



**THE LONG ISLAND  
HISTORICAL  
JOURNAL**



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

*Walt Whitman*

*Fall 1995*

Volume 8 • Number 1

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

copyright 1995 by the Long Island Historical Journal

**ISSN 0898-7084**

All rights reserved

**Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in  
*Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life*.**

*The editors gratefully acknowledge the support of the Office of the Provost and of the Dean of Social and Behavioral Sciences, USB. We thank the Center for Excellence and Innovation in Education, USB, and the Long Island Studies Council for their generous assistance. We appreciate the unstinting cooperation of Gary Marker, chair, Department of History, USB, and of past chairpersons Wilbur R. Miller, Joel T. Rosenthal, and Fred Weinstein. We owe a special vote of thanks to Carl L. Burgos, Phyllis O. Barth, and staff, Graphic Support Services, USB, for their indispensable help in designing and printing the LIHJ. We also thank Jeanne Pandolfo, Health Sciences SINC Center, USB, for her splendid cooperation.*

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

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

We publish original studies of any aspect of Long Island history. Submit manuscripts in duplicate (no carbons) on 8 1/2" x 11" stock, double spaced, with generous margins, and written on only one side of each page. If possible, also submit an IBM- or Apple-MacIntosh-compatible disk. Notes should be numbered consecutively, assembled at the end of the text, and modeled on the examples given in the *Chicago Manual* or *Turabian*.

# The Long Island Historical Journal

*Editor:* Roger Wunderlich, USB.

*Associate editor:* Richard P. Harmond, St. John's University.

*Assistant editor:* Thomas D. Beal, USB.

*Editorial Board:* Floris B. Cash, USB; Eric E. Lampard, USB; Wilbur R. Miller, USB; Joel T. Rosenthal, USB; Geoffrey L. Rossano, Salisbury School; Eli Seifman, Center for Excellence and Innovation in Education. USB; Donald E. Simon, Monroe College; William R. Taylor, USB; Carol A. Traynor, Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities; Fred Weinstein, USB; Luise Weiss, Middle Country Public Library.

*Advisory Board:* Barbara Mazor Bart, Walt Whitman Birthplace Assoc.; Susan L. Battley, USB; Antonia Booth, Southold Town Historian; Wallace W. Broege, Suffolk County Historical Society; Edwin G. Burrows, Brooklyn College; Mitzi Caputo, Huntington Historical Society; Steven R. Coleman, Columbia Univ.; Robert E. Cray Jr., Montclair State College; Marlyn H. Dalsimer, Adelphi Univ.; Mildred M. DeRiggi, Glen Cove Historical Society; Elizabeth Ewen, SUNY College at Old Westbury; Dean F. Failey, American Furniture & Decorative Arts, Christie's; John A. Gable, Theodore Roosevelt Assoc.; Doris Halowitch, Smithtown Library; John A. Hewlett, Half Hollow Hills School District; Charles F. Howlett, Amityville Mem. High School; Kenneth T. Jackson, Columbia Univ.; Deborah Johnson, Museums at Stony Brook; David M. Kahn, Brooklyn Historical Society; Barbara M. Kelly, Long Island Studies Institute, Hofstra Univ.; Paul E. Kerson, Queens Historical Society; Gerald S. Kessler, Friends for Long Island's Heritage; Jeffrey A. Kroessler, Queens College; Ned C. Landsman, USB; Robert B. MacKay, Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities; Mary Anne Mrozinski, Rufus King Manor; John G. Peterkin, Cedar Swamp Historical Society; John W. Pratt, USB; Alice Ross, USB; Stan Rubenstein, Henry George School of Long Island; Elly Shodell, Port Washington Public Library; Sr. Joan Ryan, St. Joseph's College; Vincent F. Seyfried, Garden City Historian; Edward J. Smits, Nassau County Historian; Gaynell Stone, Suffolk County Archaeological Association; John A. Strong, Long Island Univ., Southampton Campus; R. L. Swanson, Marine Sciences Research Center, USB; Francis J. Turano, USB; Evert Volkersz, USB Library.

*Cover:* Seven members of the discovery team of the omega minus, standing on the eighty-inch bubble chamber at Brookhaven National Laboratory, 1964. From top to bottom: Ralph P. Shutt, Jack B. Jensen, Medford S. Webster, William A. Tuttle, William B. Fowler, Donald P. Brown and Nicholas P. Samojs. Photograph, courtesy of the Laboratory.

The Center for  
Excellence and Innovation  
in Education  
of the  
State University of New York  
at Stony Brook

Committed to teacher education,  
educational research and development,  
and partnership programs with schools  
in the Long Island region,  
is pleased to support the  
*Long Island Historical Journal*



## TABLE of CONTENTS

EDITORIAL COMMENT - 1

THE HISTORY of  
BROOKHAVEN NATIONAL LABORATORY  
PART 5: PARTICLE HUNTERS  
*By Robert P. Crease - 3*

THE INDIANS of FORT MASSAPEAG  
*By Robert S. Grumet - 26*

THE MURDER of STANFORD WHITE  
*By Paul R. Baker and Mark L. Taff - 34*

LONG ISLAND CONFRONTS the VIETNAM WAR:  
A REVIEW of the ANTIWAR MOVEMENT, PART TWO  
*By Charles F. Howlett - 56*

ROBERT CUSHMAN MURPHY and  
ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES on LONG ISLAND  
*By Richard P. Harmond - 76*

TITLE IX, a CATALYST for CHANGE  
WOMEN and EDUCATION SINCE 1972:  
LONG ISLAND, a CASE HISTORY  
*By Edith L. Gordon - 83*

*Secondary School Essay Contest Winners*  
A LONG ISLAND SPY STORY and ITS  
EFFECT on AMERICAN LEGAL HISTORY  
*By Tami Thompson - 103*

LONG ISLAND'S STRUGGLE for CIVIL LIBERTY  
UNDER the DUTCH REGIME  
*By David Aliano - 111*

CONFRONTING BIAS in SCHOOLS and HOUSING:  
THE LONG ISLAND CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT in 1970.  
*By Kaisha K. Moore - 119*

### Reviews

Gaynell Stone, Ed. *The History & Archaeology  
of the Montauk*, 2d. ed.  
*By David Bernstein - 126*

Clarence Taylor. *The Black Churches of Brooklyn.*  
 By Floris Barnett Cash - 128

Edward A. T. Carr. *Faded Laurels: The History of Eaton's Neck and Asharoken.*  
 By Barbara Johnson - 131

Joshua Stoff. *Charles A. Lindbergh: A Photographic Album.*  
 By Peter Parides - 133

*To Know the Place: Exploring Long Island History.* Rev. ed.  
 Joann P. Krieg and Natalie A. Naylor, eds  
 By Gaynell Stone - 134

**Exhibition review**

"Long Island Maps and Their Makers." An exhibition sponsored by  
 the Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities (SPLIA)  
 and the State University at Stony Brook.  
 By Edwin G. Burrows - 137

**Game review - -**



Jay Iaquinta. *Long Island Trivia—The Race to Montauk*  
 By Roger Wunderlich - 138


**Booknotes - 139**

**Communications - 141**

**CEDAR SWAMP HISTORICAL SOCIETY**

TO RESEARCH, EXPOSE, AND PRESERVE NATIONAL HISTORY AND THE HERITAGE  
 OF THE 17th CENTURY SETTLEMENT OF CEDAR SWAMP  
 (EAST OF HEMPSTEAD HARBOR)  
 CEDAR SWAMP, LONG ISLAND 11545







**MEMBERSHIP**


SINGLE .....	..\$15
FAMILY .....	..\$25
PATRIOT .....	..\$50
BENEFACTOR .....	..\$100
LIFE .....	..\$500


**PROTECT  
 OUR HISTORY  
 AND  
 ENVIRONMENT**




PLEASE MAKE CHECKS PAYABLE TO AND MAIL TO:

**CEDAR SWAMP HISTORICAL SOCIETY**  
 CEDAR SWAMP, LONG ISLAND 11545







—ABSOLUTE CHARTER FROM STATE OF NEW YORK DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND BOARD OF REGENTS—

## Contributors

**Paul R. Baker**, professor of history at New York University, is the author of *Stanny: The Gilded Life of Stanford White* (New York: The Free Press, 1989).

**Robert P. Crease**, professor of philosophy at USB, is the staff historian at Brookhaven National Laboratories. He is coauthor, with Charles C. Mann, of *The Second Creation: Makers of the Revolution in 20th Century Physics* (1986; reprint, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1995).

**Edith L. Gordon**, who taught in Three Village schools from 1968 until 1988, is the author of "The People and Their Schools, *LIHJ* 4 (Spring 1992), and "Educating the Whole Child: Progressive Education and the Bank Street College of Education, 1916-1966," (Ph.D. dissertation, SUNY at Stony Brook, 1988.)

**Robert S. Grumet**, a scholar of the Historic Contact period, has written five books on Native American topics, including *Native American Place Names in New York City* (New York: Museum of the City of New York, 1981).

**Richard P. Harmond**, professor of history at St. John's University and associate editor of *LIHJ*, is coeditor (with James E. Bunce) of *Long Island as America: A Documentary History to 1896* (Port Washington, 1977).

**Charles F. Howlett**, a Marine Corps veteran of the Vietnam War, teaches social studies at Amityville Memorial High School and the ABLE Program at Adelphi University. Dr. Howlett is the author of *Troubled Philosopher: John Dewey and the Struggle for World Peace* (1977), *The American Peace Movement: References and Resources* (1991), *Brookwood Labor College* (1993), and *Amityville's 1894 School House* (1994).

**Mark L. Taff**, M.D., is a forensic pathologist in West Hempstead.

Secondary School Essay Contest Winners:

At the time of submission, **Tami Thompson** was a sophomore at Cold Spring Harbor High School, **David Aliano** a junior at Plainview-Old Bethpage John F. Kennedy High School, and **Kaisha K. Moore** a junior at Amityville Memorial High School.



# 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  
Long Island Studies Council  
Natalie A. Naylor, President  
Hofstra University  
Hempstead, NY 11550

**Two Important Exhibitions  
AT THE MUSEUMS AT STONY BROOK**

*"A Painter's Studio Should be Everywhere"*

A NEW EXHIBITION  
OF THE PAINTINGS AND JOURNAL OF  
WILLIAM SIDNEY MOUNT

**Through 31 December 1995**

RESCUERS OF THE HOLOCAUST:  
PORTRAITS BY GAY BLOCK

**Through 26 November 1995**

**The Museums at Stony Brook**  
1208 Route 25A  
Stony Brook, NY 11790

Call: (516) 751-0066, ext. 241  
Fax (516) 751- 0353

Wednesday-Saturday 10 am to 5 pm,  
Sunday Noon to 5 pm.  
(open seven days a week in December)

General admission for all exhibitions (Mount, carriage, history, other artists, and second annual *Holiday Festival* of Christmas and Hanukkah decorations opening 18 November:

Adults \$4; Seniors \$3;  
Students six to seventeen and college students with ID \$2;  
Free for children under the age of six and members

**THE SAILING CIRCLE:  
19TH-CENTURY SEAFARING WOMEN FROM NEW YORK**

A Special Exhibit  
Cosponsored by the Cold Spring Harbor Whaling Museum  
and the Three Village Historical Society

at the

**COLD SPRING HARBOR WHALING MUSEUM  
MAIN STREET  
COLD SPRING HARBOR, NY 11724**

*Highlighting the lives of Long Island women who went to sea with  
their captain husbands during the golden age of whaling:  
artifacts, diaries, paintings, prints, tintypes, scrimshaw,  
and other personal possessions of these courageous women*

**Through  
20 JUNE 1996**

**HOURS: TUESDAY through SUNDAY  
11 am to 5 pm**

**ADMISSION: \$2 ADULTS, \$1.50 SENIORS  
\$1.50 CHILDREN 6 TO 12  
NO CHARGE FOR CHILDREN 5 YEARS OLD OR  
YOUNGER**

**For information, call (515) 367-3418, weekdays, 9 am-5 pm**

# Editorial Comment

“It is a small journal, and yet there are those who love it,” to paraphrase Daniel Webster’s reference to his alma mater (*Dartmouth College v. Woodward* [1819]). Judging by comments on your subscription renewals, a good many of you share this sentiment. We thank you for your loyal support, but now hear this, dear friends and readers—we are going to have to raise the price. Faced with rising paper costs, shrinking budgets, and ongoing creeping inflation, we no longer can hold the line as we have done our darndest to do since we came on line seven years and fourteen issues ago. There will be no change in the current volume 8 (Fall 1995/Spring 1996). However, come number one of volume 9--the issue of Fall 1996--the per-volume rate of your semiannual *LIHJ* will be the still-not-exorbitant sum of twenty dollars. We think you will agree that one five-dollar increase in so many years is well within the bounds of reason, and believe me, without it we cannot survive: at renewal time we count on you to sign up and help us get new subscribers

Once again we present a fine edition, distinguished by cogent articles on a gamut of Long Island topics. Robert P. Crease offers the fifth installment of his landmark history of Brookhaven National Laboratory, an exciting description of the role of Long Island scientists in the hunt for brand new particles. Robert S. Grumet, a leading scholar of Native American history, provides a searching analysis of the original settlers of what became Nassau County in general and Massapequa in particular. From this seventeenth-century milieu, we switch to Paul R. Baker and Mark L. Taff’s colorful account of the early twentieth-century murder of Stanford White, a lurid case as closely followed in its time as is the trial of O. J. Simpson in ours. Charles F. Howlett continues his sweeping examination of Long Island’s anti-Vietnam-War movement, especially among high school and university students. After Richard P. Harmond’s study of the Island’s most influential environmentalist, Robert Cushman Murphy, we are pleased to publish Edith L. Gordon’s probing summary of the problems and progress of women in education on the Island, especially since the passage of Title IX in 1972.

We are delighted with the three winning essays in our “Long Island as America” contest for students of secondary schools, sponsored in conjunction with the USB Center for Excellence and Innovation in Education, Dr. Eli Seifman, director. In response to the Island’s social studies teachers’ sponsoring well-researched, interesting essays, we will publish more of the papers submitted, in subsequent issues. Finally, we call your attention to one

of our most stimulating set of reviews of important Long Island books, exhibits, and even of a trivia game—*The Race to Montauk*. And oh, yes, our man in Alaska, Lew Tobin, wants very much to hear from you—please read, and, if the spirit moves you, respond to his latest epistle.

That's it for now, Long Island as America buffs. Stay with us—we need each other.

## **Happy One-Hundredth Birthday to LVIS**

*The Long Island Historical Journal* salutes the Ladies' Village Improvement Society (LVIS) of East Hampton on its centennial celebration. Since its founding in 1895, the LVIS has devoted itself unstintingly to preserving the natural beauty and high civic standards of one of Long Island's most cherished communities.

The original twenty-one ladies began their legacy by installing street lamps and watering the unpaved streets to temper the dust. By the time it was chartered as a nonprofit corporation in 1910, the society was committed to the advancement of East Hampton's general welfare: its campaigns have included lobbying against legalized gambling, replanting trees after the disastrous 1938 hurricane, helping to stem the scourge of Dutch Elm Disease, and securing the establishment of the East Hampton Historical District and its listing in the National Register of Historic Places.

Today, four-hundred-volunteer-women strong, the society provides all the maintenance for East Hampton's wide and gracious Village Green, awards scholarships and books to students, serves as a special watchdog over environmental issues, and supports such purposeful organizations as Guild Hall, Head Start, Meals on Wheels, the Nature Conservancy, Southampton Hospital, the East Hampton Historical Society, and churches of all denominations. In 1987, the society purchased its new location, the historic David Gardiner mansion at 95 Main Street, and subsequently spent a year restoring the sadly neglected house for the benefit of future generations.

Through its summer fairs, Nature Walk, *East Hampton's Heritage* cook book, Bargain Box and Bargain Books, and endless round of needed improvements, the LVIS more than lives up to its founders' pledge to "Keep East Hampton Beautiful." The society seeks the talents and skills of professionals and homemakers, of year-round, summer, and short-term residents. Readers in search of information are urged to write to LVIS, P.O. Box 1196, East Hampton, NY 11937. or telephone (516) 324-1220.

# The History of Brookhaven National Laboratory

## *Part 5: Particle Hunters*

*By Robert P. Crease*

The year 1961 marked the beginning of a new era for Brookhaven National Laboratory (BNL), not least because it had a new director, Maurice Goldhaber.<sup>1</sup> Goldhaber was born in Austria and attended the University of Berlin, where he met his future wife Gertrude, also a physicist, in fall 1931. He left Germany soon after the Nazis came to power early in 1933. He spent a few years as a research student at the Cavendish Laboratory in Cambridge, England, before accepting a job at the University of Illinois at Urbana, in 1938, but, because of an anti-nepotism rule, Gertrude could not be employed there. In 1950 they moved to BNL, where each could have a position. Eleven years later, Maurice replaced Leland Haworth as director, after the latter's departure to become a commissioner of the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), following a three-month interim period in which Haworth's deputy, Gerald Tape, was acting director.

Goldhaber brought a different style to the directorship. While Haworth's involvement and practical streak were apparent, Goldhaber conveyed the impression of a careful and experienced if slightly aloof intellect, with a deadpan, impish wit. Goldhaber preferred to handle problems quietly and remain in the background, liking to say that, for a place with as many different research interests and high-quality researchers as BNL, a director's task was more to support good ideas than foster trickle-down science; "a good director is an 'indirector,'" he would quip. If Haworth's style was that of a president who sought to participate actively—too actively, for some tastes—in shaping and steering programs, Goldhaber governed more like a royal figure who left day-to-day operations to the initiative of those more directly involved.

But the early 1960s was also the beginning of a new era for BNL, because the lab had just switched on its Alternating Gradient Synchrotron (AGS), able to accelerate protons to 33 billion electron volts (GeV). Once again, BNL's researchers had the world's most powerful accelerator, and once again found themselves in stiff competition with colleagues at an accelerator of comparable power. This time, the competition was not Berkeley but CERN, the European particle physics laboratory in Geneva. The Proton Synchrotron (PS) at CERN had a slightly lower energy than the AGS (28 GeV), but had come on six months earlier, giving CERN scientists an important head start in exploring the new energy region and in seeking whatever fundamental

particles were to be found.

The 1960s were in many respects BNL's "golden era." Its high energy physicists made a series of major discoveries, some of which earned Nobel Prizes for their discoverers, supplying key pieces of what is now known as the standard model of elementary particle physics, which ties together all known types of matter and the forces that affect them in a single theoretical package. In the standard model, elementary particles come in three basic types: leptons, hadrons, and the force-carrying gauge bosons. The forces affecting these particles are classified into three different kinds (the much weaker and long-range force, gravitation, is a fourth force that does not significantly affect particles): the electromagnetic force, and the extremely short-ranged strong and weak forces. Leptons include the electron, muon, and neutrino, and are unaffected by the strong interaction. Hadrons include the basic building blocks of the nucleus (protons and neutrons), as well as so-called strange or "V" particles that had been discovered in cosmic rays, and consist of all particles affected by the strong interaction. Gauge bosons include photons and the intermediate vector bosons responsible for the weak interactions. During the 1960s, BNL researchers contributed to the understanding of all these kinds of particles, though often with CERN colleagues hot on their heels.

### **Discovery of Two Types of Neutrino**

Mel Schwartz is a restless and ambitious man who likes being his own boss. Now a Nobel laureate, he once quit physics for twelve years, from 1979 to 1991, to build and run his own business, because he could not stand the bureaucracy that had grown up in physics. He came close to quitting on several other occasions when he did not find it exciting enough. The first time was when, as a cocky Columbia undergraduate, he found himself "bored as hell" by a series of elderly physics professors who declaimed what to him seemed dry material from textbooks. At the beginning of his junior year (1951), convinced that something about his subject had to be more exciting than what he was hearing, Schwartz skipped a few courses in the usual sequence and enrolled as the only junior in a fourth-year course, "Atomic Physics and Introductory Quantum Mechanics":

On the first day the teacher walked in. All my other teachers had come in wearing suits and ties, but this one had on sandals and an open shirt. He was sleepy and bleary-eyed, could hardly stand up, and mumbled as an apology that he had been running an experiment all night at Nevis. When he began to stumble through his lecture, he made mistakes that even I, a bright, fresh kid, could pick out; technically, it was the worst lecture I'd heard in my life.

Schwartz was enthralled.

This was the first young, working physicist I had ever met. It was an unpolished human appearance of somebody who *really* was involved in

physics. I had the sense he was enjoying his work. He wasn't just a teacher; he was a real researcher who was *learning* things! I knew right away that this was the guy I wanted to work with.<sup>2</sup>

The teacher was Jack Steinberger. Born in Germany in 1921, Steinberger fled to the U.S. in 1934, received his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in 1948, and took a job at Berkeley the following year. After refusing to sign the controversial loyalty oath imposed by the Regents of the University of California, Steinberger moved to Columbia in 1950, where one year later the precocious Schwartz walked into his course and stayed on as his graduate student.

Steinberger was not easy to work for. Demanding, aggressive, critical, and short-tempered, he would envision conceptually ambitious experiments, and then impatiently drive his subordinates to telescope the intermediate technological steps needed to make the experiments possible. This made him a superb researcher, but not an ideal thesis advisor. At Columbia, however, Steinberger was able to find three graduate students with the energy and determination to match his own, and with thick enough skin to enjoy working with him: Schwartz, Jack Leitner, and Nicholas P. Samios. Steinberger set his charges to building a bubble chamber, on which they could do experiments for their Ph.D. theses. Though Schwartz finished his experiment in 1956, he ignored the other thesis requirements, flunking the German and French language exams, not to mention his orals. Only in 1958, when he knuckled under, studied the subjects, and passed, did Columbia give him a Ph.D and hire him as assistant professor.

In fall 1958, the weak interaction suddenly become a hot topic among physicists. The theory was first advanced by the Italian physicist, Enrico Fermi, in 1933. Fermi proposed that beta radiation—the transformation of a neutron into a proton, giving off an electron and neutrino in the process—was due to a special force of a new kind. In subsequent years, a number of other particle interactions were discovered of about the same strength as the Fermi force (as it first was known), which, by 1948, physicists recognized, was probably also responsible for them. However, this was uncertain for a decade, owing to certain incorrect experiments that cast doubt about the specific characteristics, or “form,” of the interactions; a sleigh can be pulled with approximately the same strength by a team of dogs, a few horses, and a tractor, but the same thing is not doing the pulling. In 1958, the situation was clarified thanks to an elegant experiment at BNL by Maurice Goldhaber, whose work helped show that only one form was involved. In the aftermath, the weak force (as it was eventually called) was established as a distinctive type of fundamental interaction, the finishing touches were put on a theory of that force, and the way was opened for its further exploration.<sup>3</sup>

Completion of a successful theory in science is rarely a resting point, tending rather to inspire further, more sophisticated questions about the theory's shortcomings and validity. The freshly secured theory of the weak interaction was already known to possess one large limitation and one glaring inconsistency.



The limitation was that it broke down at a certain energy. The original theory pictured weak interactions as taking place between pointlike particles, and it is a peculiarity of such theories (and of any theory where the particles lack internal structure) that, as the energy of interaction rises for such particles, so does the cross-section, or rate at which interactions take place. To use a crude analogy, it would be as if the harder you threw a dart at a board across the room, the more often you hit it. But, according to a principle of physics, the higher the energy of a particle the smaller its wavelength or size (the smaller the size of both dart and dartboard, so to speak) and thus the less likely an interaction will take place. At some point (300 GeV, physicists calculated), the two requirements collided, turning the theory into gibberish. Theorists, Schwartz's Columbia colleague Gerald Feinberg among them, had an idea which would save the theory. If the force were transmitted via a particle known as an intermediate vector boson (later known as a W particle), the limitation would be overcome. The interaction region then would not be pointlike, but have a finite size determined by the mass of the boson. In 1958, this idea was mere speculation.

