before being cut up for use in "postwar baby carriages, razor blades, and pots and pans" (127). Ironically, in the past few years the assembly and construction of aircraft on Long Island has also come to the end of the line with the demise of Fairchild-Republic and the termination of plane making at what is now Northrop-Grumman. Finally, in addition to an index, Stoff provides a handy glossary and an insightful statistical appendix relating to aircraft production.

With the demise of aircraft companies, their documents, photos, and other valuable material are often lost or even discarded. Fortunately, Joshua Stoff invested his time, knowledge, and intelligence in preserving, publicizing, and, above all, explaining the significance of the role of American aviation in World War II. This fine if somewhat awkwardly titled book would make an even greater contribution to the history of aviation if it covered more of the period's engineers and designers, for example Alexander Kartveli, who played a decisive role in the development of Republic's P-47 Thunderbolt. However, *Picture History of World War II American Aircraft Production* is Stoff's most complete and satisfying work so far: hopefully, he will produce future books about aviation history after 1945.

LEROY DOUGLAS

*LI-Republic Airport Historical Society*

Stephen N. Elias. *Alexander T. Stewart: The Forgotten Merchant Prince*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1992. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. 267. \$45.00.

Alexander Turney Stewart (1803-1876) was one of the wealthiest and most prominent businessmen of the nineteenth century, but until now historians failed to see him, like Cornelius Vanderbilt or William B. Astor, as a symbol of the Gilded Age. Attempting to correct this gap in our historical record, Stephen N. Elias's recent work is the first published biography of Stewart. Until now, Stewart's social, political, and business life was shrouded in mystery, but fortunately, Elias has undertaken the task of linking scattered bits of material into a coherent biography.

This work begins with Stewart's emigration from northern Ireland to New York City, where, in 1823, he established himself as a retailer of dry goods at 283 Broadway, across from City Hall Park, just north of Chambers Street. In 1847, after several moves to increasingly larger quarters, he opened the Marble Palace, one of the city's largest and most architecturally compelling wholesale and retail stores, at 280 Broadway, directly across the street from his original location. The Marble Palace was "the first 'big store' in the United States to become a financial success, and the first... designed for the specific purposes of retailing." (61). Its departmentalized organization, more than two hundred sales clerks, and "one price policy" (18) were forerunners of the methods used by owners of early department stores, like John Wanamaker and Marshall Field. Later, as his business grew, Stewart followed the uptown march of fashion. In 1862, he decided to "leapfrog his competitors" (69) by opening an enormous store that occupied the entire block between Broadway and Fourth Avenue, and between Ninth and Tenth Streets, "the crowning achievement in [his] many years of retailing innovation." (70). Twenty years after Stewart's death, John Wanamaker, long in search of a New York location, bought this store from Stewart's heirs.

However, this book is more than an analysis of urban retailing; it also casts Stewart within the nation's social and political context. While providing a brief overview of the impact of the Civil War on New York City and the nation, it uses Stewart as a lens to view how commercially oriented businessmen survived this tumultuous period. A Democrat before the outbreak of hostilities, Stewart staunchly opposed the war, but his calls for peace were more than likely linked to the fact that his southern customers owed him some five million dollars. Stewart eventually took an active interest in the Union cause, and was a key member of many wartime charitable organizations. However, his business did benefit from sales to the government during the war, and afterwards his status as a respected merchant led President Ulysses S. Grant to appoint him secretary of the treasury in 1869 (the Senate confirmed him but he was forced to resign because of a 1789 law prohibiting importers from serving in the government).

As the founder of Garden City, Stewart also merits the attention of readers concerned with the nineteenth-century suburbanization of Long Island. In chapter 8, "A Servant to the People," Elias details why the nation's most successful urban retailer saw a secure, quiet, genteel country life as a central part of the American Dream. Overwhelmed by the power of this vision, Stewart decided to build a planned, suburban community as a monument, albeit of brick and mortar, to this lifestyle. Stewart's search for the ideal location ended in 1867 when he purchased eleven square miles of the Hempstead Plains. Use of this common grazing land, owned by the people of Hempstead town, was a constant source of debate until 1867, when the state legislature authorized the town to offer it for sale.

To plan this community, named Garden City in 1873, laid out with spacious, tree-lined streets around a thirty-acre park, Stewart turned to the same person who designed his retail and wholesale stores, John Kellum--New York City's most prominent architect and a resident of Hempstead. Construction on the first houses began in 1870, as work crews carved the plain into sections with nearly five hundred miles of wagon roads. In January 1873, Stewart opened his commuter railroad to the city by way of Flushing, Hunter's Point, and rapid ferry to midtown. In 1874, he sold his Central Rail Road of Long Island to the Flushing, North Shore & Port Washington Rail Road, one of the Long Island Rail Road's many competitors in the years before amalgamation (180-83).

Stewart claimed he wanted settlers in "moderate circumstances" with "refined and cultivated tastes" (184), and many of the "skilled laborers who built the community lived there," but Garden City "never became a haven for lower-class workers from New York City"; in 1878, its ninety-one residents included "three doctors, a druggist, a dentist, two brokers, a teacher, and a lawyer [as well as] many families which represented commerce and manufacturing...at least seven [of whom] commuted daily" to Manhattan (185). The largest houses, nicknamed "Apostles," cost \$15,000 to build; the smaller "Disciples" \$12,500; and cottages from \$6,000 to \$8,000.

Stewart's policy was to rent, rather than sell his houses, at from \$250 to \$800 a year, a price that included a yearly commuter rail pass. Although part of the twentieth-century vision of suburbanization was home ownership, it was common practice in the nineteenth century (especially in New York City where land was subject to a ground lease) to rent. However, Stewart's well-to-do prospective clients much preferred outright ownership; by the end of 1874, only ninety-two houses had been completed. Stewart's planned community lagged until the Garden City Company, organized in 1893, purchased some 2,600 acres from his estate and started offering houses for sale (185). Stewart's "major benefaction to Garden City, and perhaps his most substantial memorial--although somewhat unsung--is the imposing Episcopal Cathedral of the Incarnation," started by his widow after his death in 1876, and consecrated 2 June 1885 (185-87).

Considering the paucity of primary source material on Stewart, Elias's



book is a well-documented and interesting biography, detailing one of the nineteenth century's most compelling Horatio Alger stories. Stewart began his entrepreneurial career with a small amount of capital when he opened his first Broadway store, but with honesty, hard work, and keen understanding of the nation's economy he soon became one of America's richest men. Unfortunately, the final chapter adds little to this portrait. Rather than giving a general perspective of Stewart's life and remarkable achievements, the epilogue reports the morbid tale of how, in 1878, grave robbers stole Stewart's body from its vault at St. Mark's in the Bowery. Despite such occasional tangential discussions, Elias's encompassing biography of the "Merchant Prince" is recommended to business and economic historians, as well as to all readers interested in nineteenth-century New York City and Long Island.

THOMAS D. BEAL  
*SUNY at Stony Brook*

Richard C. Malley. *In Their Hours of Ocean Leisure: Scrimshaw in the Cold Spring Harbor Whaling Museum*. Cold Spring Harbor: Whaling Museum Society, 1993. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xiv, 79. \$19.50 (paper) plus tax and handling. From the Whaling Museum, Box 25, Main Street, Cold Spring Harbor, NY 11724, (516) 367-3418.

Scrimshaw is both an activity and the product of the endeavor. A study of the scrimshander's handiwork would be incomplete without an understanding of the man and his purpose in producing this folk art. Thus it is that Richard C. Malley opens *In Their Hours of Ocean Leisure: Scrimshaw In The Cold Spring Harbor Whaling Museum* with the setting in which the work was done.

The place is an American whaleship, months out at sea, with little to show for the crew's efforts and hopes. The ship is in good repair, and the men are ready to act upon hearing the call, "She blows!" Yet, meanwhile, there are hours of what Herman Melville called "ocean leisure" to fill. The wait seems interminable and the ship's log records the crew's activity: "All hands employed scrimshonting. So ends this day,—no Whales and hard times."