The inconsistency was that experimenters did not see a reaction which, according to the theory, they should have seen. The theory described different kinds of leptons as related somewhat as are ground states and excited states of atoms—which have the same basic parts but possess a different amount of total energy. The muon, for instance, acted for all the world like a plump version of the electron; it had the same properties but was 207 times fatter. If the muon were a kind of excited state of the electron, there was no reason why it could not decay into an electron plus a gamma ray ( $\mu \rightarrow e + \gamma$ , or “mu to e gamma”). Feinberg even figured out how often—once every 10,000 normal mu decays. By 1960, some 100-million decaying muons had been observed with no mu to e gamma.<sup>4</sup>

According to a “totalitarian” principle of physics, if something can happen, it must. Failure to observe this supposedly possible reaction, therefore, grew from a curiosity into a crisis. Some physical principle, theorists thought, must be intervening to prevent mu from going to e gamma. Once again, an ad hoc hypothesis, this one involving neutrinos, was invoked as a possible way out. When Feinberg published his calculation—during a year in which he was a postdoc at BNL—he mentioned in a footnote that it would be wrong if there existed two different types of neutrinos, one linked or “coupled” with the muon, the other coupled with the electron. This supposition would explain why mu never went to e gamma—but also was merely speculation.

At the beginning of the 1960s, therefore, the weak interaction had recently matured as a promising branch of particle physics with interesting problems crying for study. But a formidable obstacle stood in the way. The interaction was not misnamed: it is  $10^{10}$  times weaker than the electromagnetic and  $10^{12}$  times weaker than the strong interaction, meaning that in an experiment its effects would be swamped by those of the other two. Trying to pick out its

effects from among the others would be like trying to hear a whisper from across the waiting room at Grand Central Terminal during rush hour. Weak interaction physics at high energies seemed hopeless—unless some new method to study it could be developed.

Mel Schwartz found a way. At Columbia, the weak interaction was probably more avidly discussed than elsewhere, thanks to the presence of eminent physicists who had worked in the field, including Feinberg and Tsung-Dao Lee. The weak interaction and its problems were often a hot topic at coffee breaks, attended by most faculty members, on the eighth floor of Pupin Hall, Columbia's physics building. According to Schwartz,

One Tuesday afternoon in November, 1959, I happened to arrive late at coffee to find a lively group around T.D. (which is what we called T.D. Lee) with a conversation ensuing as to the best way of measuring weak interactions at high energies. A large number of possible reactions were on the board making use of all the hitherto known beam particles—electrons, protons, neutrons. None of them seemed at all reasonable. In each case the very rare weak interactions were completely obscured by the vast number of strong and electromagnetic interactions. Indeed, as the coffee hour ended, it was on a note of hopelessness; there seemed to be no decent way of exploring the terribly small cross sections characteristic of weak interactions.<sup>5</sup>

On his way home, Schwartz pondered what he had heard. That evening, it suddenly became clear to him that the right way to study the weak interaction was with neutrinos, which experience only the weak interaction and are oblivious to the strong and electromagnetic interactions. Schwartz called Lee at home later that evening, and Lee was encouraging. According to Schwartz, the next morning he barged into Lee's office. Lee was involved in a conversation with his then-frequent collaborator, Chen Ning ("Frank") Yang, now director for the SUNY at Stony Brook Institute for Theoretical Physics. Interrupting them, Schwartz exclaimed, "I know how to do the experiment!" The three began preparatory work—mainly talking and thinking. Lee and Yang emphasized to Schwartz that the first and most important task of high-energy weak interaction physics would be to learn whether two types of neutrinos existed.

Schwartz then wrote an article titled, "Feasibility of Using High-Energy Neutrinos to Study the Weak Interactions." Investigating the behavior of weak interactions at high energies is of "considerable interest," it began, and outlined a way of using high-energy neutrinos to do so. First, one would use a proton accelerator to create a beam of high-energy pions, which would be allowed to travel unimpeded for a few dozen feet. In that time, a certain amount would decay into muons and neutrinos, with a high fraction of the neutrinos emitted in the forward direction. Then the beam would be run smack into a thick wall of iron shielding, in the middle of which would be a detector. If thick enough, the shielding would stop all the pions, together with

all the secondary and tertiary particles that were strongly and electromagnetically interacting. The only particles that would reach the detector would be neutrinos, which would sail right through the steel, and any interactions which they had with particles inside the detector would have to be weak interactions. These interactions—which would not need to be picked out from among other types of interactions—would be tremendously interesting. If an equal mixture of electrons and muons were produced, this would indicate that one type of neutrino existed, able to couple alike to each of the two kinds of particles. If only muons were produced, this would indicate that the neutrinos created by the decay of pions to muons could couple only to muons, and that two types of neutrinos existed.

Making certain assumptions about the energy and intensity of the pion beam and about detector size, Schwartz calculated the neutrino flux. The experiment was feasible, he declared, though “outside the capabilities of existing machines by one or two orders of magnitude.”<sup>6</sup> He did not bother to mention BNL’s AGS, which at that time was supposed to have an intensity of  $10^9$  protons per second (too low for the proposed experiment), and instead raised the possibility of using two proposed machines—neither ultimately built—whose planned intensity was  $10^{15}$ .

Schwartz submitted the article to *Physical Review Letters*, a journal whose editorial offices were at BNL, recently established to provide fast publication for important results. Like other physics journals, *Physical Review Letters* rarely publishes sketchy proposals for experiments. Prospects for publication of the article were aided considerably when Lee and Yang (two recent Nobel laureates) submitted an accompanying paper, “Theoretical Discussions on Possible High-Energy Neutrino Experiments.”<sup>7</sup> This key paper in the history of the weak interaction listed the principal issues in high-energy weak interactions; what physicists might expect to learn from the kind of experiment Schwartz proposed. The two papers, published back-to-back, demonstrated that high-energy neutrino physics was not only possible but of fundamental interest.

Early in 1960, Schwartz was pleasantly surprised to discover that the AGS, about to go on line, would have an intensity higher than planned—at least  $10^{10}$  protons per second—putting the experiment just within the bounds of possibility at that machine. This also attracted the attention of his colleague Leon Lederman, who had a skillful eye for important problems, saw this was one, and promptly added this project to his various irons in the fire. Some graduate students were recruited, among them Jean-Marc Gaillard, an experienced researcher who would write up the experiment as his thesis at the Ecole Polytechnique in Paris. BNL’s Accelerator Department chair G. Kenneth Green was contacted to initiate planning.

One night in mid-1960, working late on a bubble chamber experiment at the Cosmotron, Schwartz was approached by Irwin Pless, an MIT experimenter who made it his business to stay atop the latest developments in instrumentation. Pless drew Schwartz’s attention to a new kind of detector,

called a spark chamber, that James Cronin was developing at Princeton. The next day, Schwartz, Lederman, and Gaillard piled into Schwartz's Plymouth and drove to New Jersey to see the device. In principle, a spark chamber seemed the right kind of detector to use, because it could be made very heavy (providing enough material with which the neutrinos could interact), and had good spatial resolution (allowing precise determination of the particles' locations, which would be essential for identifying them). Cronin's was only an experimental model and needed more development before it would be useful for physics. To speed the process, Schwartz and Lederman decided to divide their efforts. "Mel and I raced," Lederman says. "We each had a different model for a spark chamber, and we built two in the lab, and the one he built was better so we threw out mine and adopted his."<sup>8</sup>

Spark chambers involve flat pieces of metal, attached to a high voltage, positioned between and parallel to two others, with the space in between filled with neon. When a charged particle flies through the chamber, it disturbs the gas atoms, causing a spark to jump from the hot plate to one of its neighbors. Schwartz's design involved modules of nine plates, alternating four charged plates (7,500 volts) and five grounded ones. The detector consisted of ten such modules (one group of five stacked on top of the other group of five) and weighed ten tons overall. Cronin had put his plates in a fancy housing separated with special insulators. Schwartz, who had inherited some of Steinberger's instinct for economy and for designing things that could be manufactured in a hurry, had simply built a Lucite frame around his plates and clamped them together with screws, so that the frame sealed in the neon but made the sparks visible from the outside. The particle trajectories would glow with the familiar red light of ionized neon, and would be recorded by automatically triggered cameras. The design involved simple machinery and engineering, and had the huge advantage that it could be done on a large scale. The detector would be installed on the AGS floor at some distance from the machine. Protons from the AGS would smash into a beryllium target to create a hail of pions, which would then fly freely for about seventy feet, in which about a tenth would decay. The pions would then run into a pile of steel some forty-two feet thick, on the other side of which was the detector, equipped with cameras to photograph the trails of sparks in the gas created in the aftermath of any neutrino collisions. The signature of a neutrino collision would be either a muon or electron, starting in the chamber in the aftermath of a collision whose momentum pointed away from the target. In a description of the group's ideas for the detector, late in 1960, Lederman said, "By the grace of the AEC, BNL, God, Green, and Haworth (alphabetical order), we should see neutrinos."<sup>9</sup>

In the meantime, several groups at CERN's PS had become interested in mounting a neutrino experiment—the only other place in the world where the experiment could be done. One spark chamber group contained some of Europe's most eminent researchers, including the cosmic ray physicist, Giuseppe Cocconi, Lederman's thesis advisor Gilberto Bernardini, and their

younger colleague, Helmut Faissner. Another group, interested in using a bubble chamber, was led by the French physicist, André Lagarrigue. Yet another person interested in using a large bubble chamber to look for neutrinos was Steinberger; after expressing interest in the AGS, Steinberger decided to mount his own effort at CERN. All three groups were to share one beam line. The CERN spark chamber group vacillated for a while when it came to deciding to go ahead, partly due to doubts of the feasibility of the experiment and of the spark chamber technology, and partly due to the knowledge that BNL was proceeding with the experiment. Several of the Europeans, however, attended the 1960 International Conference on High Energy Physics, a yearly meeting of the luminaries of the field (theorists and experimenters alike) held in Rochester, New York. Impressed by recent theoretical ideas on the neutrino and recent developments in spark chambers, they promptly gave the neutrino experiment the highest priority. Faissner, who previously had prepared a detailed proposal, was ordered to have his equipment ready for installation at the PS on 15 January 1961.<sup>10</sup>

A few weeks later, the BNL group began to arrange running time on the AGS and space on the experimental floor. Only one external beam was then available, hooked up to a 20" hydrogen bubble chamber operated by a group led by Ralph Shutt, a BNL physicist. Schwartz and company brashly argued that their work was sufficiently urgent to warrant disconnecting Shutt's chamber for six weeks while their experiment was run instead. Shutt adamantly refused. Rod Cool, secretary of the high energy advisory committee whose job it was to assign time to experimenters, was caught in the middle, but persuaded enough by Schwartz's arguments to call Goldhaber (who was in Scandinavia on a lecture tour) to ask the lab director to pull rank, override Shutt, and assign the beam to the neutrino experimenters.

As much as I sympathized [Goldhaber recalled later], I felt that I had to save them from their youthful enthusiasm. I was skeptical of their promise to finish this important experiment in six weeks, and insisted that they would have to wait for their own beam so that they would do their work in whatever time it took. I therefore assigned a beam for their sole use.<sup>11</sup>

Meanwhile, the CERN group—working through Christmas—had met its deadline and was hard at work. They had begun to run, months ahead of the BNL team, but were having problems coping with the "background," or events in the detector caused by stray particles that were making their way through the shielding.

Everyone worked to the point of collapse. I suggested several times that we take it a little easier, but that was rejected completely. We had to observe neutrinos by this June at all costs. Otherwise, Brookhaven's machine might steal this important discovery right out from under our noses. A kind of neurosis seized us: a "big discovery" complex.<sup>12</sup>

The BNL team, too, experienced difficulty with background, and struggled to find enough shielding for the detector to cut it down. Eventually, five thousand tons of scrap-armor plate from several decommissioned Navy cruisers was shipped down the Hudson to Nevis, and thence to BNL, where it was piled on the floor of the AGS experimental hall.

Preliminary runs were made at the end of 1961, and it was the BNL experimenters' turn to uncover problems. The most serious was an unusually large number of neutrons making their way under, over, and around the forty-two-foot long pile of steel, creating several events a day in the detector—which, though a small number, still threatened to mask the still rarer neutrino events. To correct the problem, the experimenters reinforced the shielding with lead, and had the AGS proton beam energy dropped to 15 GeV.

All of a sudden, BNL discovered that their competition had met with unexpected disaster and folded. A Swedish physicist, Guy von Dardel, discovered an error in the calculations involving the straight section, or segment of pipe between the ring of the accelerator and the target. While BNL's team had been working with a ten-foot straight section at the AGS, the CERN groups had been assigned a station with a five-foot straight section at the PS. Von Dardel discovered that this was too short, and, as a result, that the magnets would defocus the pion beam, diminishing the neutrino intensity sufficiently to make the experiment unfeasible. For peculiar reasons of its own, the CERN management decided not to move the experiment to another port on the PS with a longer straight section, which would have involved bumping other experiments.

The place at that time—I'm not sure how it is now—was not overly full of cooperation. Different teams from different countries were always at each other's throats. If one guy got screwed, the other guy would jump up and down with joy...Everybody else who was not doing the experiment was in competition with the people trying to do the experiment. And so the minute that von Dardel discovered the problem, the first reaction should have been, "Well, let's go and switch the experiment to a ten-foot straight section"—right? In fact, the reaction was, "Can the experiment."<sup>13</sup>

Faissner and a few others, reluctant to give up so readily on the work they had invested in the detector, proposed studying even bigger spark chambers, but the CERN management had lost faith in its neutrino group. Steinberger, depressed, left CERN and returned to BNL. Burying the hatchet, he joined his former colleagues on the neutrino team there.

Early in 1962, during the first few weeks of running, Faissner visited BNL for a few weeks. The experimenters were still having difficulty reducing the neutron background; Faissner did some of the scanning himself and was able to appreciate the problem first-hand. He then dashed off an encouraging telex to his CERN colleagues saying, "No neutrinos, only neutrons. Press on." Faissner inattentively put the telex on the BNL group's account, and a copy

was eventually returned to Schwartz's mailbox. Irritated, the BNL group dispatched Faissner back to CERN. After dropping off Faissner at Idlewild (now Kennedy) Airport, Schwartz drove back up to Columbia:

As I walked into Leon's office, he had just gotten a call from [Dino] Goulianos (a graduate student)—they had scanned the first large batch of film and found the first neutrino event. It was a beautiful event—a long muon was produced in a two-prong star and traveled through forty inches of aluminum before leaving the chamber. From this point on it was almost anticlimactic. We ran a total of 800 hours and it soon became clear that we were not producing electrons with our neutrinos, only muons.<sup>14</sup>

They ran a total of about eight months, confirming Goldhaber's wisdom in insisting they build their own beam line rather than commit themselves to six weeks. During the 800 hours of operating time, 100 trillion neutrinos passed through the forty-two-foot-thick steel wall into the ten-ton detector. Out of these 100 trillion neutrinos, a mere fifty interacted in the chamber to make energetic events. Of these, twenty-nine showed only a single energetic muon produced, while the rest showed muons produced with other particles. In no event was a single energetic electron produced. Hence, the experimenters concluded, the muon-related neutrinos arising from decay of pions into muons are different from the electron-related neutrinos involved in beta decay.

The experimenters wrote a paper, "Observation of High-Energy Neutrino Reactions and the Existence of Two Kinds of Neutrinos," which Schwartz personally carried into the *Physical Review Letters* office at BNL on 15 June 1962:

In the course of an experiment at the Brookhaven AGS, we have observed the interaction of high-energy neutrinos with matter. These neutrinos were produced primarily as the result of the decay of the pion...[T]he neutrinos we have used produce mesons but do not produce electrons, and hence are very likely different from the neutrinos produced in decay.<sup>15</sup>

Schwartz gave the first major presentation of the work to his colleagues at the 1962 Rochester conference, held that year at CERN in a gesture of international collaboration. Just before he left, BNL issued a press release on 1 July, the day the article was published. As particle physics was becoming ever more difficult to describe in nontechnical terms, the media was having an ever more difficult time conveying the background and significance of the important discoveries. Some popular periodicals chose simply to throw up their hands and approach the discoveries, not as intellectual events that were of interest because they altered our understanding of nature (hence, where the focus would be on the science), but as cultural events that were of interest because they represented tours de force by particularly clever individuals (hence, with the focus on people). *Life* sent the noted photographer Fritz Goro to BNL, who set up a shot of the dashing-looking, twenty-nine-year old

Schwartz leaning casually against the spark chamber, glowing with trails of sparks. The magazine ran the picture, with a short caption, on a double-page spread alongside pictures of the Queen of Belgium and Gina Lollobrigida.

The first crisis in the weak interaction was now over; it was clear why mu never went to  $e\gamma$ . The other crisis—that the theory broke down around 300 GeV—persisted. This would be resolved if there existed an intermediate vector boson ( $W$ ). Several teams of experimenters at BNL began to hunt for it; the neutrino group, for instance, constructed a sixty-ton spark chamber in a specially built area southwest of the AGS, between that machine and the Cosmotron. The idea was as follows: If a neutrino flying through their detector happened to collide with something and create a  $W$  plus a muon, the  $W$  would decay immediately to a muon or electron. The experimenters then would see another muon or electron at large angles from the first; because the  $W$  is massive, its decay would be able to send the much lighter particle off at a sharp angle. This so-called "dilepton" signature became a standard way of looking for  $W$ s in the next two decades. Schwartz and company failed to find the  $W$ , succeeding only in setting a lower limit of 2 GeV. Many searches for the  $W$ —which, physicists felt certain, had to exist—were conducted through the 1960s. Paraphrasing a remark Joe Louis made of an opponent, Feinberg remarked of  $W$  bosons, "They can run, but they can't hide."<sup>17</sup> Still, the decade ended with the  $W$  still in hiding. The teams at BNL tried not be discouraged, and Goldhaber encouraged them with a piece of folk wisdom of his own: "Like many lion hunters, experimenters often return without a lion."

At the beginning of the 1970s, a dramatic and unexpected shift in the understanding of the weak interaction occurred when theorists proposed that the weak and electromagnetic interactions were different manifestations of a single, "electroweak" force. This proposal entailed that the  $W$  boson was much heavier than 2 GeV, and therefore would explain why it had not been seen. The proposal was borne out, and the  $W$  was ultimately discovered at CERN in 1983, at 82 GeV—far beyond the capabilities of the AGS.

But, by the grace of the AEC, BNL, God, Green, and Haworth himself, the BNL neutrino team had at least seen neutrinos—two species thereof. In the process, they had opened up the new field of neutrino physics, still an important field at BNL and other high-energy accelerator laboratories. They had also effectively inaugurated the age of large-scale detectors, for their ten-ton detector dwarfed the bubble chambers and spark chambers of the day. In 1988, Lederman, Schwartz, and Steinberger shared the Nobel Prize in physics for the discovery.

### **Discovery of CP Violation**

Another reason for the intense interest in the weak interaction at the end of the 1950s was that it had been found to have a most bizarre and startling feature: it violated parity. In ordinary language, parity means equality: two things are on a par or have parity if they are equal in some way. In the vocabulary of physicists, parity refers to a specific kind of equality related to how



wave functions behave, the equations used to describe particle interactions.

Wave functions include variables relating to the spatial location, charge, and temporal direction of particles. Three important kinds of operations can be performed on wave functions: parity (P), charge conjugation (C), and time reversal (T). Parity (P) is the operation of reversing all the spatial variables—flipping the Xs, Ys, and Zs of position from negative to positive, equivalent to running a particle interaction in the reverse spatial direction. If flipping an interaction in the parity mirror causes its wave equation to stay the same, the interaction is said to have even parity; if it reverses the sign of the wave function, the interaction is said to have odd parity. Physicists had assumed that when all the individual parities involved in an event were taken into account, the total parity—like charge or mass-energy—would be conserved. Charge conjugation (C) is the operation of reversing all the charges in an interaction from positive to negative or vice versa—which merely amounts to saying that the same physics holds true of the electron and positron, or of any particle and its antiparticle. Time reversal (T) is the operation of reversing the direction of time in the wave equation, which is tantamount to saying that if you took a film of a subatomic particle interaction and ran it backwards, you still have a film of a possible interaction.

According to a fundamental theorem of quantum mechanics established in 1953, wave functions are invariant when all three operations—C, P, and T—are performed at once. It was also assumed (without proof) that wave functions were invariant under each individual operation; it was thought to be impossible that interactions might be indifferent and that under the operations the wave equation would at times remain unchanged and at times reverse sign. In that event, the operation would be said to violate symmetry.

In 1956, Lee and Yang, while working at BNL, attempted to resolve a theoretical crisis involving the decays of a strange particle later called the K particle by proposing that parity, known to be conserved in the electromagnetic and strong interactions, was not conserved in the weak. To the amazement of the scientific community, the suggestion was shortly confirmed—one of the most unexpected discoveries regarding fundamental principles of the century. Lee and Yang then shared the Nobel Prize (1957)—the first awarded for work performed at BNL.

While surprising, the discovery of parity violation could be incorporated relatively easily into existing theories with physicists' understanding of most phenomena remaining unchanged. Although physicists were relying more and more on symmetry properties in their efforts to understand particles, and parity non-conservation was disconcerting because it was a violation of a symmetry, more fundamental symmetries than P seemed at hand. Most physicists assumed, for instance, that while P may be violated, a deeper symmetry would be preserved under the combined operation of C and P, or what happens when both the spatial coordinates are flipped and the charges reversed. As Yang said in 1959, "If one performs a mirror reflection and converts all matter into antimatter, then all physical laws remain unchanged."

Lee and Yang, as well as Russian physicist Lev Landau, argued that CP violation was the “true” mirror symmetry. Order—in the form of symmetry—seemed restored.

In 1956, a team of Columbia scientists (Lederman among them), had discovered the  $K_L^0$  at the Cosmotron—a neutral K meson, predicted the year before, which decayed into three pions over a relatively long time, in addition to the already known neutral K meson which decayed into two pions. This discovery had pricked the interest of BNL’s Robert Adair, who created a beam of  $K_L^0$  particles and began studying their decays (usually into a pion and a muon or electron) in a bubble chamber at the Cosmotron. But every once in a while, Adair would notice what was apparently a  $K_L^0$  decay into *two* pions, which was prohibited if CP violation held.

These events vexed Adair. There was one possible effect that might be responsible—the so-called Pais-Piccioni “regeneration” effect—but Adair felt certain that the right conditions were not present. He took to spending much time scanning the bubble chamber film himself, searching for clues. Colleagues remember him occasionally showing up to lunch saying excitedly, “I found another one! I found another one!”—and then everyone would scratch their heads, trying to come up with an explanation.