Scrimshaw was primarily an occupation to fill the time, the long boring hours awaiting the sighting of a whale. It is typically the work of the American whaleman of the nineteenth century, although there are examples extant of other origins be they whaleships of other nationalities, or others such as merchant ships. The raw materials were most accessible to the whaleman. It as, after all, the whale that was the source of the teeth, panbone, and baleen that were the primary sources of scrimshaw. After establishing the setting and motivation for these creations, Malley explains well the process of obtaining the whale ivory and whalebone, and its preparation and metamorphosis into a piece of folk art.

Then Malley turns to the setting of this collection of folk art: Long Island.

The development of whaling as a maritime activity for Long Islanders was a natural progression as explained by the author. But it did eventually decline as a result of loss of capital backing and labor, as well as the decline of whales and the disruption by the gold rush. Yet in the second quarter of this century, an appreciation of our Island's maritime history developed, and scrimshaw collections and the Cold Spring Harbor Whaling Museum emerged.

The remainder of this book is a detailed look at the scrimshaw collections of the museum. The artistry of the decorative pieces, as might be expected, exhibits varying degrees of skill among the scrimshanders. The subjects of this folk art were most often whaling and maritime in nature, followed by scenes of nostalgia or loved ones at home. The diversity of the functional items hewn out of the raw materials is astounding. Decorated corsets, busks and carved bodkins were typical, as well as were canes, buttons, pins, cufflinks, ditty boxes, dippers, scoops, rolling pins, pie crimpers and even swifts for winding yarns..

This skilled presentation of the Cold Springs Harbor Whaling Museum's scrimshaw collection has locally been long and eagerly awaited. The expertise brought to its study and description by Richard C. Malley, who had written *Graven By The Fisherman Themselves: Scrimshaw in Mystic Seaport Museum* during his ten-year employment there, is the source of this book's excellence, and it is undoubtedly a reason for great satisfaction and gratitude on the part of the museum's staff and board. It is complemented and enhanced by the excellent photography of Michael M. Fairchild, which makes the artistic details of the collection accessible to the reader.

*In Their Hours Of Ocean Leisure: Scrimshaw in the Cold Spring Harbor Whaling Museum* is a pleasure to read. The author's liberal use of extracts from logs, journals, and other sources personalizes the history for the reader. This book is an excellent source for teachers, with its overview of the whaling industry and Long Island's role in maritime history. It should be appreciated and well received by local, social, and maritime historians.

DIANE F. PERRY

*Suffolk County Historical Society*

R. C. Anderson. *The Rigging of Ships in the Days of the Sprintsail Topmast, 1600-1720*. 1927; reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1994. Illustrations, index. Pp. 320. \$8.95 (paper).

Dover Publications has provided a valuable service for maritime historians and ship modelers by reissuing Richard C. Anderson's treatise, *The Rigging of Ships in the Days of the Sprintsail Topmast, 1600-1720*, originally published by the Maritime Research Society of Salem, Massachusetts, in 1927. For all those whose vocations or avocations pertain to early sailing ships, this essential work describes in profusely illustrated detail the manner of rigging English, French, Dutch, and other European trading and warships of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from stern to stem.

Anderson provided an exquisitely detailed, carefully researched history of the development of sail plans and rigging methods. The spritsail topmast featured in the title first appeared in the Royal Navy in 1618 and remained in general service for a century, after which the Admiralty discontinued its use except on board three-decked ships of the line. From a shipwright's point of view, the spritsail topmast thoroughly deserves this explication, for the difficulty of supporting it and handling its rather ineffective sail led to great complexity in designing its rigging.

*The Rigging of Ships in the Days of the Spritsail Topmast, 1600-1720* was the first rigging book completed to exacting historic guidelines. If Anderson is not the foremost maritime historian of the twentieth century, he would certainly rank in anyone's top ten. He clearly cites all of his sources in a worthwhile bibliography and collates them to establish his carefully illustrated rigging conclusions. When his documentary evidence failed to produce a satisfactory conclusion, Anderson painstakingly constructed his own conclusion, accompanied by a clear statement of the difference between inference and fact.