One possibility was CP violation, but there was *no way* I was going to believe in CP violation. I believed that God wouldn’t do such a God-damned dumb thing— still feel that way a little! [Laughs]. So I made the mistake of trying to out-guess God. I came to the conclusion that this fundamental mechanism would work if there was a force that would not be seen in any other way, but would be enough to make this regeneration.<sup>17</sup>

Adair’s results were nothing short of sensational. When he circulated in pre-publication form an article suggesting a “fifth force” of nature was involved in K decay—a major discovery, if true—the proposal was so shocking that James Cronin and Val Fitch, two Princeton experimenters working at BNL but who shared an office, prepared an experiment to study it. Cronin had been running an experiment at the Cosmotron using a pair of spark chambers which would be relatively easy to move to the AGS and use for the study. Finding space on the crowded experimental floor was another matter, but they fit themselves on the inside of the AGS ring, a little-used area Green had baptized “Inner Mongolia.” By mid 1964, they had demonstrated decisively that, a small amount of the time,  $K_L^0$ s indeed decay into two pions, in violation of CP.<sup>18</sup>

Initially, the result was treated with skepticism. The effect was tiny—the forbidden decay was a fraction of a percent of the K decays—leading to the suspicion that experimental error was involved. When Cronin presented the results at the 1964 International Conference on High Energy Physics (yet another in the “Rochester” Conference series), held at Dubna in the Soviet Union, one Soviet colleague suggested that the regeneration might have been

due to a fly trapped in the apparatus, but a quick calculation showed the fly would have to be much denser than uranium. Another reason for skepticism was that, unlike P violation, CP violation could not readily be incorporated into existing theories. Two Japanese physicists later showed that CP violation could be reconciled with the existing theory of the weak interaction only if at least three pairs of quarks existed (this at a time when the existence of quarks was not yet widely accepted, and most who did accept them admitted only three). Finally, CP violation implied the violation of a number of other symmetries, such as time reversal (T), as well as that between matter and antimatter. The Soviet physicist (and prominent political dissident), Andrei Sakharov, soon pointed out that the asymmetry between matter and antimatter implied by CP violation might be one way of explaining why our region of the universe, and perhaps the universe as a whole, contains more matter than antimatter.<sup>19</sup> But confirmations of CP violation were soon forthcoming, and CP violation studies made up another large part of the AGS experimental program. The phenomenon is still not well understood.

At the end of his acceptance speech for the Nobel Prize in physics, in 1980, Fitch recalled Lewis Thomas's remark, "You measure the quality of the work by the intensity of the astonishment," adding that, "After 16 years, the world of physics is still astonished by CP and T invariance." The remark is still valid.

### **Discovery of the $\Omega^-$ (Omega Minus)**

Nicholas Samios likes to rely on his hunches. The child of Greek immigrants, he was born on Manhattan's Lower East Side in 1932. After graduating from Columbia in 1953, Samios stayed on to do graduate work in physics. Liking Steinberger's dynamism and enthusiasm, Samios chose him as a thesis advisor. Steinberger's first assignment was for Samios to build counters with which to study the scattering of pions off nucleons.

In 1954, Steinberger returned from a conference in Glasgow at which he had been excited by two recent developments: the discovery of the bubble chamber and the discovery of "strangeness." The bubble chamber, a new type of particle detector, was invented in 1952 by Donald Glaser. A vat of liquid, often liquid hydrogen, is put in a superheated state by the sudden expansion of a piston. In this state, the slightest disturbance will cause bubbles to form, and if properly adjusted, a charged particle flying through the chamber suffices. The strings of bubbles then formed can be photographed and measured, and the particle that left them identified.

Bubble chambers, in turn, seemed to be ideal instruments with which to study strange (also known as "V," or "heavy unstable") particles, which had unusually long lifetimes ( $10^{-10}$  seconds, as compared to  $10^{-22}$  seconds for other strongly produced particles). In 1952, the Cal Tech theorist, Murray Gell-Mann, proposed an explanation: the strange particles indicated the existence of a new quantum number (a quantum number is one of a handful of numbers that describe how a particle behaves), which he whimsically called

“strangeness” (the same idea was also developed by a Japanese physicist, Kazuhiko Nishijima). A Dutch physicist, Abraham Pais, then proposed that strangeness is conserved in strong interactions (meaning that the particles could not decay in the  $10^{-22}$  seconds normally expected of particles produced by strong interactions), but violated in weak interactions (meaning that it could decay into non-strange particles after  $10^{-10}$  seconds).

After returning from Glasgow, Steinberger told Samios to stop building counters, drop the idea of studying pion-nucleon interactions, and, together with fellow graduate students Melvin Schwartz and Jack Leitner, build bubble chambers in which they could study the properties of strange particles for their Ph.D’s. The resulting paper, “Properties of Heavy Unstable Particles Produced by 1.3 BeV Mesons,” based on work done in a 6” bubble chamber the three graduate students built, was the first paper they coauthored, and, indeed, the first publication of a high-energy physics experiment using bubble chambers.<sup>20</sup> They next built a 12” bubble chamber, in which they discovered a new particle, the sigma zero.<sup>21</sup> Samios received his Ph.D. in 1957, and stayed on at Columbia for two years developing bubble chambers before moving to BNL, which was rapidly expanding its staff in anticipation of the AGS completion. He joined the bubble chamber group led by Shutt, which was running a 20” chamber at the Cosmotron and working on plans for an 80” chamber at the AGS. In 1960, when the AGS was completed and the 80” still under construction, Shutt’s team brought the 20” over to the AGS.<sup>22</sup> Samios helped to design a separated beam of 2 GeV K minus particles for the 20” chamber—the one Schwartz and company wanted desperately to use. While the neutrino group was reluctantly building its own beam line, along with their spark chamber looking for leptons, Samios was running the 20,” his interest in strange particles undiminished:

All these new particles were being found—called deltas and N stars and Y stars—and my feeling was, my God, there’s got to be a simplification! All of these can’t be fundamental! But in order to find a simplification, first you had to find them all and measure their properties. And I noticed that there were more negative strangeness particles. Today we know that’s because K minuses have strange quarks in them, but we didn’t know that at the time. I just saw that K minuses were the way to go. My hunch was get as many as possible, at high an energy as possible. That was the game I wanted to play. We were about to have the highest energy accelerator in the world—the AGS—and the largest bubble chamber in the world—the 80-inch.<sup>23</sup>

The group working at the 20” proceeded to make two big discoveries. One was a particle called the  $\phi$  (phi) of mass 1020 MeV, the other was the  $\Xi^*$  (xi star) of mass 1535, also called a cascade particle because it decayed into strange particles. In July of 1962, Samios, Leitner, and several others on the 20” team left for the CERN Rochester Conference to announce these particles in one of the numerous sessions.

An attentive listener to the news was Gell-Mann, who had been trying to discover order in particle chaos with the aid of a mathematical tool known as group theory. Mathematically, a “group” is a collection of items related by mathematical rules, and associated with “generators” which create the group when certain operations are performed. Gell-Mann was seeking, in effect, to find the right rules and generators to account for the known hadrons. During Christmas break at the end of 1960, he found one that looked promising whose mathematical name was  $SU(3)$ . It had eight generators, two of which corresponded to properties called isotopic spin and strangeness; the other six were rules for changing the values of the first two (a similar scheme was simultaneously developed by Israeli physicist Yuval Ne’eman). Because of its eight generators, in joking homage to the teachings of Buddha, Gell-Mann called it the “eightfold way.”<sup>24</sup>

In the eightfold way, particles belonged in families mostly of eight, nine, and ten. The particles of each family and their interrelations could be represented visually by diagrams that looked like sections of a Chinese checkers board, with the holes for the marbles corresponding to possible particles, and the rows and columns corresponding to different possible values of isotopic spin and strangeness. While the  $SU(3)$  scheme was beautiful in principle, in practice it was a mess. Many of Gell-Mann’s families called for particles not known to exist, and some properties conflicted with the experimentally determined values. Particularly distressing to Gell-Mann was a group of ten members, a decimet. The decimet was shaped like an inverted pyramid, with four tiers of particles of different amounts of strangeness: four particles of strangeness 0 at the ground level, followed by three of strangeness -1 (strange particles), two of strangeness -2 (cascade particles), and at the (inverted) apex, a single particle of strangeness -3. While the right kind of strangeness 0 and strangeness -1 particles had been found, some of the experimentally measured properties of the strangeness -1 particles didn’t fit Gell-Mann’s scheme. Moreover, the two other tiers of the decimet were blank.

Gell-Mann had arrived at the CERN conference not planning to speak about his scheme, but the news from Brookhaven revitalized his spirits. The  $\phi$  established one of his families as a nonet, while the cascade particle fit neatly into the decimet, leaving missing only the apex particle of strangeness -3. At the end of one plenary session on strange particle physics, he strode to the microphone. If the information was “really right [then] then our speculation [about the decimet] might have some value and we should look for the last particle, called, say,  $\Omega^-$ .”

Gell-Mann’s scheme was still only one among many for classifying hadrons, and an embarrassing amount was in conflict with experimental results. But Samios had an immediate hunch that Gell-Mann was on the right track. When the talk broke up for lunch, Samios cornered Gell-Mann to ask more about the predicted particle. Gell-Mann pointed out that his system made fairly good predictions of the properties of the particle: mass of 1685

MeV, charge minus, strangeness -3. The particle might be produced in a collision between a  $K^-$  and a proton in a bubble chamber. The  $\Omega^-$  would be a “super-cascade” particle, for it would decay into a cascade particle, which, in turn, would decay into a strange particle. In each step of this cascading process, the strangeness would change by one until a proton or neutron, of strangeness zero, were left. But the most interesting prediction was its lifetime. To decay strongly, the  $\Omega^-$  would have to conserve strangeness and decay into particles with a total strangeness of -3—but it was too light to do so. It would therefore have to decay weakly, with a lifetime, like that of other strange particles, of  $10^{-10}$ . “That was the beauty of the prediction,” Samios says. “All the other particles in the multiplet decayed strongly. Here was its brother, the  $\Omega^-$ , related to its siblings by this mass spacing and other properties, but with a lifetime *ten* orders of magnitude different!”

Gell-Mann wrote his predictions on a napkin, which Samios put in his pocket to take back to Goldhaber. The information on the napkin had the effect of directing the efforts of the BNL team:

In our proposal we'd said basically, “K minuses at 2 GeV in the 20 inch were great, so let's do K minuses at 5 GeV in the 80 inch.” Why 5 GeV? Because that was the limit of the technology. Murray now came along and said, “Look for the  $\Omega^-$ , for which you need at least 3.2 GeV.” That focused our efforts, and it gave us further justification for our project in competing for running time at the AGS.

But the BNL team was not the only one on the track of the  $\Omega^-$ ; Berkeley and CERN also had teams preparing to look for it. Berkeley's 6 GeV Bevatron could not produce K minuses readily at 3.2 GeV, but CERN's PS, where a British team led by Ian Butterworth was working with a newly built K minus beam and bubble chamber, was a very real threat. Samios's team also faced competition from colleagues. The new 80” bubble chamber was a facility other groups could use as well; a group from Yale wanted to look for the  $\Omega^-$  in it, using a beam of antiprotons rather than K minuses, and had strong arguments as to why antiprotons might be a superior input beam than K minuses. Samios's group would compete for running time with that group, and others who wished to use the chamber.

The new 80” bubble chamber, the world's largest, was completed in early 1963 and took its first photograph on 2 June 1963. It cost \$6 million, was housed in a separate building, and took four years to design and build. Its 1500-liter stainless steel chamber, which weighed around ten tons, contained liquid hydrogen cooled to -414 degrees F. under a pressure of 70 psi. Months of calibration and other preparatory work followed. In November 1963, the experiment finally began. But “God was very cruel to us,” Samios says, for the team immediately encountered two big problems. The first was that, for some mysterious reason, the particles reaching the chamber from the accelerator were not K minuses but pions. The team spent several weeks adjusting the magnets used to select out the K minuses, but without managing

to put a dent in the massive numbers of pions streaming down the beam pipe.

Early one morning, when Samios and Palmer were on shift together, they decided the K minuses had to be hitting something inside the machine, creating a spray of pions. They shut the machine down and set out inspecting the path of the K minuses inch by inch. When they came to the place where the beam emerged from the AGS, they saw a machine part that stuck out suspiciously. They put a ruler to it—half an inch smaller than it was supposed to be. Part of the beam was hitting the metal, creating a spray of pions that were flooding the beam. Someone, it turned out, had substituted a metal piece of a different size during construction, without noting the size change on the plans. “We could have killed the son of a bitch,” Samios recalls. “It cost us two months.”

Another problem concerned the beam itself. The beam technology had been pushed to the limit, and certain instabilities in the separators were causing the beam to drift. Samios, Palmer, and the others had to develop new techniques for managing the beam, eating up another month. These problems did not help them in the competition for beam time:

We knew that if we kept flubbing around for another month the vultures would be on us. The AGS had a large research program, and there were many other experiments wanting beam time. Whatever time we took, other people didn't get. Some people were already saying, 'Why don't you turn off those guys for three months?' We had first priority for a certain window—but if we didn't perform, we might have been pulled. There was huge pressure on us.

Early in 1964, they began running in earnest. But shortly after the run began, potential disaster struck, this time within the volatile chamber itself. A series of inch-wide black strips, like a set of vertical venetian blinds, had been hung against the wall of the chamber to serve as a kind of backdrop for the photography. Not long after the run began, the harsh jolting of the piston knocked loose ten of these hangers, which fell and came to rest against the window:

There we were, in the middle of the night—Shutt, myself, Fowler, Palmer. And we looked at the window. The question is, did you damage the glass? Because if you damage the glass, and put pressure on it, then the glass breaks, and you have a thousand liters of liquid hydrogen coming out—you have a real catastrophe. So there we were, with ten of the hangers down, and Shutt looking in. He asked all our opinions, but he had to make the decision. He said, “Expand.” The piston expanded. Nothing happened. And he made the decision to continue. The other option was to dump the chamber, open it up, fix the slats, and lose a month. The logical thing would have been to stop, do it right. My feeling is, you get five of these things, then you gotta stop. But if you always stop at the first fix, then started again—you've wasted a month before you even know about the next ones. You go as far as you can without jeopardizing things.

The experiment continued to run. Every few seconds, the AGS would fire protons into a target, creating a bunch of K minuses which were sent down a beam pipe several hundred feet into the bubble chamber. Meanwhile, the heavy, 36" diameter piston of the chamber would expand just after the moment a bunch of K minuses sailed into the chamber. The expansion would superheat the liquid, and any charged particles that resulted from collisions would leave in their wake a trail of bubbles. An instant later, four special cameras located behind a six-and-one-half-inch-thick glass window would snap a picture. The film would be rushed to Brookhaven's photography department, developed, and delivered to tables where scanners—nonscientific personnel, mostly Long Island housewives seeking extra income—would examine each photograph. The scanners had been trained and given instruction sheets telling which pictures might contain particle events of particular interest, with hand-written records made at the scanning table. A physicist would look at the selected events, rejecting some and choosing others for making detailed measuring instructions for those the physicist wanted measured. The film and instructions were sent to semi-automatic precision measuring machines, where scanning personnel did the measurements. The coordinate measurements and other information were punched out on paper tape, sent to a large digital computer for analysis.

Samios himself found the first  $\Omega^-$ . It was the evening shift. Sliding a negative across the white surface of his scanning table, the K minuses usually swept in lines from left to right across the frame, slowly spreading out to either side like sheaves of wheat held in an unseen hand. In this frame, one stalk was snapped off. A K minus had come in, hit a hydrogen atom, and created a new particle that veered violently downward. A foot away, a thin V appeared in mid-air, its two arms crossing lazily after a few inches—the classic signature of a strange, or "V," particle. An old bubble chamber rule of thumb is that the line of flight of the invisible particle creating the V can be estimated by laying a ruler between the two intersections. If it misses the point where the K minus hit the hydrogen atom, that is a sign that some interesting, albeit invisible, physics took place in the interval. Samios set it aside to be measured.

What had happened was that a K minus smacked into a proton inside the bubble chamber. The resulting collision had created a K zero, a K plus, and an  $\Omega^-$  that had sailed a short distance and then burst apart, erupting into a  $\pi^-$  (pi minus) at a wide angle and a  $\Xi^0$  (xi zero). The latter had drifted invisibly for an inch or so, and then burst apart into a  $\Lambda$  (lambda) and a  $\pi^0$  (pi zero). The  $\Lambda$  went into a proton and a  $\pi^-$ ; the  $\pi^0$  into two  $\gamma$ 's, each of which had turned into an electron-positron pair.

Next morning, several physicists crowded around the picture. Some thirteen particles were involved, and the scientists set about determining their identity. In their excitement, the scientists failed to notice at first the two electron-positron pairs, which would be crucial for measuring the energy of the  $\pi^0$ :



Someone—it wasn't me—said, "Look, there's an electron-positron pair!" And we said, "My God, that's right!" Someone else said, "Maybe there's another one from the pi zero!" and someone else said, "My God, there it is!" So there were two electron positron pairs which I had missed. The significance of these pairs was that they were produced by the pi zero. We put the picture on the scanning table and measured the curvature of all these tracks and the angles. From the energies of the electron and positron and the angle between them, I got the pi zero mass, and from that and the proton I got the lambda, and from that, the cascade zero mass! Once I got *that* son of a bitch, I connected it to this [the pi minus] and I got a number for the  $\Omega^-$  that was within 10 percent of what Murray said. Without the pi zero, we couldn't have done it—and without the electron-positron pairs, we couldn't have gotten the pi zero. The probability of these two appearing in liquid hydrogen is one in a thousand!

They wrote a paper, "Observation of a Hyperon with Strangeness Minus Three," which began: "It has been pointed out [that several of the new particles] can be arranged as a decuplet with one member still missing." The authors outlined Gell-Mann's scheme, described the 80" chamber and the event they saw, and identified all the pieces. In view of the charge, strangeness, and mass of the new particle, "We feel justified in identifying it with the sought-for  $\Omega^-$ ".

Samios took the paper to the *Physical Review Letters* office on 11 February.<sup>25</sup> Meanwhile, Gell-Mann had been alerted to the news through the scientific grapevine, which travels at approximately the speed of light. Feigning innocence, he called Samios and received confirmation of the story. However, the team was not ready to make the discovery public. In accord with established scientific practice, the journal required that results submitted for publication could not be publicized elsewhere until the article appeared in print. The reason was the traditional one: to seek accuracy by allowing time for peer review of the results. The team scheduled a press conference for 24 February, the day the article was scheduled for publication.

But a premature disclosure angered the scientists and produced confusion over Brookhaven's role. P. T. Matthews, a professor at the Imperial College in London, was working on an article on elementary particle physics, SU(3), and the  $\Omega^-$  and its significance, for the 20 February issue of *New Scientist*. Hearing of the  $\Omega^-$  news through the grapevine via CERN, Matthews could not resist throwing in strong hints that a discovery announcement was about to take place, but slyly hinted that his British colleagues at CERN might also be responsible:

February should go down in the history of physics as the time when a new fundamental law was established...so far, each new stride has seemed like a step backwards in that it has brought ever-increasing complexity and confusion...this month, however, the tide is turning and

a coherent pattern is emerging, to bring order and beauty into this sub-nuclear world...this is the type of situation about which physicists dream—a startling new theory at an absolutely fundamental level, which coordinates and clarifies a previously confused experimental situation...the technical requirements for the production of omega-minus are very difficult, and the necessary high energy beams of K-minus were only recently engineered at both the Brookhaven and CERN laboratories...an announcement may be expected any day...high energy physicists are walking around with a slightly hysterical look, as though they are actually witnessing the apple landing on Newton's head!<sup>26</sup>

A London correspondent for the *New York Times*, armed with an early copy of Matthews's article, noticed that Brookhaven had scheduled a press conference, put two and two together, and promptly prepared an announcement of the discovery based on what Matthews had written. Learning of the impending article, Samios pleaded with the newspaper to hold it until the 24th. The *Times* refused, and published the article on the front page on 20 February. But the *Times*, its correspondent misled by failure to check the source, attributed the announcement to Matthews and the discovery simultaneously to Brookhaven and CERN:

KEY PARTICLE FOUND IN THE ATOM,  
ENDING NUCLEAR PHYSICS 'CHAOS'

London, Feb. 19—The discovery of a new sub-atomic particle was disclosed today by a prominent British nuclear theorist...The particle was found with the aid of high-energy apparatus at the Brookhaven National Laboratory, Upton, L.I. and the Center for European Nuclear Research (CERN) at Geneva, Switzerland.<sup>27</sup>

Gnashing their collective teeth, the BNL scientists agreed to talk to the *Times* on Saturday for quotation in an article to appear on Sunday, in order to straighten out the facts, and the BNL public relations department bumped up its press release to Sunday morning. On Monday, 24 February, the BNL scientists held their originally scheduled press conference in New York City, at the library of the American Institute of Physics. Goldhaber, Shutt, Samios, and Fowler showed up prepared to explain the discovery and its importance to the two dozen or so reporters present. The discovery, Goldhaber told them, "forms the capstone of a building that had previously been held together only by the bold imagination of Dr. Gell-Mann and Ne'eman. Physicists are so excited that they will even talk to journalists." Striving to find some way to express the significance of the discovery, one reporter asked how the discovery compared in importance to that of the electron. Goldhaber was gently reprimanding: "It is unscientific to make such comparisons. Permit me to invent a Chinese proverb: 'In a journey of a thousand miles, you cannot omit a single step.' If

you look back afterward and say, 'That was a giant step,' or 'That was a small step,' then you are not making an objective statement."

Another reporter, overwhelmed by the forest of Greek-lettered particles on the portable blackboard, wondered aloud, "Where do you go from here? That is, when will all this end?" Goldhaber, utterly in character, refused to use the tailor-made opportunity to make a speech on the value of public support of the lab or of science. His reply was in keeping with his view of the dignity of science: "It will end only when it bores us."<sup>28</sup>

Boredom would not be a problem. Despite Goldhaber's decorous remark about the equality of all progressive steps in physics, the discovery of the  $\Omega^-$  was different. It demonstrated the validity of Gell-Mann's "eightfold way" of classifying fundamental particles, which, in turn, came to have an impact on particle physics something like that of the periodic table on chemistry at the end of the last century. The SU(3) scheme consolidated and coordinated what was known about hadrons, exhibiting the gaps and inconsistencies needing to be filled in. At the AGS and elsewhere, physicists set about trying to fill in the holes, finding new particles, and determining their properties, with each new discovery providing additional support for SU(3).

By the time Goldhaber left the directorship, at the end of 1972, it was the end of an era. The rudiments of the standard model of elementary particle physics, a comprehensive picture of known forms of matter and energy in the universe, which is still valid today, had been proposed. Many of the key steps were due to BNL research, and much of the work of the next decade would involve testing the predictions of that model.

In the interim, several laboratories, including CERN and Fermilab (a recently created lab outside of Chicago), turned on new accelerators. BNL was not among them. In keeping with Goldhaber's caution, the lab chose to focus its energy on an upgrade of the AGS. The results proved disappointing, and some who had worked at BNL moved elsewhere: Lederman, for instance, left for CERN, and Fitch for Fermilab. At the beginning of the 1970s, however, BNL did have an idea for a new accelerator on the drawing board called ISABELLE, the subject of a future article.

## NOTES

1. This article is fifth in a series, of which the previous four were: "The History of Brookhaven National Laboratory Part One: The Graphite Reactor and the Cosmotron," *LIHJ* 3:2 (Spring 1991); "The History of Brookhaven National Laboratory Part Two: The Haworth Years," *LIHJ* 4:2 (Spring 1992); "The History of Brookhaven National Laboratory Part Three: Little Science, Big Science," *LIHJ* 6:1 (Fall, 1993); and "The History of Brookhaven National Laboratory Part Four: Problems of Transition," *LIHJ* 7:1 (Fall, 1994).

2. Melvin Schwartz, interview with author, 20 June 1995. See also Melvin Schwartz, "Jack Steinberger—the Best Teacher I Have Known," in K. Kleinknecht and T.D. Lee, eds., *Particles and Detectors: Festschrift for Jack Steinberger* (New York: Springer, 1986): 269-74.

3. For a narrative, nontechnical account of the development of the theory of the weak interaction, see Robert P. Crease and Charles C. Mann, *The Second Creation: Makers of the Revolution in 20th Century Physics* (reprint; New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1995), chap 11.

4. Gerald Feinberg, *Physical Review* 110:6 (15 June 1958): 1482; see also Crease and Mann,

chap. 15.

5. Melvin Schwartz, "Discovery of Two Kinds of Neutrinos: One Researcher's Personal Account," *Adventures in Experimental Physics* 1 (1972): 82-85.
6. Melvin Schwartz, "Feasibility of Using High-Energy Neutrinos to Study the Weak Interactions," *Physical Review Letters* 4:6 (15 Mar. 1960): 306-7; in a note to the proofs of this article, Schwartz commented that his attention had been brought to a similar proposal made by Bruno Pontecorvo in *Journal of Experimental and Theoretical Physics* 37 (1959): 1751.
7. T. D. Lee and C. N. Yang, *Physical Review Letters* 4:6 (15 Mar. 1960): 307.
8. Leon Lederman, interview with author, 14 February 1984.
9. Leon Lederman, Melvin Schwartz, and Jean-Marc Gaillard, "A Neutrino Detector for Use at the Brookhaven AGS" (presented by Leon Lederman), *Proceedings of the International Conference on Instrumentation, Berkeley 1960* (New York: Wiley-Interscience, 1960):201.
10. For a nontechnical account of the evolution of CERN's neutrino experiment, see Robert Jungk, *The Big Machine* (New York: Scribner's, 1968), chap. 4 ("The Search").
11. Maurice Goldhaber, "Introduction" to "This Was the Particle Physics That Was: The Years from P and C Violation to CP Violation," BNL-52214.
12. Faissner, quoted in Jungk, 111.
13. Schwartz, interview with author, 19 February 1985.
14. Schwartz, "Discovery," 85.
15. G. Danby et al., *Physical Review Letters* 9:1 (1 July 1962): 87-95.
16. Gerald Feinberg, "This Was the Particle Physics That Was: The Years from P and C Violation to CP Violation," BNL-52214.
17. Robert Adair, interview with author, 15 February 1995.
18. J. H. Christenson, J. W. Cronin, V. L. Fitch, and R. Turlay, "Evidence for the 2 Decay of the K Meson," *Physical Review Letters* 13:4 (27 July 1964): 138-40.
19. James W. Cronin, "CP Symmetry Violation—The Search for Its Origin," in *Les Prix Nobel* (Stockholm: Nobel Committee, 1981): 60-76.
20. R. Budde, M. Chretien, J. Leitner, N. P. Samios, M. Schwartz, and J. Steinberger, "Properties of Heavy Unstable Particles Produced by 1.3 BeV Mesons," *Phys. Rev.* 103 (1956), 1827-36.
21. H. Plano, N. Samios, M. Schwartz, and J. Steinberger, "Demonstration of the Existence of the Hyperon and a Measurement of Its Mass," *Nuovo Comento* 5 (1957), 216-219.
22. Although the 20" bubble chamber had been built by Shutt's group and used primarily by group members, it was designed so that other groups could use it—the first time that a physics detector was designed as a user facility.
23. Nicholas P. Samios, interview with author, 12 February 1985; all quotations from Samios to follow are from this interview.
24. Murray Gell-Mann, *Cal Tech Report CTSL-20* (Pasadena, CA: California Institute of Technology, 1962).
25. V. E. Barnes et al., "Observation of a Hyperon with Strangeness Minus Three," *Physical Review Letters* 12 (1964): 204-6.
26. P. T. Matthews, *New Scientist*, 20 February 1964, 458-60; Matthews admitted knowing of the discovery in a letter to Maurice Goldhaber (P. T. Matthews to Maurice Goldhaber, 21 February 1964, in "Information Division: Publicity—Omega Minus," BNL Historical Files).
27. *New York Times*, 20 Feb. 1964, 1. A correction citing BNL as the sole place of discovery ran the next day, on page 16.
28. For the description of the press conference, see the *New Yorker* 40 (7 Mar. 1964), 39-40.

# The Indians of Fort Massapeag

By Robert S. Grumet

*This article is a revised version of an appendix in Ralph S. Solecki, "Fort Massapeag: A Seventeenth-Century Native American Fort at Massapequa, Long Island, New York" (unpublished ms. [1991], 224-36). Dr. Solecki has graciously given permission for the article to appear here.*

Fort Massapeag is an archaeological site on Fort Neck, a point of land on the South Shore jutting into Great South Bay in the town of Oyster Bay. The site had long been regarded as the locale of a seventeenth-century Indian fort when, in 1811, De Witt Clinton delivered a description of events at an Indian town at Fort Neck written by Samuel Jones, a local judge, historian, and descendant of one of the area's original colonial land purchasers. Some years later, the Long Island historian Silas Wood identified earthen embankments still visible on the surface of Fort Neck as an Indian fortification.<sup>1</sup>

Local traditions identify the locale as the site of momentous events. One account claims that the fort was the site of the Indian village of Matsepe, reportedly attacked by Dutch and English troops at the height of Governor Kieft's War, in 1643. Another contends that the Fort Neck locale was attacked in 1653, when the Narragansett sachem Ninigret led attacks against Indians living on Long Island.<sup>2</sup> Although these citations chronicle attacks on Indian communities in central and western documents Fort Massapeag as the site of the assaults.

Graves found at the Harbor Green site on Fort Neck during the early 1930s were initially identified as the remains of the victims of one or another of these attacks. The remains were dispersed and lost before they could be dated, associated with particular cultural traditions, or analyzed for evidence of trauma indicating violent death. Excavations conducted by Ralph Solecki and others at Harbor Green and nearby Fort Massapeag during the 1930s represent the first efforts to systematically investigate archaeological deposits on Fort Neck. They began their excavations as workers erecting private homes at the Harbor Green development found and largely destroyed archaeological evidence of a substantial Indian community. The much smaller Fort Massapeag site, by contrast, has been saved from repeated threats by the efforts of local preservationists like Charles Herrold, John

Maclean, and George Peters. Acquired by the town of Oyster Bay in 1958, Fort Massapeag site deposits are today preserved in a passive-use area in the Fort Neck municipal park.

The Oyster Bay Town Historian, Dorothy Horton McGee, first brought the site to the attention of the National Park Service in 1988. Through her efforts and those of Ralph Solecki, Oyster Bay Commissioner of Parks Edward J. Kennedy, and Deputy Commissioner Kevin P. Conologue, Fort Massapeag deposits and documentation were evaluated as part of the National Park Service's Historic Contact National Historic Landmark Theme Study.<sup>3</sup> Following two years of intensive study, the Fort Massapeag Archaeological Site was designated as a National Historic Landmark on 19 April 1993.

As described in the National Historic Landmark nomination form, Fort Massapeag is "one of the most intact and best recorded Historic Contact period archaeological deposits in central Long Island." Excavations have uncovered artifacts dating to the second and third quarters of the seventeenth century in and around a quadrangular earthen embankment measuring one hundred feet on each side. Aboriginal and European artifacts found at this locale comprise an exemplary assemblage of a type not encountered elsewhere in or near Nassau County. Remains of wampum shell-bead manufacture and other evidence of occupation provide otherwise unavailable insights into aspects of social, political, and economic life during a critical phase in relations between colonists and Indian people on Long Island.<sup>4</sup>

Fort Massapeag archaeological deposits reveal much that would otherwise not be known about the lives of the Indian people who lived on Fort Neck in the mid-1600s. However, neither they nor known contemporary archival records reveal the identities of the fort's builders and occupants. Other documents written some years after the site's abandonment, a series of nine deeds that conveyed Indian title at Fort Neck to English purchasers between 1686 and 1697, identify twelve individuals who may have been direct descendants of the fort's builders. Published in the Oyster Bay Town Records, these deeds contain information on these people's identities, familial connections, and political affiliations.<sup>5</sup>

Several methodological difficulties must be resolved before names and other information contained in the Fort Neck deeds can be used in ethnohistorical analysis. Who, in the first place, were the people mentioned in these conveyances? Can we assume that documented names identified particular individuals? Studies by scholars like the late C. A. Weslager show that Indian people frequently possessed several names.<sup>6</sup> Many, moreover, were repeatedly documented under more than one name at different times. How can reliable individual identifications be made from documents suffering from the limitations of European scribes not using standardized spelling and unfamiliar with Indian languages? Following the resolution of these problems, how can the accuracy of European records noting kinship affiliations, political identities, and social status of named individuals be assessed?

Happily, a body of archival data documents the lives of the Indians in and

around central Long Island. Much of this material has been published in compilations of primary documents. Some of these can be found in the records of the towns of Huntington and Hempstead, others in wider-ranging compendia.<sup>7</sup>

Analysis of documents recording European relations with northern New Jersey Indians politically and socially related to western and central Long Island native people indicates that colonial scribes often accurately stated the names of Indian individuals and groups in land deeds and other politically sensitive classes of documents.<sup>8</sup> Review of documents mentioning Indian signatories to land at Fort Neck corroborates these findings. Spellings of Indian names and places recorded in documents written by different scribes or recorded at different times, or in different places, often exhibit substantial orthographic consistency. The names of particularly prominent individuals like the Massapequa sachem Tackapousha were frequently reproduced with little orthographic variation. Spellings of names of less prominent personalities often displayed greater degrees of variation. By itself, the name Siejpekenouw, recorded by a Dutch scribe on 15 May 1664, cannot readily be associated with other known orthographies. The full reference to the name, which identifies him as "brother of Tapusagh, chief of Marsepingh," links him to a contemporary reference identifying Chopeyconnaws as both a Massapequa sachem and Tackapousha's younger brother.<sup>9</sup>

It is impossible conclusively to know if the meaning of a kinship term like brother was shared by the colonial scribes, by Tackapousha, or by Chopeyconnaws, himself. Repeated use in documents signed by these and other people living in and around central Long Island throughout the historic contact period indicates that such terms were probably accepted as approximations of relationships recognized by the involved parties.

References identifying political status and affiliation probably were marked by wider ranges of shared meaning. European leadership practices and beliefs generally stressed hierarchical power relationships. Native authority concepts, by contrast, centered upon the construction of consensus. Despite these differences, both peoples recognized certain terms as referents to individuals possessing some degree of power and authority. Europeans identified Indian leaders as sachems, sagamores, or chiefs. Some people identified in colonial records by these terms, like the Matinecock culture broker Suscaneman, acted more as entrepreneurial go-betweens than as leaders. Others, like Tackapousha, who was identified as sachem, sakima, sagamore, chief, or chief sachem of Massapequa in no fewer than twenty documents recorded between 1643 and 1693, were either chiefs or representatives of chiefs.

The greater number of spelling variations for names of Indian settlements, locales, and political affiliations occasionally makes it difficult to trace their sociocultural relationships. Identification of the name Rechkewick, for example, requires information specifying its geographic location in order to ascertain that the term refers to the Marechkawieck village in present-day downtown Brooklyn, rather than to the Rockaway area at the south shore of

the Island along the border between Queens and Nassau counties. Most recorded terms for western and central Long Island settlements do not display a similarly wide or equivocal range of orthographic variation. Corroborative documentary analyses linking names with particular times or places, for example, can show that terms like Marospinc, Masopike, Marsepain, Marsapeag, and Massepeago are orthographies of the name.<sup>10</sup>

These findings indicate that patterns discerned through systematic analysis of Indian corporate and personal names chronicled in Long Island colonial records can provide clues to the identities of the occupants of archaeologically-documented locales like Fort Massapeag. The earlier mentioned Fort Neck conveyances to lands around Fort Massapeag comprise nine of nearly two hundred conveyances signed in western and central Long Island between 1636 and 1711. The Fort Neck deeds also contain references to twelve of forty-eight individuals and three of ten communities repeatedly identified by name in colonial records documenting contact relationships in present-day Nassau, Queens, and Kings Counties. Analyses revealing associations linking these individuals and communities suggest the existence of a network of interlocking social and political relationships.

People participating in this network lived in small coastal communities situated at favorable locales along sheltered bays and inlets along the northern and southern shores of western Long Island.<sup>11</sup> The density of the network documented in the extant records suggests that members of these communities often maintained close relationships with one another. Prominent personalities like Tackapousha were associated with several communities from the earliest decades of recorded contact. Later references associating individuals with different communities may reflect continuation of earlier patterns or movements of dispossessed people to new locales.

Archival and archaeological data also show that people living on the western half of Long Island maintained ties with Munsee-speaking people living on nearby islands like Manhattan and on the adjacent mainland to the north and west. The same records reveal that many of these people later joined the Munsees in westward exile, following the final sales of the last vestiges of their ancestral lands on Long Island during the first decades of the 1700s.<sup>12</sup>

Extant data do not reveal similar ties with eastern Long Island people. The forests stretching across western Suffolk County marked a linguistic, social, and political boundary between the communities located on the western and eastern halves of the island. Unlike their neighbors to the west, the Montauk, Shinnecock, and other eastern Long Island Indians were culturally and linguistically related to native people living across Long Island Sound in New England.<sup>13</sup>

Surviving records further suggest that social, political, and economic relations between Indians in eastern and western Long Island were also uneasy during the seventeenth century. Eastern Long Island leaders, like the influential Montauk sachem, Wyandanch, repeatedly tried to dominate the political affairs of their western Long Island Indian neighbors.<sup>14</sup> Strained feelings between both people evidently remained so strong that few native



western Long Islanders moved east to Montauk, Poosepatuck, or Shinnecock communities following the loss of the last of their traditional territories.<sup>15</sup>

Primary documents do not directly record either the total size or the precise rate of decline of the aboriginal population of the western half of Long Island. Available data is both fragmentary and of equivocal quality. Working with these data in 1928, James Mooney proposed that the Indian population of Long Island numbered 6,000. More recently, Sherburne F. Cook has suggested a Long Island native population, excluding the Canarsees of Brooklyn, of 7,500. Citing a secondary source, Cook suggested that the Massapeguas alone may have numbered 2,000 individuals at the dawn of contact sometime around 1600.<sup>16</sup>

Contemporary observations, such as the anonymous statement that Dutch and English soldiers killed 120 Indian people in attacks on western Long Island villages in 1643 during Governor Kieft's War, or Daniel Denton's statement that "where there were six towns, they are reduced to two small Villages," provide only the most approximate indications of the extent of Long Island Indian population loss during the early seventeenth century.<sup>17</sup> The number of Indian people living on western Long Island after 1700, by contrast, is easier to ascertain. The nearly total disappearance of Indian people from known documentary sources indicates that only a few native families and individuals remained by 1720.<sup>18</sup>

Application of a documentary appearance-disappearance model can provide a useful indicator of the timing and extent of aboriginal depopulation in the absence of vital statistics or other direct referents. The sample for central and western Long Island currently comprises forty-eight Indian individuals mentioned by name in at least three dated documents. Dates documenting initial appearances and final disappearances of sample members are contrasted with records noting occurrences of warfare, epidemic disease, land loss, and emigration. Unless otherwise indicated, terminal dates do not represent references documenting births or deaths. They are instead regarded as indirect indicators of other events. Initial appearance in colonial records, for example, is regarded as a marker of an individual's rise to international prominence. Disappearance from the colonial record, on the other hand, may indicate a fall from prominence, emigration, disability, or death. Occurrence of large numbers of appearances and disappearance during relatively brief spans of years, for their part, may indicate periods of stress marked by high rates of loss or recruitment.<sup>19</sup>

Figure 1 lists the forty-eight individual Indians and the periods during which their activities were documented in western and central Long Island colonial records. Figure 2 shows the eight periods during which the greatest number of appearances and disappearances occurred. Each of the eight periods corresponds with known epidemics or wars documented in or near the mid-Atlantic region. More than 50 percent of the entire sample (twenty-five individuals) appears, and nearly 17 percent (eight individuals) disappears during the first three periods. These years were marked by four conflicts (two

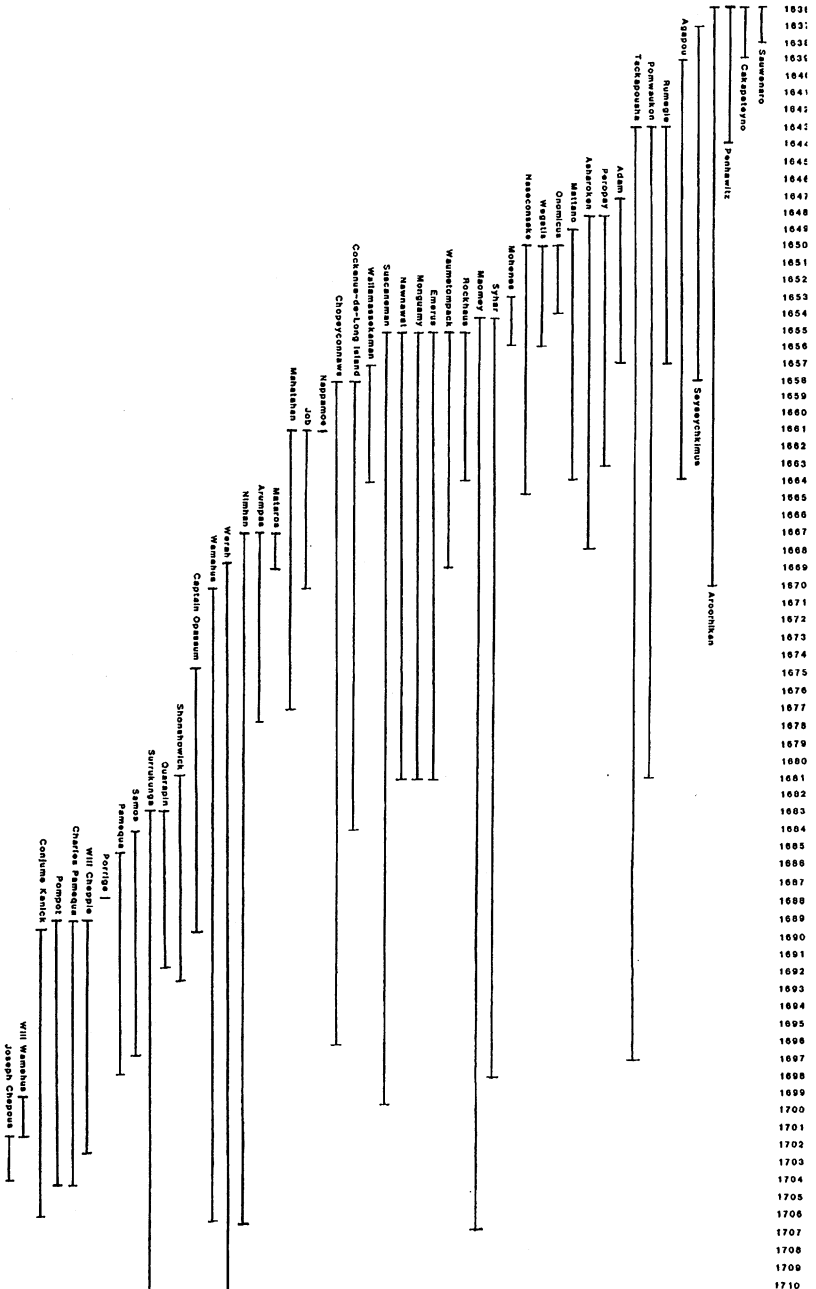


Figure 1.

FIGURE 2  
Data Clusters: Western Long Island Indians

Time Period	Number of Appearances	Number of Disappearances
1636 - 1640	6	2
1647 - 1650	7	0
1653 - 1658	12	6
1660 - 1665	3	6
1667 - 1670	5	5
1681 - 1685	5	5
1688 - 1693	5	3
1700 - 1707	2	9

wars between Indians and Europeans known as Governor Kieft's War, 1640-45, and the Peach War 1655-57; and two intertribal wars involving attacks by Narragansett and other Indians upon Long Island native communities), and two epidemics (smallpox in 1639, and an outbreak of intermittent fever [almost certainly malaria] in 1658).<sup>20</sup>

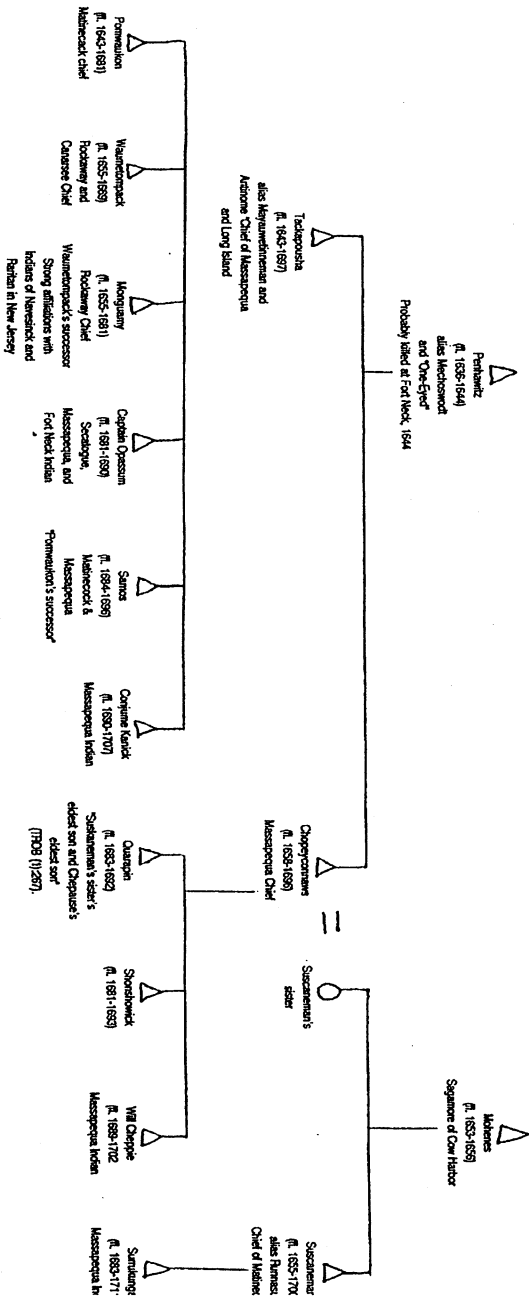
The next three periods show a relatively high but evenly balanced appearance-disappearance ratio. An average of five people (more than 10 percent of the sample) appears and disappears from colonial records during each of these periods. The final period shows the lowest appearance and highest disappearance rate in the sample. During these years, two individuals (less than 5 percent of the sample) appear and nine (a little less than 20 percent of the sample) disappear.

Analysis of these data disclose a relatively stable pattern of appearances and disappearances of prominent individuals. This pattern is characterized by high rates of appearance during the early periods, a high rate of disappearance during the final period, and relatively high rates of loss and replacement during stressful years. Traced over the span of seventy-five years, the pattern suggests a general maintenance of power and numbers throughout most of the seventeenth century and a sudden collapse during the first decade of the 1700s.

Information specifying the status and kinship connections of individuals mentioned in colonial documents also provides sufficient data to reconstruct general genealogical relationships for eighteen of the forty-eight sample members (see figure 3). These data reveal the extent of the familial support buttressing Massapequa sachem Tackapousha's well-documented political influence. Tracing descent from his father, the prominent sachem Penhawitz, Tachapousha passed on his authority to six people identified as his sons, each of whom became chiefs of western and central Long Island Indian communities.