The book begins in 1600, the earliest date of contemporary knowledge of ships' rigging, and ends in 1720, roughly the time when the jibboom and other masting innovations of eighteenth-century rigging replaced the spritsail topmast. In twelve well-written chapters, Anderson covers every aspect of ship's rigging from the standing rigging lower masts and bowsprit to the running rigging of the topsails and topgallants, and backs up his words with more than 350 fine line drawings. Twenty-five halftones add a wealth of visual information about the ships that plied the seas during the days of the bowsprit mast.

Dover Publications is due congratulations for a job well done, and the profuse thanks of historians and modelers for bringing this invaluable treatise back into circulation.

W. M. P. DUNNE

*Southampton College, Long Island University*

#### BOOK NOTES

Joshua Stoff. *From Canoes to Cruisers: The Maritime Heritage of Long Island*. Interlaken, NY: Long Island Studies Institute/Empire State Books, 1994. Illustrations (by the author), bibliography, index. Pp. 112. \$18 cloth, \$10 paper. This new book by Joshua Stoff, the curator of the Cradle of Aviation Museum, will be reviewed in our Spring 1995 issue.

William T. Lauder and Charles F. Howlett. *Amityville's 1894 School House*. Amityville: Park Avenue School Centennial Committee, 1994. Illustrations, sources and references. Pp. 54 (paper). For information, consult the Amityville Historical Society, 170 Broadway, Amityville, NY 11701-0764. We will review this book in Spring 1995.

# Communications

Dear Editors,

I am still enjoying the Journal, and am amazed at the amount and creativity of the research methods. I only hope the records of this coast are as prudently preserved, researched, and analyzed a hundred years from now. Actually, it would be nice if they were better preserved, but it is hard to know what is important when everything is presented at once.

When such basic changes are being made to an area as a change from a subsistence lifestyle to a cash and commercial one, and from local languages to English, fitting in and coping become the priority. I have some idea of the clash of ideologies that have occurred in the rest of the United States, and is now overtaking the world at large. These are not the problems of the mind that appear in *Wealth of Nations*. They become problems of the spirit. It is felt in the gut, not the pocketbook, by the people without power, rather than by the shakers and movers.

It is hard to live in this vast land and know what to store in the attic for the future, and what is just in the way of the present. It is hardest to be creative with the future if you always hold on to your last thought as if it were the most important thing you've done.

Lew Tobin  
Nome, Alaska

Dear Editor:

Thanks for running the generous review of my latest book, *An Island's Trade*, by W. M. P. Dunne (LIHJ 6 [Spring 1994]: 266-68). Dr. Dunne introduces an issue which has been raised in other quarters and I would like to address if I may. He refers to my alleged "dismissal of the East End" in terms of shipbuilding and offers as evidence the fact that a few privateers were built in Sag Harbor during the War of 1812. This leads Dr. Dunne to conclude "Sag Harbor must have figured more strongly in the annals of local shipbuilding than Welch credits."

This might be a logical supposition considering Sag Harbor's position as a leading whaling port during the nineteenth century, but it is erroneous. If Sag Harbor were a significant shipbuilding center in terms of both volume and continuity, its production would have been listed in Long Island newspapers

along with those of the other shipbuilding villages. Additionally, its firms would appear in the manufacturing sections of the United States Census, and in the various government reports which probed the state of shipbuilding in the nation at various times in the nineteenth century. Lastly, the shipyard workers could be expected to show up in the United States' population censuses. I found little or no record of Sag Harbor shipyards that I overlooked. If there are any records of Sag Harbor shipyards I overlooked I will be happy to revise my evaluation of its role in local shipbuilding. In the meantime, I stand by my contention that Sag Harbor shipbuilding was virtually nonexistent during the major portion of ship production after 1840, and that East End shipbuilding enterprises as a whole were dwarfed by the villages of western Suffolk in this industry.

Richard F. Welch  
Huntington

**Query Notice:**

For a microfilm and selected annotated multi-volume edition of the papers of Jacob Leisler, the ill-fated governor of New York from 1689-1691, I would appreciate hearing from anyone who has information about letters, deeds, public records, or any other papers, as well as portraits or other artifacts related to Leisler. Please address all correspondence to: Dr. David William Voorhees, The Papers of Jacob Leisler, Department of History, 19 University Place, 5th Floor, New York University, New York, NY 10003.

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