Tackapousha's family is the most prominent of the two most influential Indian kinship groups documented in central and western Long Island colonial records. The territories of Suscaneman's family, for its part, centered

Figure 3  
Genealogical Reconstruction  
Western Long Island Indians



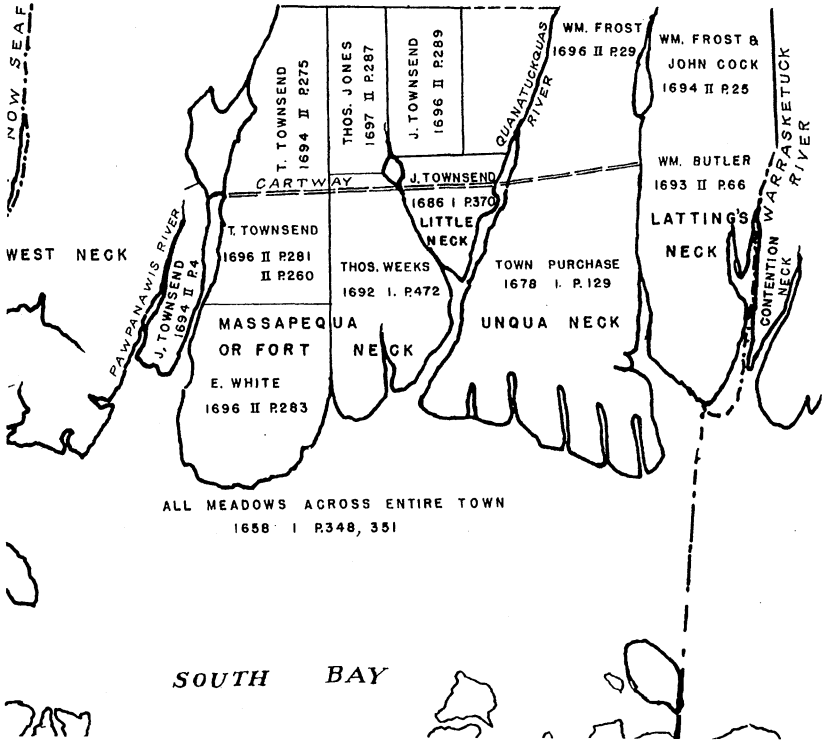


Figure 4. Detail showing Indian deed purchase areas in and around Fort Neck from "Map of the Town of Oyster Bay, N.Y.," by John Cox Jr. in the fly leaf of Vol. 8 of the Oyster Bay Town Records (Cox 1916-40).

around the north shore settlements at Matinecock. These two families were connected through Chopeyconnaws's marriage to Suscaneman's sister. This marriage, which may have perpetuated an ongoing interfamily relationship, probably allowed Suscaneman's son Surrukungwa to share rights to lands at Fort Neck claimed by Chopeyconnaws and his children.<sup>21</sup>

Analysis of the nine Indian deeds to lands at and around Fort Neck (see figure 4) indicates that Chopeyconnaws (fl. 1656-96), his wife's brother's eldest son Surrukungwa (fl. 1683-1711), a man named Maomey (fl. 1654-1707), and Shonshowick (fl. 1681-93) and Will Cheppie (fl. 1689-1702), two names identified with Chopeyconnaws' sons, were primary signatories to eight conveyances. Both of the last-named may refer to the same individual; the former may be the Indian name of the latter. Two other individuals, Wamehas (fl. 1670-1700) and the prominent Massapequa leader Tackapousha (fl. 1643-97), elder brother of Chopeyconnaws and maternal uncle of Surrukungwa, were the primary signatories of the two final deeds alienating the last Indian rights to land at Fort Neck.

Other Indians listed as witnesses in these deeds include Surrukung's father and Chopecyconaws wife's brother, Suscaneman (fl. 1653-1700), Marahtuck (fl. 1696), a son of Wamehas, and two of Tackapousha's sons--Samos (fl. 1684-96) and Conjume Kanick (fl. 1690-1707). Evidently possessing rights to lands at Fort Neck, both witnesses and primary signatories on these deeds are identified in these and other documents as Matinecock, Massapequa, or Secatogue Indians.

Signed between 1686 and 1697, the deeds to lands at and around Fort Neck were among the last conveyances alienating Indian title to ancestral lands in present-day Nassau County. By that time, many western Long Island Indians who had not yet abandoned their homeland had moved to small isolated plots of land reserved for them by provincial authorities at Cow Neck and Matinecock Neck, on the North Shore.

Land at and around Fort Neck was sold in small parcels during a period of eleven years. This gradual pattern of alienation closely paralleled that of other lands on central and western Long Island during the same period. All of the sales were made to local landowners, who had been acquiring land from Indian neighbors for many years. In the first of these deeds, a conveyance dated 4 February 1686, individuals identified as "Chippie" (Chopecyconaws) and "Sacahconick, Sonne of ye sd Chippie" (Shonshowick) sold a tract known as Little Neck on the east side of Fort Neck to John Townsend. Six and a-half years later, people listed as "Chippie" (Chopecyconaws), "Maomie" (Maomey), "Schohconick. son of ye sd Chippie" (Shonshowick), and "Surrockainge" (Surrukung) sold land on Weekes Neck just east of Fort Neck to Thomas Weekes.<sup>22</sup>

On 31 May 1693, individuals identified as "Chepy" (Chopecyconaws), "Mamu" (Maomey), and "William Chipy" (Will Cheppie) sold land above the northwestern border of Fort Neck on the east bank of the Massapequa River to Thomas Townsend for £15. Under the terms of this deed, Townsend also acquired the right to take timber, graze cattle, and build mills on nearby lands still held by the Indians. In return, the Indians were permitted "free Liberty to Cutt ffirewood for our use, and sett our wigwams upon" unimproved portions of the alienated tract.<sup>23</sup>

Individuals identified as "Chippie" (Chopecyconaws) and "Maemy" (Maomey) were listed as the primary signatories to a deed selling a narrow neck of land to the west of Fort Neck to John Townsend on 3 May 1694. Although "Seracken" (Surrukung) was listed as the third native proprietor in the body of the deed, "Will Chippie" (Will Cheppie) put his mark to the document as the third signatory. On 1 June 1694, the same individuals (identified as "Chippie, Maomey alias Sauamis, and Will Chippie") sold land at the northwestern end of Fort Neck to Thomas Townsend for £10. This deed, the last in Fort Neck to mention Chopecyconaws, alienated a tract located just south of the land sold to Townsend one year earlier.<sup>24</sup>

On 13 July 1696, signatories identified as "Maomy" (Maomey), "Will Chippy" (Will Cheppie), and "Serucwn" (Surrukung) conveyed another

small plot at the eastern corner of Fort Neck to John Townsend for £10. A little more than one month later, Will Cheppie (identified as “Will Chippy, Indian of Massipeague or Ffort Neck”) conveyed land at the western part of Fort Neck to Thomas Townsend on 20 August 1696. In this document, Will Cheppie, “the son & Heire of Old Chippy deceased,” sold all of his remaining lands on Fort Neck to Townsend for an annual gift of a “Good New Cloth Coat” every December 1st for the rest of his life. Will Cheppie further reserved his right, and that of his sons and his son’s son, to “plant, Sow and Improve as they shall se Cause the sd Granted Land & every or any pt thereof that hath [not] been already Improved.”<sup>25</sup>

Surrukungua (identified as “Seruckonck”) and Maomey (identified as “Maomy”) secured similar terms for their rights to the same land, shortly thereafter. All three subsequently surrendered these rights to a new purchaser named Thomas Jones (ancestor of the earlier-mentioned Samuel Jones) for the sum of £3 on 13 January 1697. The three men further promised that they would not ask the new owner for coats or anything else in future.<sup>26</sup>

On 6 October 1696, Tackapousha, Will Chippy, Maomey (identified as “Maomy”), Surrukungua (listed as “Seruckon”), Wamehus (identified as “John Wamasan”), and his son Marahtruck conveyed the southwestern portion of Fort Neck to Edward White. The Indian witnesses included “Samos and Conjumie, sons of Takapousha and Paxqua, wife of John Wamasan,” the only identifiable woman known to have signed an Indian deed in the Fort Neck area. Giving up two-thirds of the neck, the signatories reserved the right to live and plant on the conveyed tract for three generations. On 5 June 1697, individuals listed as “Seructon” (Surrukungua), “Wamoson” (Wamehas), “Takapousha, sachem,” and “Mamey” (Maomey) sold the last of their rights to wood lots at the north end of Fort Neck, to Thomas Jones.<sup>27</sup>

The documents summarized above lead to two major conclusions. First, the Indian signatories to the Fort Neck deeds were members of two influential western Long Island families, linked by at least one documented affinal tie. Second, all the known Indian signatories were descended from Massapequa Indians who had lived in the region since 1636 and, almost certainly, possessed rights to the Fort Neck lands they sold.

The data also support the following assumptions. First, Massapequa Indians either constructed or inhabited Fort Massapeag during its archaeologically-documented period of occupation, between 1630 and 1670. Second, Massapequa Indians and their relatives and associates from Secatogue and Matinecock continued to occupy the Fort Neck area after the fort was abandoned sometime during the third quarter of the seventeenth century. Finally, the descendants of these Indians remained there until their leaders sold their last parcels of Fort Neck land in 1697.

NOTES

1. De Witt Clinton, "A Discourse Delivered Before the New-York Historical Society, December 6, 1811," *Collections of the New-York Historical Society* (1821) 3:321-67; 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* (New York, 1824), reprinted in *Historical Chronicles of New Amsterdam, Colonial New York and Early Long Island*, Cornell Jaray, ed. (Port Washington: Ira J. Friedman, 1968), 80.
2. Anonymous, "Journal of New Netherland, 1647," in J. Franklin Jameson, ed., *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), 282, 269-84; Nathaniel B. Shurtleff and David Pulsifer, eds., *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth, in New England*, 12 vols. (Boston: William White, 1854-61) 10:99,170.
3. Robert S. Grumet, "Historic Contact: Early Relations Between Indian People and Colonists in Northeastern North America, 1524-1783," National Historic Landmark Theme Study, Mid-Atlantic Region, National Park Service, Philadelphia, Pa., 1992.
4. Ralph S. Solecki and Robert S. Grumet, "Fort Massapeag Archaeological Site National Historic Landmark Nomination Form," report on file in the History Division, National Park Service, Washington, DC, 1992, reprinted in *The Bulletin: Journal of the New York State Archaeological Association* (1994) 108:18-28.
5. John Cox Jr., ed., *Oyster Bay Town Records*, 8 vols. (New York: T. A. Wright, 1916-1940):1-2 passim).
6. C. A. Weslager, "Name-Giving among the Delaware Indians," *Names* (1971) 19(4):268-83, and "Delaware Indian Name Giving and Modern Practice," in Herbert C. Kraft, ed., *A Delaware Indian Symposium* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1974), 135-45.
7. Charles R. Street ed., *Huntington Town Records, Including Babylon, Long Island, New York, 1653-1873.*, 3 vols. (Huntington: Long Islander Press, 1887-99); Benjamin D. Hicks, ed., *Records of the Towns of North and South Hempstead, Long Island, New York*, 8 vols. (Jamaica: Long Island Farmer Press, 1896-1904); Edmund B. O'Callaghan and Berthold Fernow, eds., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 15 vols.(Albany, NY, 1856-87).
8. Robert S. Grumet, "'We Are Not So Great Fools': Changes in Upper Delawaran Socio-Political Life, 1630-1758" (Ph.D. diss., Department of Anthropology, Rutgers University, 1979).
9. O'Callaghan and Fernow, 13:375-77; Cox, 1:347-49, 351-52.
10. Robert S. Grumet, *Native American Place Names in New York City* (New York: Museum of the City of New York, 1981), 26-28, 29-31.
11. William Christie MacLeod, "The Indians of Brooklyn in the Days of the Dutch," 1941 ms. on file, Brooklyn Historical Society, Brooklyn; John A. Strong, "The Thirteen Tribes of Long Island: The History of a Myth," *Hudson Valley Regional Review* (1992) 9(2): 39-73; William W. Tooker, *The Indian Place-Names on Long Island and Islands Adjacent With Their Probable Significations* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1911).
12. Grumet, "'Not So Great Fools'"; Carlyle S. Smith, "The Archaeology of Coastal New York," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 43 (Part 2, 1950).
13. Bert Salwen, "Indians of Southern New England and Long Island: Early Period," in Bruce Trigger, ed., *Northeast* 15:160-76, *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1978); Laura E. Conkey, Ethel Boissevain, and Ives Goddard, "Indians of Southern New England and Long Island: Late Period," in *ibid.*, 177-89.
14. John A. Strong, "Wyandanch: Sachem of the Montauk," in "Native Northeastern Lives," edited by Robert S. Grumet (Amherst, MA: Univ. of Massachusetts Press, 1995, in press); Allen W. Trelease, *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York: The Seventeenth Century* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press, 1960).
15. Grumet, *Native American Place Names*, 31.



16. James Mooney, "The Aboriginal Population of American North of Mexico," *Smithsonian Misc. Collections* (1928) 80(7):4; Sherburne F. Cook, *The Indian Population of New England in the Seventeenth Century* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1976), 84, 79.
17. Anonymous, "Journal of New Netherland, 282; Daniel Denton, "A Brief Description of New-York: formerly Called New Netherlands" (London, 1670; reprinted in *Historical Chronicles of New Amsterdam, Colonial New York and Early Long Island*, Cornell Jaray, ed. (Port Washington: Ira J. Friedman, 1968), 7.
18. Sources noting the presence of Indian people in western Long Island after 1720 include the Reverend Azariah Horton's documentation of small numbers of Indian people attending his services at Fort Neck and Rockaway during the 1740s published in Gaynell Stone, ed., *The History and Archaeology of the Montauk* (1994) and nineteenth-century town records listing various members of the Chiphouse family (John A. Strong, personal communication).
19. Grumet, "A New Ethnohistorical Model for North American Indian Demography," *North American Archaeologist* (1991) 11(1):29-41.
20. *Ibid.*, 36.
21. Cox, 1:267.
22. *Ibid.*, 1:370-71, 472-73.
23. *Ibid.*, 2:274-75.
24. *Ibid.*, 2:3-5, 275-77.
25. *Ibid.*, 2:289-90, 281-83.
26. *Ibid.*, 2:282-83, 260-61.
27. *Ibid.*, 2:283-85; 287.

# The Murder of Stanford White

*By Paul R. Baker and Mark L. Taff*

The dramatic murder of the New York City and Long Island architect Stanford White, on 25 June 1906, followed by the lurid revelations during the two trials of his murderer, Harry Thaw, occasioned probably the most sensational news story of the early twentieth century. Week after week, accounts of the private lives of the murderer, his famous victim, and the beautiful showgirl, Evelyn Nesbit, were splashed across front pages all over the country. Readers were spared few details of the intimate activities of the three principals.

The reports of what had been going on in the lives of these three figures were, indeed, so shocking to so many that a widespread public outcry arose over the propriety of publishing testimony from the Thaw trials. President Theodore Roosevelt, who received “tons of letters and telegrams” about the matter, even considered barring newspapers carrying details of the case from the mails. A resolution denouncing White and condemning publication of the Thaw legal proceedings was introduced in the House of Representatives. Here and there in the country, a few persons were taken into custody in demented states said to have been brought on by reading about the case.<sup>1</sup>

With all this public notice, Stanford White—who had been very well known in life—became even more famous in death. Indeed, even today, White is popularly remembered more for the manner of his death than for his many remarkable artistic accomplishments. No doubt the most famous architect of his time, a highly influential, central figure in the New York art community, a much sought-after interior decorator, the designer of civic celebrations and the producer of public entertainments, as well as a prominent presence in high society, White enjoyed a richly creative life which was later largely forgotten because of the sensational, sordid circumstances of his demise.<sup>2</sup>

In newspaper reports of the murder and in the legal proceedings that followed, much was made of the long and acrimonious relationship of the murderer and his victim; of the movements of the principals throughout the evening before the homicide; of the scene of the shooting—the Roof Garden of the old Madison Square Garden, a building White himself had designed—during a crowded, late-evening performance of a musical comedy; and of Thaw’s act of firing three shots from a small, automatic handgun, while standing only two or three feet from his victim. Killed instantly, White slid

noiselessly from his chair to the floor, his head and neck blackened by gunpowder, his face, one observer noted, "burned beyond recognition." The body soon was removed to an undertaker's establishment, where a plaster death mask of the victim's head was made. A forensic autopsy revealed some surprising disclosures.<sup>3</sup>

Stanford White, born in 1853, not only lived through the Gilded Age, but also, in important respects, embodied striking aspects of that period. The years following the Civil War up to the turn of the century brought tremendous economic expansion, with the growth of huge fortunes and private and public materialistic indulgence on a scale never before experienced. Some observers, such as Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner, whose novel *The Gilded Age* christened the period, suggested that dishonesty, graft, and corruption characterized the times. Others were most struck by the ostentatious displays of newly acquired wealth, especially evident in luxuriant clothing and jewelry, in lavish dinners and balls, and in huge, opulent mansions filled with showy, expensive objects.<sup>4</sup>

As a leading, fashionable architect, artist, and decorator, White became, by the end of the century, truly "the tastemaker for his age." As connoisseur and collector, party-giver, cultivator of life's luxuries, and sensualist, he savored the best the age had to offer. He indulged himself in the collecting of art objects on a massive scale, creating for himself one of the most opulent dwellings in New York City. He purchased art goods to such an extent that he had to rent warehouses to store his acquisitions. His aesthetic and sensual tastes were rich, extravagant, and well gratified. And he plummeted deeply in debt from his unrestrained spending. In time, like the Gilded Age itself, which suffered periodic economic panics and depressions, White's life grew out of control.

White entered the architectural profession at the early age of sixteen, going into the New York office of Henry Hobson Richardson in 1870 as an apprentice draftsman. He remained with the immensely talented Richardson for eight years, receiving superb practical training. The young apprentice assisted in work on Boston's Trinity Church, Richardson's most important commission and the most widely admired American building of the latter nineteenth century. Following a European trip of fourteen months, White, in 1879, joined with the older and more experienced architects Charles Follen McKim and William Rutherford Mead to establish the new firm of McKim, Mead & White. The three partners were highly successful in attracting well-to-do clients, who gave them splendid opportunities to exercise their considerable artistic talents. McKim, Mead & White quickly became the best known and most successful New York architectural firm. In the more than quarter-century in which White served as a partner, the three men put their stamp on the face of New York City in a way that no other designers ever did. Many young men trained under them, so that their influence extended widely in the architectural community.<sup>5</sup>

McKim, Mead & White's buildings were characterized by elegance and restraint and by references to the past, especially the Italian Renaissance.



*Stanford White. Photograph, Culber Pictures, Inc.*

Their most famous structure was the Boston Public Library, facing on Copley Square. The Rhode Island State Capitol, the Brooklyn Museum, and Boston Symphony Music Hall were other outstanding projects of the firm. In New York City, the now-destroyed, massive Pennsylvania Station, and the jewel-like Morgan Library were other notable McKim, Mead & White creations.

Although the partners shared in the responsibility for the firm's work, each architect had his own projects. White's designs, more than those of the other partners, were noted for an emphasis on color and texture, and for ornamental details that both elaborated architectural motifs and delighted the eyes of discriminating viewers. To his contemporaries, White's best known structure was the huge Madison Square Garden, standing in the block to the northeast of the present Madison Square. This was a large pleasure palace for the residents of the city, encompassing a great arena, the site of shows and sporting events, as well as a theater, a ballroom, and the open-air Roof Garden, where musical comedies were performed and light refreshments served. The most striking feature of the Garden building was the tall Tower, topped by a statue of Diana. An observation platform was placed high on the Tower, and, in the base below, small, floor-through apartments were located, one of which White rented as a hideaway where he hosted small, chic parties.

White put his mark on New York City with many other structures. His elegant headquarters for the *New York Herald*, modeled on a municipal building in Verona, Italy, was erected just north of the intersection of Broadway and Thirty-fourth Street. When it was torn down, the statuary group that once graced the entrance facade was removed to the triangular space in front of Macy's Department Store, where it now stands. Still surviving in New York are the famous Washington Square Arch, a prominent civic landmark; on the south side of Washington Square, the Judson Memorial Church, Tower, and residence; the Bowery Savings Bank, on the Bowery at Grand Street, with its great banking room; several clubhouses for elite private clubs, including the Century Association and the Metropolitan Club; the former New York University Bronx Heights campus group, centered around the Gould Library, recalling the Pantheon in Rome; on mid-Fifth Avenue, Renaissance-derived commercial buildings for the Gorham and the Tiffany companies; and various statuary bases and pedestals, including those for Admiral Farragut in Madison Square Park and Peter Cooper at the Cooper Union, erected in collaboration with the eminent sculptor—and White's best friend—Augustus Saint-Gaudens.

White was also well known for his large, luxurious country houses and city mansions, mostly commissioned by wealthy friends. With his talent for ornamentation, his love of display, and penchant for fine materials and furnishings, White was the ideal architect for such grand houses. Several of his New York City mansions survive, including the Pulitzer house on East Seventy-third Street. The best-known of his great houses is Rosecliff, in Newport, Rhode Island, used as the locale for the 1974 movie version of *The Great Gatsby*, starring Robert Redford.

Some of White's most important large houses were built on Long Island. The Orchard, the James Breese mansion in Southampton, a Georgian-Revival structure, survives today, as does the White family's country dwelling, Box Hill, in St. James. The architect's largest private house, Harbor Hill, created for Clarence and Katherine Mackay in Roslyn, has been razed, though the Trinity Episcopal Church in Roslyn, designed for Mrs. Mackay, is extant. Large houses for Edwin D. Morgan in Wheatley Hills and for William C. Whitney in Old Westbury have been demolished. At the eastern end of Long Island, at Montauk Point, a group of small houses, the Association Houses, are extant. The architect, who had a remarkable gift for friendship, was often entertained as a guest in houses that he had himself designed.<sup>5</sup>

White's social life was as important to him as his artistic, creative life. He often complained how "driven" he was to keep up with all of the work in his office along with his many social commitments. As his fame as an architect grew, so did his participation in the world of New York high society. His presence at exclusive dinner parties and balls was frequently noted in the press. He was invited to join all the elite gentlemen's clubs of the city and took an active role in many of them. His favorite was The Players' Club, located on the south side of Gramercy Park, just opposite his own rented city residence on the north side of the park, at the foot of Lexington Avenue, where he lived with his wife and son, and where he brought together some of his most treasured art objects.

White's wife Bessie, several years younger than he, was the youngest of several children of Judge John Lawrence Smith and Sarah Nicoll Clinch Smith, of Smithtown, whose family had founded the town. The former Bessie Springs Smith was an heiress, who much preferred living at Box Hill, her country house at St. James, than in the city. During the summer and fall months each year, therefore, Stanford and Bessie mostly lived apart, seeing each other only briefly on weekends at their Long Island estate. Much of White's socializing in the city was with male friends, whom he would meet at one of his clubs for drinks and dinner, before an evening "on the town" with visits to the theater, to the opera, to sporting events, or, at times, to some of the haunts of the demimonde. White and his crowd dined sumptuously, drank heavily, and smoked constantly, though White preferred cigarettes to the cigars that most men in his circle favored. He and several friends were avid collectors of pornographic materials.

With a few of his most intimate male friends, White, over the years, rented hideaways here and there in the city in addition to his small apartment in the Madison Square Garden Tower. The secret rooms, it is evident, were frequently in use for rendezvous, and, according to an artist friend, good times were to be had in these places as they carried on "investigations" in physiology. One small hideaway, called The Morgue, was, White suggested, always a convenient locale for his close friends to make use of when other places were not available. Disclosures of these several hideaways became a striking feature of newspaper stories after White's murder.<sup>7</sup>

It was to one of these hideaways, on West Twenty-fourth Street, in summer 1901, that the architect, then in his late forties, one day invited for lunch the beautiful young sixteen-year-old Florence Nesbit. Evelyn, as she preferred to be called, was already becoming known in New York as a model for newspaper and magazine illustrators, and as a dancer in a Broadway musical, *Florodora*, which White had gone to see many times.

Following their first meeting in the Twenty-fourth Street apartment, White besieged Evelyn with flowers and brought her to after-performance supper parties in his Tower studio. Sometimes, at night, they climbed the stairways high up the Tower to the very feet of Diana to look out over the sleeping city. Young, unsophisticated, unaware, as Evelyn later wrote about herself, of “the facts of life,” the young dancer found herself entering a new and exciting world she had not even known existed. As with other young chorus-girls he encountered, White arranged for Evelyn to have dental work done, and to have the talented photographer Rudolf Eickemeyer Jr. photograph her in Japanese kimonos. Evelyn and her mother had come to live in New York from Pennsylvania just the year before, to further the girl’s career. The mother appeared pleased by the famous architect’s attentions to her daughter and apparently trusted his attentions completely, so much so that when she was obliged to return to Pennsylvania for a few days she allowed White to look after the girl.<sup>8</sup>

While the mother was away, White took Evelyn late one evening to the Twenty-fourth Street apartment, where he served her glass after glass of champagne. Unused to strong drink, Evelyn passed out. When she came to, according to her later account, she realized that she was no longer a virgin, that White had raped her while she was unconscious. Although she claimed to be shocked at what he had done, she nonetheless fell “head over heels” in love with him. In the months that followed, she met many famous people from the art and theater worlds at the Tower apartment. Sometimes she visited him alone at the Twenty-fourth Street hideaway, where, in a high-ceilinged studio on the top floor, White had hung a velvet-covered swing. White loved to have Evelyn sit stark naked in the swing and push her soaring upward, so that her feet pierced a Japanese parasol hung from the ceiling. Their sexual intimacy continued.<sup>9</sup>

As the world opened up for Evelyn in her months close to White, it is apparent that she became increasingly aware of her beauty and of her power over men. Intelligent, perceptive, and headstrong, she teased, even tormented White. When the young, handsome, and penniless John Barrymore, then working as a newspaper cartoonist, began to court Evelyn, she made it known to White that Barrymore’s attentions were not unwelcome. To get her away from Barrymore, White sent Evelyn to a girls’ boarding school in Pompton Lakes, New Jersey—a change from her modeling and stage career that was even taken note of by the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. In spring 1903, while at the school, Evelyn suffered an “appendicitis,” and an appendectomy was performed there. (The operation was rumored to have been an abortion, but



*Evelyn Nesbit, in one of White's Japanese silk kimonos. "In My Studio" (also "Tired Butterfly"), by Rudolph Eickemeyer Jr., won Camera Club of New York award for best photo of 1902. Collection of Hudson River Museum, Yonkers, New York.*



this was never proved.) White was at Evelyn's bedside when she awoke from the anesthetic, and soon after he had her taken to a private New York sanatorium for recovery.<sup>10</sup>

Another frequent and attentive visitor to Evelyn's bedside, though not when White was around, was Harry Thaw, a feckless, eccentric playboy, who came from an extremely wealthy Pittsburgh family. Like so many others, Thaw, then in his early thirties, had been captivated by Evelyn's spectacular beauty and once had arranged to meet her for tea. Evelyn disliked him from the first: his rapid speech, protruding eyes, and constant questions about her relationship to White annoyed her. Thaw, she discovered, had already built up an intense hatred for the architect. The playboy believed that White had humiliated him on one occasion by inviting to a Tower party some show girls he was planning to entertain, so that he was "stood up."

Thaw had an unsavory reputation. As a child he had been beset by learning and behavioral problems and was often in trouble. As a youth he had been expelled from two colleges. He had suffered manic-depression episodes, and at least once had tried to commit suicide. Once, when a salesperson angered him, Thaw crashed his automobile into the shop window. On another occasion, he badly thrashed a young male hotel employee for taking some money left on a table, and then tore off the boy's clothes, threw him into a bathtub, and rubbed salt into his wounds. Thaw was rumored to have scalded a girl in a bathtub, and, it was later brought out, frequently whipped girls in a New York brothel. Although Thaw appeared to have unlimited spending money, most people avoided him. Behind his back, some called him "Mad Harry."

As Evelyn recuperated, White decided that a trip to Europe would be beneficial for her recovery. He arranged for ship passage and provided a letter of credit to support Evelyn and her mother on a European visit. Meanwhile, Thaw had the same idea. Unbeknownst to White, he sent his valet along with the women and made his way on another vessel to France, joining them in Paris. There Thaw supported them handsomely, taking them to the best restaurants and buying them expensive clothing.

In Paris, Harry eventually proposed marriage to Evelyn, but she refused on the grounds that she wanted a career on the stage. When he persisted, she finally told him about White's raping her and their sexual intimacy. Thaw responded by sobbing and raging, but told her that he knew of her relations with White since for some time he had detectives following her. Although Evelyn's mother, who disliked Thaw intensely, returned to the United States, Evelyn stayed in Europe with Harry. They traveled together, living in intimacy and giving the impression they were married. But Evelyn's feelings toward Harry took a decided turn after an incident in the Austrian Tyrol. One night, at a nearly deserted castle where they were staying, Harry, stark naked and glassy-eyed, came into Evelyn's room, tore off her clothes, clapped his hand over her mouth, and lashed her with a leather whip. Her wounds from this sadistic attack took weeks to heal. On three more occasions in Europe he again viciously whipped her. Hurt, humiliated, afraid, and aware that Thaw



*Harry Kendall Thaw. Photograph, AP/Wide World Photos.*

was regularly taking cocaine and morphine, Evelyn wanted only to get away from him. At her first opportunity she returned to New York alone.<sup>11</sup>

By this time, Evelyn had also come to realize that she no longer loved White. Although turning fifty, White was still very much attracted to her, continued to collect clippings about her, and repeatedly warned her to stay away from the playboy. When Thaw returned from Europe to New York and began once more to besiege Evelyn with gifts, she gave in and agreed to see him. On Christmas Eve, 1903, while White was preparing a birthday party for Evelyn, Thaw came to the theater after her performance and persuaded her to go off with him. White, coming to pick her up and learning that she had left with the playboy, was so enraged that he pulled a revolver from his coat and shouted that he would "kill that bastard before daylight." White did not find Thaw, but the incident marked the end of Evelyn's close relationship with the architect.<sup>12</sup>

Thaw's persistence had won Evelyn over. A few months later they sailed to Europe for another extended holiday. Thaw continued to rant and rave if White's name were mentioned, and he began to carry a gun, convinced that White had hired a gang of criminals to kill him. Eventually, in spring 1905, Nesbit and Thaw were married in Pittsburgh, although press accounts soon reported that the marriage was not a happy one.

Thaw's obsession with White had become a monomania. He hired detectives to follow every movement of the architect. When White became aware he was being trailed, he, in turn, hired detectives to keep watch on those following him, a large and continuing expense that he could ill afford. Thaw also attempted to get Anthony Comstock, the head of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, to expose White and some of the men around him as "moral perverts" for ravishing young girls; but Comstock was unable to collect eye-witnesses and solid evidence to support the charges. On the very day of his marriage, Thaw had a codicil to his will drawn up, providing that on his death money from his estate was to be used to assist young women who had been victims of "White and other inhuman scoundrels."<sup>13</sup>

Meanwhile, in the early years of the twentieth century, White's financial situation was deteriorating badly. He continued to buy art objects on a lavish scale, borrowing large sums of money for his purchases. He speculated in the stock market, seeking quick gain but repeatedly losing heavily. And he continued his luxuriant style of living, showing little restraint in his extravagant spending. His health, too, worsened: he was frequently ill, unable to carry on his work, and it was evident to those about him that he was ageing prematurely. He was unwilling, however, to change his life style, cut down on his heavy drinking, or curtail his nighttime socializing.

It must be pointed out that despite his financial difficulties, ill health, and the frequent turmoil of his personal life, White continued to turn out a remarkable body of works. Many of his best buildings were conceived during the early years of the twentieth century, as his private life spun increasingly out of control.

On Monday, 25 June 1906, White put in a full day's work in his office.

That evening, he took his son and a Harvard classmate of his son to dinner at Martin's restaurant, close to Madison Square. As they entered the restaurant, they were noticed by Evelyn Thaw, who was dining there with her husband and two friends. Evelyn passed a note to Harry saying that White had come into the place, and, as she no doubt anticipated, her husband became intensely agitated. After dinner, the Thaw party walked the short distance to Madison Square Garden, where they ascended to the Roof Garden to take in *Mamzelle Champagne*, a new musical which was opening that evening.<sup>14</sup>

Meanwhile, White, after dinner, had his chauffeur take his two young dinner companions to a midtown theater; he then went on to one of his clubs near Madison Square. A few minutes before 11:00 p.m., he walked to the Garden and took the elevator to the Roof Garden, where he sat down by himself at his reserved table. When the Roof Garden caterer stopped briefly to chat, White asked to be introduced to one of the girls on the stage.

At about this time the Thaw party rose to leave. Harry Thaw, wearing an overcoat with the collar turned up, unexpectedly moved away from the others to stand briefly near the stage facing White, suddenly moved forward toward White, stopped in front of him, and fired the three shots. The music went on for a moment, then stopped, and the show came to a halt. Terrified spectators at nearby tables screamed, pushed back their chairs, and rushed to get away.

After firing the shots, Thaw raised the revolver over his head and emptied the remaining bullets from the weapon, muttering as he did so: "You'll never go out with that woman again!" The Roof Garden manager stepped up on a chair and begged the audience to leave the premises. An engineer employed at the Roof Garden grabbed Thaw by the shoulder. In a few moments he was taken into custody by a policeman, who escorted Thaw for several blocks on foot to the Tenderloin District police station, where he was booked. When the policeman asked Thaw why he had shot White, Harry replied: "He deserved it. I can prove it. He ruined my wife and then deserted the girl." Meanwhile, Evelyn slipped away from the crowd at the Roof Garden and hurried to the apartment of a friend.

The autopsy the next day revealed that one bullet had entered White's left eye and lodged at the base of the brain; another bullet had gone into the left nasal cavity and mouth and into his brain; and the third had entered the inner side of his right arm. The coroner and his assistants, moreover, also discovered that White had been suffering from Bright's disease, that he had evidence of tuberculosis, and that he had extreme fatty degeneration of the liver. They concluded in their report that the architect's physical condition was so poor that most likely he would have died of natural causes within a year. White's death certificate indicated that the fifty-two-year-old was the victim of a homicide, and that the cause of the death was "Cerebral Hemorrhage, Pistol Shot wound of Skull." The plaster death mask was prepared, and White was buried close to his Long Island home in a churchyard at St. James.<sup>15</sup>

In the days and weeks that followed the murder, many revelations of

White's personal activities—his involvements with show girls, his several hideaways, his penchant for underage girls—were made known in the press. As information was revealed about the man, he was increasingly vilified. People in the street were quoted as saying that White “got what he deserved.” Some friends who had known him well expressed little surprise at what had occurred. Some of the men closest to White left the city to avoid the reporters. A few newspaper accounts focused on White's artistic genius and his many contributions to the city, but, by and large, in the press, the victim became the villain.<sup>16</sup>

The Thaw family, moreover, quickly instigated a public relations campaign to blacken White's reputation and to show that what Harry Thaw had done was not unreasonable. They hired the best lawyers they could find to defend Harry, financed plays, movie shorts, articles, and a book supporting Thaw, and eventually decided on a trial strategy of appealing to the “unwritten law” that a man may do anything to protect the honor of his wife.

Harry Thaw's trial for the murder of Stanford White began on 23 January 1907; selection of jurors continued for eight days, with 336 men examined before twelve were selected. For nearly a dozen weeks the trial went on, front-page news day after day. With the promise of substantial financial assistance by the Thaw family, Evelyn agreed to testify to help her husband, and became the most important defense witness. Dressed for the witness stand like a young school girl, and looking very beautiful—Irvin S. Cobb, reporting on the trial, called her “the most exquisitely lovely human being I ever looked at”—she graphically recounted details of her relationship with White, stressing what she had told Thaw about White and describing how he had responded, and at times possibly perjuring herself. But she also straightforwardly stated her considerable admiration for White, tempered only by his taking advantage of her sexually. The trial was interrupted briefly when a “lunacy commission” of three men was appointed to consider the question of Thaw's sanity; the panel concluded that Thaw was presently sane and capable of standing trial and participating in his own defense.<sup>17</sup>

In his summation, the chief defense attorney justified Thaw's act on the grounds of “the unwritten law”: in shooting White, his attorney asserted, Thaw, in a brief moment of madness, had “struck for the purity of the home, for the purity of American womanhood, for the purity of American wives and daughters,” sentiments that he hoped might sway jurors who accepted conventional, nineteenth-century Victorian ideas of the elevated, protected, and morally pure status of women in the family. The prosecution, by contrast, claimed that Thaw had known exactly what he was doing in a “deliberate, cold-blooded, premeditated murder.”<sup>18</sup>

During some forty-eight hours of intermittent deliberation and through eight ballots, the men of the jury were unable to come to agreement. In the end, seven voted for a verdict of guilty of murder in the first degree, and five favored acquittal on grounds of insanity. The deadlocked jury was discharged.

Early the next year, in January 1908, a second trial commenced, with a

time-consuming selection of a new jury. On this occasion, the defense, in order to strengthen a case of insanity at the time of the homicide, emphasized Harry Thaw's erratic behavior in childhood, the history of insanity in the families of both his mother and father, and the irrationality that Thaw had often demonstrated as an adult. Evelyn once more testified at length. The prosecution focused sharply on Thaw's lucidity during the day and evening just before the assassination. In this second trial, the proceedings moved along more rapidly, and the jury, after twenty-five hours of deliberation, concluded that Thaw was not guilty on the grounds of insanity at the time of the shooting.

Thaw was sent to Matteawan Asylum for the Criminal Insane in Beacon, New York, where he was given favored treatment in comfortable accommodations, and even allowed on occasion to leave the grounds. Four times, over the next five years, Thaw petitioned to be released, but his insanity was affirmed and the petitions turned down. Evelyn now and then visited her husband, and when, in 1910, she gave birth to a son in Germany she swore that Harry was the father.

On 17 August 1913, Thaw walked out of the asylum and was driven by car to Canada. Canadian authorities, considering him an undesirable, forcibly removed him across the border into Vermont. He got to New Hampshire, but was extradited to New York. Eventually, in 1915, after a hearing before a jury, Thaw was declared sane and acquitted of all charges. Soon after, he sued Evelyn for divorce on the grounds of adultery.

In later years, Thaw was occasionally in the news: in 1917 he was arrested and charged with kidnapping a nineteen-year-old youth, whom he had taken to a hotel and whipped unconscious; a lunacy commission in Pennsylvania declared him insane and he spent seven years in a psychiatric hospital. Harry Thaw died in Florida in 1947, at the age of seventy-six, leaving an estate of more than a million dollars.

Evelyn had been led to expect financial support from the Thaw family after she had helped "save" her husband, but substantial financial assistance was not forthcoming. In the years that followed, her life was very difficult. She supported herself and her son by minor stage and movie parts, as a dancer, and as the operator of cabarets and speakeasies. More than once she attempted suicide. Her autobiography, however, published in two versions in 1914 and 1934, brought her a good deal of public sympathy. In the 1950s she served as a technical consultant for the motion picture *The Girl in the Red Velvet Swing*, starring Ray Milland as Stanford, Farley Granger as Harry, and Joan Collins as Evelyn. In later years, she continued to declare her admiration for White, affirming her one-time intense love for him and her regrets about having tried to save the husband she did not love. Evelyn died in a California nursing home in 1967 at the age of eighty-two.<sup>19</sup>

The esteem that some of White's friends and professional colleagues had for him was evidenced by the elaborately sculpted memorial doors which were erected in 1921 at the entrance to White's Gould Library of New York University in Bronx Heights (today, Bronx Community College of the City

University of New York). White's popular reputation in later years, nonetheless, remained that of a self-indulgent libertine and voluptuary, whose titillating way of life not only had brought on his own destruction but also was representative of his times. With the advent of modernism in architecture in the mid-years of the twentieth century, the work of McKim, Mead & White, though admired by some, looked derivative and old-fashioned to many. Only in recent years has the firm's work elicited really serious study and have White's creative artistic gifts begun to be more widely appreciated.

### **Analysis of the Case**

Stanford White was brought up in a household very much dominated by his authoritarian father. Richard Grant White, a prolific author, was a talented art, music, and drama critic and an acute, though often acerbic, social commentator. He was, moreover, a cantankerous man who felt himself out of place in Gilded Age New York, and who was highly resentful that he had never achieved widespread public recognition nor gained the wealth and material comfort he felt were his due. Stanford, the younger of two sons, as a youth was treated in the family as the more favored child, indulged and pampered. His father, an avid book collector with an eye for the ladies, built up a substantial library of pornography, carried on extra-marital liaisons, and did not disguise his interest in young and compliant women, proclivities that were seemingly inbred in the architect son. Voyeurism, sexual experimentation and libertinism, and pedophilia came to Stanford White, in a way, as a natural part of growing up.<sup>20</sup>

The younger White's attraction to immature girls, who were sexually undeveloped and unsophisticated, became a consistent pattern in his adult years. His female ideal seemed to be a lithe, tiny-breasted, late-adolescent girl, although he once indicated in confidence that he found the body of a young boy about twelve years old the most beautiful of all. While it may be that in his philandering with young girls White was sublimating homosexual propensities, his known sexual liaisons occurred with young women; cab drivers and others on the New York streets were well aware of his keeping company with underage girls. As a mature man and highly successful architect, he prided himself on his "shocking" collection of female nude paintings. Yet a bisexual element seems to have been evident in his nature. White's "feminine tenderness" was often commented on. He maintained extremely intense friendships with several males in his social circle, seeing some of his friends daily and sending notes of endearment back and forth. His surviving private correspondence with the sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens contains many words, images, and even sketches relating to male sexuality, while there is paucity of such material relating to female sexuality.<sup>21</sup>

Joining in partnership in 1879 with the older and more experienced McKim and Mead, Stanford was the "baby" in the new firm, repeating the position he had in his own family. And, as a person of tremendous artistic talent and a superb ability to organize and direct those working under him, he

was indulged by his partners in the firm as he had been by his parents. The great success of the partnership soon provided the wherewithal for White to collect art goods and material possessions on a scale his father could only have dreamed about, to travel widely and luxuriously, and to indulge himself with the very best of food, drink, and dress. He would both emulate and surpass his father.

Purchasing art goods for resale to his clients augmented his income considerably as did, at times, successful speculations in the stock market. Increasingly, as his fortunes advanced, he seemed to become addicted to ostentatious display, not only in the expensive art goods he amassed but also in the luxuriant architectural designs of his professional life and in his private comportment. He lavished expensive gifts on many of those about him, especially his young women companions.

Tall, with bushy red hair and a luxuriant mustache, he cut a striking figure, and the press took delight in his presence at public events and entertainments, usually without his wife. Increasingly he cultivated the public persona of famous architect, man-about-town, decorator, socialite, and showman, extravagant spender, cultivator of life's luxuries, and party-goer and party-giver extraordinaire.

In time his funds fell short as huge stock speculations turned sour and he continued to overspend while attempting to maintain his lavish life-style, but he was unable to change and plummeted ever more deeply in debt. Overwork, worry over his financial condition, chronic alcohol abuse, compulsive sexual involvements, and a driving need to be always on the go undermined his health. At the age of fifty, he was, in appearance, an old man. The autopsy indicated that he would have been dead in any case within a year. Highly self-indulgent, an addictive personality, a paraphiliac--White almost seemed destined, as some of his close friends at the time surmised, for a tragic end.

It was his misfortune, as well, to have become implicated with "Mad Harry" Thaw, wildly unstable, often out of touch with reality, a sadist, an intermittent drug addict and alcoholic, who conceived a paranoid obsession about White and some of his friends that served to disguise some of the compulsions driving him.<sup>22</sup> The strikingly beautiful Evelyn Nesbit, for several months the object of White's unbridled passion, was highly immature at the time of her involvement with White; the older man obviously represented for her not only sexual initiation but an introduction to a world of wealth, success, and fame she had only fantasized before. Later, as Thaw's wife, she was able to enjoy perquisites of wealth, but the relationship was unsatisfying and soon soured. She repeatedly piqued Thaw's obsessive, monumental jealousy with references to White. Ultimately, a confrontation was inevitable.

By the early twentieth century, as cities continued to swell with people moving from rural areas and immigrants coming from abroad, newspapers became increasingly powerful forces in molding public opinion. As journalistic competition intensified, newspapers searched for sensational stories that would stimulate circulation. The lords of the press realized how



murder trials could be used as a sordid form of popular entertainment. The press was able to exert a powerful influence on issues confronting the judicial system and create a circus atmosphere around trials.

In Thaw's trials, the press took delight in the spectacular murder occurring in a public place so closely associated with the victim, in the revelations of the personal lives of all involved, and in the downfall of the artist-celebrity. Moral lessons were drawn, and the public at large could be reassured that its values that rejected behavior deviating from the respectable and the conventional were secure.

### **Celebrity Victims and Criminal Celebrities**

Since the murder of Stanford White, the news media have played an important role in how the public perceives crime, the criminal justice system, lawyers, victims, and defendants. At the beginning of the twentieth century, major crime cases were covered in newspapers and a few magazines; as the century progressed and technologies advanced, information was also disseminated by radio and television. Toward the end of the century, news was spread along a hierarchy of journalistic modalities from tabloid TV, quickly produced books, and mini-series television programs to sensational Hollywood movies, as well as the popular press.

Through the efforts of prosecutors closely linked to the media, a "reversal of celebrity" often takes place, with some homicide victims themselves becoming celebrities. Prosecutors, or district attorneys, are elected officials whose professional survival depends on convictions of people guilty of crimes. Prosecutors, not infrequently, try to sway public opinion by first trying their cases in the media, manipulating the news accounts to their advantage during high-profile murder trials during election years. To evoke sympathy from jurors, a murder victim may be converted into a celebrity.

Increasingly in the twentieth century, the news media have developed a murder-victim profile that is sympathetic and appealing to their readership. Typically, the media focus attention on young women who have been sexually attacked, beaten, stabbed, and/or strangled. With the exacerbation of racial strife during the last quarter of the century, the media have been keen to report on these conflicts. Crimes involving Hollywood personalities, wealthy people, and abused children, as well as members of minority groups dying while in police custody and police officers killed in the line of duty, are also popular themes in the press, while serial murderers, political assassins, terrorists, kidnappers, child abusers, and vigilantes, given large-scale coverage, have, in turn, become "criminal celebrities." Americans are fascinated with the details of violent crime and with the criminal mind.

Although the victim was already a well-known figure in the White-Thaw-Nesbit case, the publicity surrounding the murder and the two trials set precedents for coverage of scandals and murders during the years that followed. This love triangle and its tragic outcome had all the lurid ingredients of a beautiful young woman, a famous man, sexual liaisons, wealth, and

murder that would captivate the American public over and over again.

NOTES

1. *New York Times*, 12 Feb. 1907, 1, and 15 and 19 Feb. 1907, 2.
2. For a full biographical account of White, see Paul R. Baker, *Stanny, The Gilded Life of Stanford White* (New York: Free Press, 1989). An older, fragmentary biography is Charles Baldwin, *Stanford White* (1931; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1976). See also Lawrence Wodehouse, *White of McKim, Mead & White* (New York, 1988), Leland Roth, *McKim, Mead & White, Architects* (New York: Harper & Row, 1983), and Richard Guy Wilson, *McKim, Mead & White, Architects* (New York: Rizzoli, 1983). For splendid photographs of many of White's New York buildings, see David Garrard Lowe, *Stanford White's New York* (New York: Doubleday, 1992).
3. *New-York Tribune*, 26 June 1906, 1; *New York Times*, 26 June 1906, 1, and 29 June 1906, 2; White's death mask is now in the Prints and Drawings Collection, Avery Library, Columbia University (Baker, 376, 455 n.16).
4. Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner, *The Gilded Age: A Tale of Today* (1873; reprint, New York: Harper, 1915).
5. See *A Monograph of the Works of McKim, Mead & White. 1879-1915* (1915; reprint, New York: Benjamin Blom., 1973).
6. See Liisa Sclare and Donald Sclare, *Beaux-Arts Estates: A Guide to the Architecture of Long Island* (New York: Viking Press, 1980), passim, and Mosette Glaser Broderick, "A Place Where Nobody Goes," in Helen Searing, ed., *In Search of Modern Architecture: A Tribute to Henry Russell Hitchcock* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1982), 185-205.
7. Baker, 288-90.
8. Evelyn Nesbit, *Prodigal Days: The Untold Story* (New York: J. Messner, 1934), 25-51 and passim; Baker, 321-24.
9. Baker, 324-26.
10. *Ibid.*, 328-30.
11. *Ibid.*, 330-32.
12. *New York Times*, 7 Feb. 1907, 1-2.
13. *Ibid.*, 1 July 1906, 2; Evelyn Nesbit Thaw, *The Story of My Life* (London, 1914), 196.
14. See Baker, 371-77, for this and the following paragraphs.
15. White's death certificate, New York City Department of Records and Information Services, Municipal Archives; *New York Tribune*, 27 and 29 June 1906, 2; *New York Times*, 29 June 1906, 2.
16. *New-York Tribune*, 27 June 1906, 2, and 28 June 1906, 1; *New York Times*, 1 July 1906, 1.
17. Irvin S. Cobb, *Exit Laughing* (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill, 1941), 199, 227; *New York Times*, 8 Feb. 1907, 2, 9 Feb. 1907, 2, and 5 April 1907, 1-2; for an extended account of the Thaw trials and their aftermath, see Baker, 385-400.
18. *New York Times*, 7 April 1907, 1-2, 10 April 1907, 1-2, and 16 April 1907, 1-2.
19. Nesbit, *Prodigal Days: Story of My Life*, her "earlier autobiography, written under the name of Evelyn Thaw, is more critical of [White] than the second version" (Baker, 448, n9).
20. Baker, 14-16.
21. *Ibid.*, 280, 244; for St. Gaudens correspondence, see 184-85.
22. *Ibid.*, 331.

# The Anti-Vietnam War Movement on Long Island Part Two: The High Schools, the October 1969 Moratorium, and Kent State (1970)

*By Charles F. Howlett*

From 1965 to 1969, the Anti-Vietnam war movement on Long Island continued to gain momentum. However, unlike the militant wing of the movement, the majority of Long Islanders did not countenance victory for the Viet Cong and National Liberation Front. Far more telling was popular disillusionment with the conduct of the war and the apparent lack of success of United States forces in Vietnam. Expanding the war seemed out of the question: more widely accepted was the prospect of withdrawal without conceding military failure. Sympathy was extended to the troops fighting the war. The problem was bringing them home without losing face. The public began to turn to their elected officials for accountability. For example, prowar Democrat Otis Pike's margin of victory slipped from 58.9 percent in 1966 to 53.9 percent two years later, while Nassau anti-war Democrat Lester L. Wolff's margin improved from 50.3 percent to 52.1 percent and antiwar Republican John Wydler's jumped from 59.7 percent to 70.1 percent. Thus, 1969 represented a turning point in popular support of the war.

It took more time for high school students to become actively involved in the war issue. This was partly because of the more restrictive nature of public school education, and the legal responsibilities of teachers and school administrators who take the place of parents once the school bell rings. Initially, high schoolers were inclined to support the war. The home environment and parental patriotism accounted for this. During the early years of the war, *Newsday* published a column entitled, "Teen Irritant." Fourteen-year-old Gary J. Morris thanked the paper for creating the column in 1965, adding: "If we go to the negotiating table now, we won't be able to get anything that we want. This is because you can't get what you want when you are losing. And we are losing the war. Therefore I feel that we must escalate now." Michael Loscalzo, fifteen, observed: "If we back out of Asia now the Communists will take over and we will only have to stand up to fight again in Africa or South America." Ellen Schwartz, fourteen, believed that she "would like to see Vietnam freed of communism, because the communism of today is not working in any country and would not in Vietnam either." And Sue LaDoge, sixteen, of Port Washington, forcefully stated: "What I am really shocked and appalled by is the ever-increasing number of college students who are being given Communist propaganda by

their (either left-wing or blind) professors and taught to sympathize with the Viet Cong. What craziness is that?" High school teachers were successful in conveying the government's domino theory position.<sup>1</sup>

However, opinion changed dramatically in the late sixties and early seventies, as high school students began to sound and act much like their college counterparts. "Teen Irritant" now carried a different message. "Today we are over there bombing and killing civilians to protect ourselves 9,000 miles away," wrote fourteen-year-old Robert Wallin: "We are over there supposedly to protect ourselves from communism. If communism is supposed to be always advancing, why don't we fight Cuba, which is only 90 miles from our coasts?" Eighteen-year-old Paul Zucconi called on "the government of the U.S. to stop acting like a spoiled child. If North Vietnam is really willing to talk, let us swallow our almighty pride." Cliff Conarck, fifteen, appealed for greater tolerance for protestors:

Freedom of dissent is a heritage of the American people...With the advent of hippies, black power advocates and others, disagreement with the governmental machine has been highly popularized. Yet one cannot and must not censure the various dissenting sects as being unpatriotic. His [a dissenter's] expression of dissent is patriotic loyalty.

By 1968, large numbers of high school student supported a nationwide one-day boycott of classes, sponsored by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. According to *Newsday*: "Estimates from school officials indicated that more than 5,000 college and high school students were absent yesterday [April 26, 1968]...Two 'peace and freedom schools' were conducted... one at the Huntington Town House, which drew about 650 students from Nassau and Western Suffolk, and one in Freeport attended by about 400 South Shore students."<sup>2</sup>

The evolution from prowar to propeace can be demonstrated in two case studies, one of the multi-racial Amityville Memorial High School, the other of all-white West Islip High School. Amityville Memorial High, like most secondary schools, supported the war during its initial stages. In 1966, for instance, one student wrote naively in the school paper, *The Echo*, that "the reason our soldiers are there is so that our children and grandchildren may enjoy the freedoms that we now enjoy... All I can say is, please God help us end this war successfully and bless our soldiers and give strength to their boss in the White House." Such pleas were silenced toward the end of the decade, when *The Echo* now printed articles and editorials critical of the war. In April 1968, the paper noted that a planned assembly "aimed at counselling those boys who have moral or religious convictions against active military service." Bolder statements followed in October: "How far do your convictions really go? Do they go beyond a few-hip cliches and a peace button? If you honestly feel that you are conscientiously opposed to the war, you should seriously consider confronting the draft on the grounds that you are a conscientious objector, even though you feel you would have fought in World War II, even

though you may not be a pacifist." Dissent peaked in May 1970, after the Kent State crisis (discussed more fully below). Under the headline "AMHS students strike; many participate in rally," *The Echo* reported that on 8 May more than five hundred students "absented themselves from class," many of whom attended a major antiwar rally at Eisenhower Park sponsored by a coalition of Island high schools. A former African American student, now a teacher of English, remembered that after the Kent State shootings, "students became very distraught when the National Guard shot and killed defenseless college students. As a result, students at AMHS began having small rallies that culminated with a mass walk-out. In protest, students collectively walked out of afternoon classes and gathered in front of the high school where they marched along Merrick Road, chanting antiwar slogans." Thus, by 1971, student opinion turned decidedly against the war: "Where lies the blame for the war? ...It falls on nearly all of us. And 'all of us' does not exclude the armchair generals dealing death in the basements of the Pentagon. Or the Congress. Or the President." As the war was about to end, *The Echo*, to the chagrin of veterans' organizations, supported a general amnesty. "The war in Vietnam," one writer argued, "cannot be compared to our earlier wars. Moral objection to the war is nationwide, so why are draft resisters so persecuted? How can someone be condemned for a belief in principle?...The U.S. must allow the draft resisters to return home. It is my hope that this November [1972] we get someone in the White house who really cares about this problem."<sup>3</sup>

West Islip's *The Rudder* was more conservative than *The Echo*. An editorial in fall 1966 observed: "How can a man 10,000 miles from home go on risking his daily life for a cause in which his fellow countrymen do not whole-heartedly believe...Where are the flag-waving crowds that jammed Times Square in the 1940s or have they too gone out with the Twist and knee socks?" A senior poll conducted the following month indicated continued support, although solid backing was eroding slightly:

We should: Escalate	46%
Continue our present policy	38%
Get Out	16%

Should draftees have a choice between military service or longer terms in other branches of government service, such as the Peace Corps?    Yes (64%)    No (36%)

Should Congress declare war on North Vietnam?  
No (66%)    Yes (34%)

Eventually, we'll probably :	Compromise	65%
	Win	33%
	Lose	2%

Written-in comments also suggested drafting drop-outs at age sixteen. An

article in December 1967 reflected the continued spirit of patriotism: "American soldiers have fought sturdily, sweating it out, grumbling it through to the end. These men have stoutness of spirit that carries them through major world crises." As late as Armistice Day 1968, moreover, students still praised the men fighting in Vietnam: "This year on November 11, think about all those over in Vietnam. They are risking and losing their lives to help preserve freedom in the nation of South Vietnam. Stop for a moment and...then ask yourself 'would I have the courage to fight for freedom as they are fighting?'"

After the 15 October 1969 Moratorium, West Islip students experienced a change of heart. The tide had turned. Marsha Rosenthal, a student, congratulated her fellow activists: "At last we have shown some indication that we are not completely indifferent to the world around us. Those seniors who attended and spoke out at the discussion on October 15 gave us a major breakthrough in student affairs...Vietnam Moratorium Day was only a beginning. Now we must ask for other changes to have our opinions registered." The next month, during the national antiwar protest, a number of West Islip students joined almost two hundred fellow-high-school protestors at a rally at the Bay Shore Mall. In the February 1970 Rudder, Steve Berwin called for the immediate withdrawal of troops: "It appears an attempt to play God by deciding where communism can and cannot exist; that is, the containment policy. Other than our arrogant belief that democracy is the better political system, the United States has no justification for maintaining the big brother role." Even the air raid drill came under fire: "If the bomb hit the school would be leveled and I would rather leave this world in a more comfortable position, not staring at a wall or locker." The May 1971 issue ran twenty-four student comments on Lt. William Calley and My Lai, revealing that student opinion was divided on whether Calley should go to prison. Many felt he was just carrying out orders, but one junior, Mary King, expressed the consensus: "I think that the incident concerning Lt. Calley has shown just how mixed up our involvement in Vietnam really is." A 1971 Memorial Day comment concluded that, "Tribute should be paid to those who died in American wars. It should also be a day to realize that many more people are dying in America's present war, and that many more will die unless it is stopped now." Shortly before the peace accords were signed in January 1973, a student, Larry Abrams, gave his version of the final plays in an article called "Political Football."

*Ist down:* Richard Nixon is elected on the premise of ending a senseless war in Vietnam. He decides to be the best starting quarterback and throw the ball (America) into Cambodia. The defense (anti-Nixon protestors) put on the blitz. Nixon calls a huddle. We think he may be sending tight end Kissenger [*sic*] for a long pass. Because Quarterback Nixon is keeping it a secret, we are not sure what the next play will be.

*2nd down:* The defensive unit is waiting to tackle the communist line. But *WAIT!* Nixon decides to throw the bomb. Proving again that under pressure he will go to the air.

*3rd down:* Nixon calls time out. *Wait!* What's this? He's talking with Head Coach Chou-en-lai and team captain Leonid Brezhnev. Could he be making a secret deal to end this game? It seems as though Nixon has lost 3rd down due to delay of game?

*4th down:* *Yes!* Tight end Kissenger [*sic*] is sent on the long pass. He missed the first one but maybe he will get a first down and three more chances. It seems as though Quarterback Nixon has called time out, but nobody knows for sure. I really think is he delaying the game. He's only got one timeout left and I think he is gonna make this one the last.

The game did end two months after publication of Abrams's article.<sup>5</sup>

The ability of high school students to express contrary views was reinforced when, in February 1969, the United States Supreme Court handed down its decision in *Tinker v. Des Moines*. The protection of free expression in public schools resulted from the actions of three high school students in Des Moines, Iowa, suspended for wearing black armbands to protest the war, although their action did not cause a disruption of learning. In a 7-2 ruling, the Court stated that: "It can hardly be argued that either students or teachers shed their constitutional right to freedom of speech or expression at the schoolhouse gate."<sup>6</sup>

This ruling eased restrictions on students' rights to express opposition to the war. By no coincidence, opinions in *The Echo* and *The Rudder* criticizing the war appeared regularly after 1968. In addition, special student editions were published like the three-page publication on the subject issued by the 1969-1970 editorial staff at Baldwin Senior High School. A series of articles appeared, including a chronology of the conflict. The student paper, *The Golden Wave*, notified its readership of the new format: "In an attempt to heed [Bob] Dylan's warning in his 'the Times They Are A-Changin,' the Journalism Class of 1969-70 has decided to alter the format... By keeping abreast of the news... it is our belief that the school newspaper will serve to interest as well as inform the students of *relevant* matters." The upshot of this issue of *The Golden Wave* was captured in Barbara Zitwer's piece, "The Guilt Does Lie In the Hands of the United States." Zitwer proclaimed that, "The time has come for all Americans of all races, creeds, and ages to bridge the gap of differences and alienation now, and find reasonable and satisfactory solutions for the military disaster which is not only destroying our so-called enemies, but our souls as well."<sup>7</sup>

1969 witnessed continued and rising disenchantment with the war. A large antiwar demonstration was held on 6 April in New York City—the regular Fifth Avenue Peace Parade. More than five hundred high school and college students rode an LIRR "Peace Rally Special" from Port Jefferson to Penn Station, singing "We Shall Overcome." A second train "with extra cars carried another 500 demonstrators from communities on Long Island's South

Shore." One rider, John Malenchek, eighteen, of East Meadow, told the *Newsday* reporter "Its good to go and hear the speeches. I feel I have to go and by my presence show I'm against the war."<sup>8</sup>

Campus opposition remained as strong as ever. At Farmingdale, student editors of *The Rambler* signed an "open letter," along with 448 student body presidents and college newspaper editors from across the country, stating that "American policy makers have never considered the cost in Asian lives of the United States policies in Indochina and that the American people have begun to reject policies that purport to end a war in one country by the invasion of two and bombing of three." This, the largest "open letter" ever written, asked President Richard M. Nixon "to use [his] authority to end the bloodshed in Vietnam." Coinciding with the "open letter" was a rally marking the 15 April national protest. An antiwar congressman, Allard Lowenstein, told his listeners that "even by winning we lose." The people of South Vietnam do not support their government. Helping South Vietnam does not mean "sending troops, spending \$110 billion and counting 300,000 casualties." He urged students to stick together to make the peace issue stronger. Not every one in attendance agreed, however. One student, Richard Nathon, responded that "pulling simple solutions to difficult problems out of a hat and demanding their insertion into the present United States foreign policy through moratoriums and demonstrations for peace is ludicrous at best."<sup>9</sup>

At Dowling, *The New Voice* encouraged the student body to participate in the 15 April peace march in Washington. The antiwar movement, it noted, needed more momentum to succeed in bringing home the troops now: the war should end through unilateral withdrawal. In the wake of the 15 April day of protest, moreover, about two hundred Stony Brook students held a civilian army recruiter hostage for close to three hours—a familiar tactic on this campus. The protest began around "10 a.m. when 50 students chanting 'Get the Army off this Campus' barged into the first-floor office of the gymnasium building to disrupt interviews being conducted by Charles Gott, a civilian recruiter for the U.S. Army Material Command." As the protest mounted, students staged a vociferous sit-in in the office of university vice-president T. Alexander Pond.<sup>10</sup>

Off-campus demonstrations also occurred. Preceding Memorial Day services, thirty people marched outside Local Draft Board 2, at 21 Fourth Avenue, Bay Shore, while another twelve protestors went to the second-floor headquarters where they read the names of two thousand New York State residents killed in Vietnam. The demonstration was peaceful. No serious incidents were reported at Memorial Day and July 4th observances, even though there were many demonstrations in which Vietnam veterans criticized the government's policies. Two of the Island's best-known Vietnam veteran critics were Ron Kovic, of Massapequa, whose life and war experience appeared in book and movie form as *Born on the Fourth of July*, and former Marine Lieutenant Robert Muller, of Great Neck, a quadriplegic who was leading the fight for improved rehabilitation programs for injured veterans.<sup>11</sup>



Throughout the war years, summers were generally quiet, when most college students were not on campus and high schools were on vacation. When fall arrived, antiwar activity increased. In early September, for instance, six Levittown Division Avenue High School students went to Mitchel Field and produced "Execution," a twenty-minute film that "portrays a captain of a firing squad in a political labor camps in Asia who slowly goes insane because of the killings he has ordered." The students spent four hours one Sunday afternoon producing the show. According to the fifteen-year-old writer-producer, Roy Firestone, "It's about war in general, not particularly Vietnam, although Vietnam was a major factor. We weren't trying to portray any particular country. The idea is fairly universal."<sup>12</sup>

These efforts served as a prelude to one of the nation's largest protests--the 15 October Vietnam Moratorium Day. Despite the recent enactment of the draft lottery, which automatically cut in half the number of men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five eligible for military induction (men between eighteen and twenty-six were drafted for this war), the peace movement continued to press for immediate withdrawal of all troops. Dowling's *The New Voice* urged students to participate in the moratorium, because "this nation has not witnessed such extensive domestic division since the civil war." Remarkably, despite scattered and random acts of violence, the movement managed to keep its composure and promote a course of nonviolent, peaceful protest. As Fred Halstead observed:

Though the makings for violent clashes were present in every major demonstration, they were consciously counteracted by the organizers and usually fizzled out in minor scuffles and 'trashings.' Even in the wing of the movement that went in for confrontation, tactical nonviolence was generally adhered to, largely upon the insistence of the pacifists.

The moratorium was no exception.<sup>13</sup>

The "Strike Against the War," as *Time* described it, reflected the commonly held belief that "There is no hope for peace in 1969 or 1970, and the thought of war not ending until 1971 is just more than people can take." Those who "had faith in Nixon, who thought he might be able to end the war in six months, are waiting and wondering." Political impatience mounted. Thirty-nine Democratic state legislators called for public support for the moratorium. College students throughout the country skipped Friday classes as part of the strike protest. They responded to Yale University president Kingman Brewster Jr.'s plea for unconditional withdrawal of troops from Vietnam. The moratorium, he insisted, reflected the war's "toll on human misery and its burden of division of acrimony in this country."<sup>14</sup>

There were numerous events on Long Island. An estimated twenty-five thousand people attended a night rally at Eisenhower Park, staged for those returning that evening from Washington. Over and over the crowd sang, "All we are saying is give peace a chance." Folksingers and rock bands sang and

performed the National Anthem. W. Averell Harriman, a former member of the Johnson administration, aroused the crowd's passion when he stated: "It is high time for us to stop the fighting in Vietnam and bring our boys home." When he held up a peace sign the crowd shouted in unison, "Peace Now." Harriman was joined on the platform by the New York City politician, Paul O'Dwyer, and the peace activist, Allard Lowenstein. In Suffolk County, about one thousand people participated in a day march for the dead at the South Shore Mall, organized by the Suffolk County Coalition to End the War in Vietnam. The marchers wore black arm bands and carried coffin-shaped boxes reading, "450 Long Island Dead, 40,000 American Dead, and Countless Vietnamese."<sup>15</sup>

Large numbers of college students on the Island boycotted classes as part of the moratorium. For example, at C. W. Post, well-organized events were set up by the all-student Vietnam Education Committee, formed three years earlier for the purpose of "expressing...opposition to the War in Vietnam and creating an awareness among the students of C.W. Post College concerning the facts of the war." The group had already held a series of lectures and symposia. According to Peter Hastoff, VEC's first president: "We all do feel...that many Americans are, through no fault of their own, extremely ill-informed about the war." Moratorium Day continued the educational process. At 10 a.m., 125 marchers walked "through classroom buildings led by Mr. Arthur Lothstein and Dr. Michael Goldman." One hour later, now two-hundred-strong, the marchers settled on the sloping Humanities lawn in front of the administration building, where they watched guerrilla theater and listened to speeches.

Professor Robert Gurland, of the Philosophy and Mathematics Departments, declared that "We have no right to be at the peace tables after forcing our way into the situation in the first place...The U.S. represents the upholders of the status quo in a world where 70 per cent of the people are starving." A Post student and Vietnam veteran, Ken Smith, naively warned that "the death knell for democracy has been struck," and added that the United States represents "the new colonialists who bombed them out of their rice paddies." At 2:30 p.m., the assembly decided to march through nearby Greenvale, "to talk personally with people about a solution to the war."<sup>16</sup> Comparable actions took place at most colleges on the Island.

However, not everyone endorsed Moratorium Day. In Hicksville, as three thousand people participated in the peace rally at the Mid-Island Shopping Center, police broke up a scuffle between fifteen demonstrators and fifteen counter-demonstrators purporting to be members of the Ku Klux Klan, who called the peace marchers "Commies and SDSers." A Hewlett businessman, Norman Briskman, caused a stir when he flew the flag upside down at his architectural firm. Local patriots expressed indignation and called the police, who arrested him. He was fined fifty dollars. At the Rockville Centre railroad station, American Legionnaires conducted their own demonstration against students from South Shore and Malverne High Schools. In Bay Shore, a car

carrying four men in Marine Corps uniforms drove around peace marchers at the South Shore Mall, holding out a sign reading "Support the Troops and not the VC." Five hundred female students at Lindenhurst High School entered the building with red, white, and blue ribbons, in a show of patriotism. The State University College at Farmingdale encountered tense moments and a near riot during the "Day of Conscience," in which it was pointed out that only 35 percent of the American people agreed with Nixon's foreign policy in 1969. A scuffle occurred at a forum at Roosevelt Hall, one of several Moratorium events set up by the Student Faculty Union for Peace and Educational Reform. The forum began peacefully with the playing of the National Anthem. Members of the Veterans Club were on hand as antiwar speakers asked, "How long can a president ignore 65 percent of a nation who sincerely beg for a lifting of the enormous pressures placed upon us?" As a discussion called for removal of all troops from Vietnam by 1 December 1970, the Afro-American Club paraded through the hall bearing a Black Liberation flag and shouting that the real war was at home, not in Southeast Asia. A brief melee erupted when members of the veteran's group blocked their exit. One black student was seriously injured. After order was restored, the forum continued. A former dental hygiene student recalled the moratorium:

I wanted to participate...because I was opposed to the war immensely, especially when...[a] close friend's brother was killed in Viet Nam. Although now looking back, what they really accomplished was probably very little, but again you felt some satisfaction that you were part of the cause.<sup>17</sup>

Moratorium Day was followed by another march on Washington on 15 November, in preparation for which the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War sponsored a nationwide strike at all colleges and high schools for Friday, 14 November. Between seventy-five and one hundred Adelphi students participated in the march on Washington. One student noted: "I really don't see how the President can think he can ignore all this." At Farmingdale, Steven Gotlieb, a member of the Students for Faculty Union Peace and Educational Reform, argued on behalf of the protest: "Nixon's a lot of baloney. Like when you go into a train station and ask when the train is leaving, the guy says 'I can't tell you when, but I know its leaving.' What kind of people would buy a ticket from that man or company?" Most dramatically, moreover, Hofstra University turned the event into a full-scale protest that began days in advance of the march, a post-moratorium program organized by Norman Coleman. On Thursday, 13 November, students from colleges all over the area distributed leaflets at the Hempstead train station, supermarkets, and various stores, followed by a candlelight vigil on the Unispan above Hempstead Turnpike, where about 450 students and faculty spent the night: "Candles burned in all the windows as the students and teachers sat in small circles rapping about the war... and the march on

Washington. They gathered around their friends with guitars and sang... Brooksie Wells, a freshman, commented, 'Everyone was really together. It was a community.'" On Friday there was a student strike, bolstered by a petition signed by three thousand students endorsing the action. At an ecumenical memorial service, crosses were planted for the war dead.. Later, students boarded buses for the trip to Washington., where more than five hundred thousand people marched from Arlington Memorial Bridge to the White House, beginning at 3:30 a.m. on Saturday. Protestors carried a candle in one hand and the name of a dead soldier in the other. "In front of the White House each one shouted out the name of the dead GI he bore — shouted to the blinding floodlights, shouted to the one lighted window that was all you could see of the White House." Hofstra's participation concluded with an on-campus speech by U.S. Senator Charles Goodell (R.- NY). In reference to the November Moratorium on troop withdrawal, Goodell observed: "The time has come for us to remove ourselves entirely from Vietnam. The President says that we can obtain peace through negotiations with Hanoi....This has not worked in six and a half years, and it will not work in the next six and a half years." Mindful that Long Island's "silent majority" was being aroused by President Nixon—before the 15 November March more than two hundred veteran's groups across the Island staged a week-long demonstration and memorial service in Garden City, concluding with a rally at Eisenhower Park—Goodell urged his listeners to follow the path of nonviolence: "If violence prevails, the American people will support the President. If the issue ceases to be peace in Vietnam and becomes one of violence in America, then the American people will support an orderly society and forget about Vietnam."<sup>18</sup>

The Moratorium and the 15 November March demonstrated the determination of millions of Americans in support of peace. But no event galvanized the antiwar movement as strongly as the killing of four students at Kent State University, in Ohio, on 4 May 1970. What triggered the event was the military incursion into Cambodia a few days earlier. The Ohio National Guard opened fire on students protesting the Cambodian invasion. College students, in particular, reacted with anger and disbelief. Throughout the country students took matters into their own hands, in many cases disregarding Goodell's advice. At Washington University, in St. Louis, students set fire to the R.O.T.C. complex. Buildings were occupied on the campuses of the University of Virginia, Claremont College, in California, the University of Nebraska, and the University of Rochester. At the University of Maryland, demonstrators blocked a highway, thus forcing National Guardsmen to reopen it. Hundreds of students from the nearby SUNY college marched on the federal building in Plattsburgh, New York. Students at the University of Wisconsin, in Madison, a campus already marked by violence, set fire to a campus building. Demonstrations took hold at Berkeley and San Francisco State; with 15 students entering a government building in downtown San Francisco. At Syracuse University, students barricaded all

roads leading to the campus. Five hundred students marched on the Administration Building at the University of Iowa. Students from Vanderbilt University protested in front of the federal building in Nashville. Student sit-ins occurred at Rutgers, Columbia, and New York University Law School. Generally, violence was kept to a minimum. Within the next week, more than two hundred colleges and universities canceled classes, some for the remainder of the semester.

Long Island college administrators responded by attempting to hold faculty and student discussions on Kent State. At Dowling, for example, almost 250 students, faculty, and administration gathered to discuss the tragedy. The next day, however, all classes and finals were postponed indefinitely. Adelphi leaders decided to suspend classes: the evening following the shootings, seven hundred students conducted a candlelight march through Garden City. At C. W. Post, which suspended classes and replaced them with teach-ins, several hundred students attended a daytime rally. The rally, or strike as it became, "centered around the east entrance of the Humanities Building. The number of strikers swelled quickly and by later afternoon approached a thousand." At night, slogans were "painted over much of the campus such as 'Free the Panthers' and 'strike.' Nassau Hall became Jerry Rubin [Hall]." Northern Boulevard was "blocked for an hour by marchers moving between Post and the New York Institute of Technology." One hundred fifty students at the Farmingdale campus staged a sit-in at the school's administration building. Three-to-four hundred students at New York Institute of Technology attended a campus rally and then moved "to the entrance to the campus opposite the intersection of Route 25A and Valentine's Lane in Old Westbury. The crowd sat in the middle of the street, blocking traffic for about 45 minutes." The crowd reached about eight hundred when Post students joined the "street sit-in." Close to 250 students boycotted classes at the Southampton College of L.I.U.. Nassau and Suffolk Community Colleges canceled classes. Even high schools got into the act: one hundred students from Port Washington's Schreiber High School cut classes and marched to the town dock; three hundred Syosset High School students attended a memorial service at the Community Church of Syosset; several hundred Plainview High School students held a morning rally and "then spent several hours in the community circulating petitions asking the school board to condemn the war"; and a memorial service was held on the Kennedy High School (Plainview) football field honoring a former graduate, Jeffrey Miller, one of the four students killed at Kent State.<sup>19</sup>

Many colleges canceled classes in fear of increasing violence. A series of fires was reported at Stony Brook after an evening rally attended by nearly nine hundred students. At 11 p.m., a blaze destroyed a hundred-year old barn and badly damaged the housing and maintenance equipment stored there. An hour later, a fire bomb thrown through a window of the Humanities building severely damaged an office used by art instructors. Two other fires destroyed a construction shack and an equipment truck. Acting president T. Alexander

Pond declared that "small groups....appear to be making determined efforts to turn over serious national problems into senseless vandalism against the university."<sup>20</sup> College leaders did their utmost to prevent physical damage to their campuses, resulting in tightened security measures that remain in effect to this day.

One of the most intense reactions to Kent State occurred at Hofstra, where president Clifford Lord desperately tried to prevent cancellation of classes. It should be kept in mind that Hofstra was the only university or college in Nassau and Suffolk to maintain an R.O.T.C. program. When he heard about Kent State, Lord dashed off a letter to President Nixon, which he made public in hopes of diminishing student anxiety: "There is no question that a large majority of our students and faculty want a quick end to American involvement in Southeast Asia. I hope you will effect your commitment to terminate this unhappy war as quickly as possible." The faculty, at first, took up Lord's lead by calling for "an all-university coordinating committee composed of students, faculty, and administration to develop, coordinate and carry out appropriate action programs to seek a prompt end to the war and the destructive domestic consequences of these war activities." The next day, after receiving word of the strong possibility of a general student strike, Lord addressed a gathering on the steps of Hofstra Hall, in which he called for a "national day of mourning" and added: "Reports say that the National Guard at Kent State violated every known rule of mob control...Blame anything you want, but the fact remains that five [*sic*] young people are dead." Students were upset that Lord was unable even to get the number of dead students correct. When the New Student Community and Student Senate president, Norman Coleman, called upon Lord to close the campus immediately, Lord replied that "Our legal counsel informs us that if we close classes, we will be open to suit." Lord "walked out of the meeting amidst shouts of derision."<sup>21</sup>

The radical New Student Community, an SDS hybrid, reacted to Lord's position by calling for a rally at the A & S store in Hempstead, "to get into contact with the community and explain to them the purpose of the strike, the consequences of the strike and its derivation from the South East Asian conflict." The organization also solicited support from neighboring colleges "to aid in shutting down that [Hofstra] campus." As planned, about fifteen hundred students from Hofstra, C. W. Post, Dowling, Farmingdale, Nassau Community, and SUNY at Stony Brook joined in an orderly march from the Student Center through Hempstead to the A&S parking lot. Several hundred students made a similar trek from Adelphi to join the A&S rally. When the marchers headed back to Hofstra, "shouts to walk down the middle of Fulton Avenue in a show of strength brought enthusiastic response. Despite the efforts of parade marshals, all the demonstrators poured into the street blocking traffic. Reaching the university, about 200 students staged a sit-in beneath the Unispan." Nassau County Police made no effort to break up the protest.<sup>22</sup>

Because Hofstra's spring semester ended later than that of most colleges on the Island, administrators tried valiantly to provide constructive alternatives

short of canceling the rest of the semester. The fear of a lawsuit by students who might have felt short-changed was the driving force. Dean of Students Sal Luiso, commenting on Cambodia and Kent State, said, "To call it a 'tragedy' is an understatement." His letter, distributed to the student body, appeared more of a pep talk than a serious discourse: "Few will be able to continue to believe that the Hofstra student body is apathetic. You saw them out there, I saw them out there; over two thousand at one point. Students did it...Not only did they unite students in opposition to the war, to Kent State, to injustices, but they were also the catalyst for involving faculty and administration." As a conciliatory gesture, Lord ordered the flag to remain at half-staff "for the maximum 30-day period provided for national mourning," but also took the opportunity to remind the Hofstra community that "It is incumbent upon each of us to keep Hofstra open so that we can direct our efforts and our resources to terminating the this unhappy war as quickly as possible."<sup>23</sup>

A large portion of the student body continued to insist that the campus be closed. On Friday, 8 May, 2,500 students attended a rally in front of a familiar place on campus, the Playhouse. Among the speakers were the late attorney William Kunstler, defender of the "Chicago Seven," and Allard Lowenstein. Kunstler urged that "Every college, every high school, every grammar school, every kindergarten must stay closed." The administration, he bellowed into the loud speaker, "is still going to think you are bums but if you can control its number one mouth [Nixon], you won't be called it anymore. Would it be to God that there had been such outrage when 587 yellow people died in the streets of My Lai 4." He egged on the throng to shout "'STRIKE! STRIKE! STRIKE!'...Moments later hundreds of students seated on the lawns in front of the Playhouse were chanting the cry, their fists raised high in the air." Lowenstein followed in a more cautious tone: "We have one of these moments now in our country that are taken or lost with no second opportunity. It is the president who has violated the Constitution and the Congress which has denied the people due process." Sensing student anger, he implored his listeners that "For the sake of this country...don't spit at people or burn them—convert them to what America should be."<sup>24</sup>

The university's leadership was prepared to fight back. A strategy was developed to deal with sit-ins, barricades, and lock-ins, with the following priority of responses to campus disruption: first, call upon students' representatives to try to defuse the crisis; if that fails, seek the aid of county police to approach the matter "in a non-belligerent manner"; allow for a fifteen-minute warning with notice of a possible suspension; provide another fifteen minutes and warning of possible expulsion, informing "those remaining... that they are trespassing and are liable to civil action"; last, if students still refuse to leave, "they may be arrested and forcibly removed by the civil police." Lord also sent an open letter to parents informing them that, "as student pressures forced the closing of one institution after another on Long Island, Hofstra was the only university remaining open." But, he continued, "Strenuous efforts on the part of the faculty, administration, and

certain students to discourage the use of force in closing Hofstra were ignored.” There did emerge a group of students called Strike Back who “are desirous of continuing their studies, taking examinations, and obtaining formal grades for the academic work done during the semester.” Thus, Lord concluded, “It is our intention to keep Hofstra open during the remaining few weeks...so that our students have the opportunity to gain the full benefit of educational experiences; that they may receive full value for the financial investment that they have made; and that they may receive degrees possessing the same high standards of the past.” However, Lord eventually compromised. Students were granted the option of attending classes which were still being taught by various professors.<sup>25</sup>

The culmination of college reaction to Kent State occurred during the second week of May, when an ad hoc group, the Long Island Student Coalition, led a sit-in involving students from Adelphi, C. W. Post, Dowling, and Hofstra in blocking traffic at selected exits of the Northern and Southern State Parkways, the Meadowbrook Parkway, and the Long Island Expressway. The coalition issued a prepared statement to the press:

We have taken this action to draw attention to the anti-war movement, the Kent State violence and the injustices that have been perpetrated against this nation's youth by the Nixon Administration. Furthermore, by stopping the flow of traffic to business as usual, we are showing the rest of the state, island, and country that the students of the nation are angry, and will positively act on that anger.

The coalition continued its action with a rally at the Farmingdale campus in which five hundred students, including representatives from Hofstra, Adelphi, and C. W. Post, staged a sit-in at the administration building. The protestors were bombarded by “pepper gas” allegedly hurled by anti-strike students. Fifty Suffolk County riot police arrived, some arrests were made, and a few minor injuries resulted from the fracas.<sup>26</sup>

### **The Final Phase**

1970 marked the zenith of the antiwar movement Little could match the surge of activity in the wake of Kent State. Some one million college students—between 50 and 60 percent of the national total—took part in some form of protest. By the end of the first week in May, thirty R.O.T.C. buildings were burned or destroyed, the National Guard had been called out on twenty-one campuses, in sixteen states, and many colleges shut down completely or ended their semester early.

The closing years of military engagement witnessed a repetition of peace parades and moratoriums. Prior to Kent State, thousands of Long Islanders participated in the 19 April 1970 March on Washington. Irma Zigas, a member of Women Strike for Peace, proudly pointed out that “We've been doing this since 1961 and this is the first time in sending people to demonstrate that we've been sold out in weeks in advance [purchasing train



tickets]. My estimate... is that 10,000 to 20,000 Long Islanders have decided to go to Washington. The mood of the country seems to be changing." Grace Parzen, head of the Suffolk Coalition to End the War, added: "A lot more people are going out this time. Although many people were discouraged at the apparent effectiveness of the November 19th [1969] march on Washington, in which a quarter-million people participated, they have seized on this opportunity to show their outrage."<sup>27</sup>

The October 1970 Moratorium kept the outrage alive. At Hofstra, the Student Mobilization Committee Chairman, Richard Zohler, stated: "We feel that it is necessary to keep up a vocal opposition of the incursion in Vietnam." An all-day silent vigil was conducted in the main quad behind Hofstra Hall; at the Student Center a guerrilla theater was set up in which a skit, taken from "Kill a Commie for Christ Revival Rally," was directed by Noel Rauch; activities concluded with a memorial march to the athletic field - "a symbolic funeral procession for the 45,000 plus war dead." Reaction to My Lai evoked outrage as well. The consensus among college students was that "one man takes the blame, and the Army continues conducting its vicious war games." The *Hofstra Chronicle* began to encourage tax resistance as a popular form of protest—one that had been widely used by pacifist groups such as the F.O.R. and W.R.L. The *Hofstra Chronicle* suggested that its readers refuse "to pay that percent of our income tax that goes to military spending." In certain quarters, the pacifists' method of nonviolence, such as tax resistance, was catching on: "There are those who say that nothing can be done, nothing accomplished by protest or any other form of civil disobedience. Aside from advocating violence, which never accomplishes anything (for the same reason that to be violent is to lose all contact with reason), there is another way of getting at the system."<sup>28</sup>

The student movement subsided considerably after Kent State, as campus reforms and the draft lottery induced students to look for less confrontational ways to "get at the system." The longer a cause or campaign drags on, the more difficult it becomes to keep people involved, and the more the opposition seeks to develop alternative strategies with the aim of deflecting criticism. Thus, the invasion of Laos in 1971 was carried out by South Vietnamese forces, assisted by American bombers, while withdrawals of U.S. troops convinced many Americans that the end was close at hand.

However, this did not satisfy supporters of the April 1972 March on Washington. Much smaller than previous marches, this demonstration did manage to enlist more than one hundred thousand students and other protestors. Jerry Gordon, the national coordinator of the parade, insisted: "The time is now! If we can get enough people into the streets we can bring this war to a halt now." Some 228 campuses held strikes, and one hundred more staged protest rallies the weekend of the march. Clearly, the final push had been undertaken to force the immediate withdrawal of American combat troops in Vietnam. At the same time, it was obvious to most observers that Nixon intended to extricate the United States from Vietnam, even if he did

not concede to the demand for immediate withdrawal. The overwhelming rejection of the antiwar, Democratic presidential candidate, George McGovern, remains the most solid piece of evidence. In part, McGovern's defeat was due to the public perception that the Democratic party had fallen victim to radical elements. The more convincing part, however, was appropriately summed up by a Hicksville resident, Eileen Sahaidachny: "Not only has he [Nixon] brought home thousands of our soldiers, but he also believes in going all out to protect our remaining forces. I believe in him and will vote for him in '72. He is doing as much as possible to end the war and I doubt that any of the presidential candidates could do a better job."<sup>29</sup> Most Long Islanders, like most Americans, wanted an end to the war while at the same time they favored military action to protect the troops still in Vietnam.

Despite resumed bombing of North Vietnam in December 1972, it was clear that the United States government had resigned itself to abandoning the notion of victory. The renewed bombing was considered a diplomatic means to bring Hanoi to the negotiating table. The American populace favored withdrawal, regardless of honor. Perhaps Barbara Kaufman, of Carle Place, captured this national feeling when she reflected that:

We call ourselves human because we don't use nuclear weapons, but the weapons that we use are about as humane as the thumbscrew and the rack, the disembowelment and disembowelment and other goodies of man's "less civilized state." ...It's said that nothing is certain except for death and taxes, but when taxes are used to pay for the death something is wrong and very evil. "Rendering unto Caesar" is right and just but buying carnage and human suffering is an offense against God. Where do we turn? What can we do?<sup>30</sup>

## **Conclusion**

The antiwar demonstrations of the 1960s and early 1970s were unique in American history. Although they were less internationalist and more antimilitarist and anti-imperialist, concentrating on reversing U.S. war policy in Asia, the size of the protests indicated the strength of antiwar feeling during this period. To the peace movement, the war was a dramatic exhibition of the threat of militarism in American life. This view sustained and stimulated the tradition of dissent. Many of the dissenters, particularly college students, were emancipated from the notion of a "righteous" war.

Student dissent was also fueled by such associated problems as racial discrimination, urban decay, the power of the "military-industrial complex," police brutality to dissenters, and the waste of human and natural resources. The historian, Henry Steele Commager, cautioned his contemporaries to be tolerant:

The answer to student protest and revolt is not hysteria and it is not suppression. Students have something to say... and we should not deny ourselves the benefit of their protest or their advice because we do not

approve of their manners....Let us take reassurance...from the reflection that when older and more respectable elements of society were silent, students spoke up.<sup>31</sup>

Significantly, some of that dissent translated itself into university reform. University and college presidents and deans on Long Island were forced to reexamine mandatory R.O.T.C. programs, like the one at Hofstra; create African-American studies courses; institute student evaluations of courses and instructors; develop programs for minorities and women; formulate an open dormitory policy; liberalize adding and dropping of courses along with pass/fail options; and greater student representation in college and university decision making.

One of the more lasting achievements resulting from the conflict was the passage of the 1973 War Powers Act, a measure spearheaded by Senator Jacob Javitz (R.-NY), a resident of both New York City and Southampton. Despite Nixon's veto, Javitz and his congressional colleagues managed to override it. The bill was designed to limit presidential power to commit U.S. troops abroad. When it became law, it required the president to inform Congress within forty-eight hours of any deployment of combat forces overseas, and to withdraw them within sixty days unless Congress authorized an extension. It remains in effect to this day.

Although the antiwar movement provided a vehicle for political and legislative change, including the election of a number of peace/antiwar candidates, it did not end the war.<sup>32</sup> That was accomplished by the American people's "withdrawing passive support for it." In his recent book, *Campus Wars*, Kenneth J. Heineman reinforces this argument: "In reality, even though the antiwar protest turned the universities into ideological, and often actual, battlefields, the U.S. withdrew from Indochina because the war could not be won militarily."<sup>33</sup>

Still, according to Charles Chatfield, another analyst of the peace movement, the antiwar movement caused the nation and its leadership to face the war in three ways. First, "it generated alternative sources of authority on Vietnam policy, clarifying the political and moral issues involved." Second, it "mobilized enough opposition to set parameters on war policy that were exceeded... only in violation of presidential accountability." Finally, it "added to the social cost of the war by the very controversy it engendered." Most importantly, despite the movement's multiplicity of leadership and organized constituencies, it was "organized independently where people live and worked. [Its] most remarkable achievement was its ability to be flexible with local branches and individuals and to offer them a variety of options."<sup>34</sup>

The movement's ability to develop forms of protest enabling diverse coalitions to seek the same end was amply demonstrated on Long Island. In fact, unlike the national movement, whose coalitions were often at odds, the many peace groups formed on the Island demonstrated a significant degree of harmony and consistency. Indeed, the teach-ins, a housewives' peacemobile,

open letters to elected officials, candlelight vigils like the one on the Unispan over Hempstead Turnpike, high school students producing an antiwar film at Mitchel Field, students carrying peace banners through the South Shore Mall, peace and freedom schools, guerrilla theater performances, draft resistance at Local Board 2 in Bay Shore, the participation of thousands in the 15 October 1969 Moratorium, the outrage expressed over the Kent State tragedy, and many more are indicative that the whole of the antiwar movement was equal to the sum of its parts. Long Island's harmonious relationship was a crucial part of this geometric equation.

## NOTES

*Author's note: I wish to thank the students in my Adelphi University High School American History program and the Adelphi University undergraduates in my Main Themes in American History Seminar. Their research and interviews proved an invaluable passageway in helping me understand the dynamics of the anti-Vietnam War movement on Long Island.*

1. "Escalate in Vietnam Now," *Newsday*, 7 May 1965; "Offering Our Way," 12 February 1968; "We Need Loyalty Demonstrations," 26 May 1965, 48.
2. "Unjust War," *Newsday*, 13 Mar. 1968, 31; "Stupid Excuse," and "Dissenting Americans," 29 Apr. 1968; "Peace Rally Is Set Today in City," 27 Apr. 1968, 5, 35.
3. *The Echo* 46 (Apr. 1966), 2; "Do You Question the Draft," 48 (April 1968), 2; 49 (25 Oct. 1968), 2; "AMHS Students Strike; Many Participate in Rally," 50 (22 May 1970), 1; author's interview with Evelyn Thomas, 16 June 1994; 51 (26 Feb. 1971), 2; David Glasser, "Last Train to Nuremberg," 51 (27 May 1971), 2; "Amnesty--Yes or No?" 52 (Feb. 1972), 2; author's interviews with former and current administrators and teachers: Joe Guiffre, 14 Sept. and 18 Nov. 1993; Tom Galli, 17 Oct. 1992; Kerry Doran, 10 Dec. 1993.
4. "America," *The Rudder* 11 (Sept. 1966), 2; "Seniors Scrutinize the War; Poll Reveals Popular Opinions," (Oct. 1966), 1; "The American Spirit," 12 (Dec. 1967), 2; "Honor the Veteran," 12 (Nov. 1968), 1.
5. *Rudder*, 14 (Nov. 1969), 2-3; (Feb. 1970), 3; Marsha Rosenthal, "Hot Air--Or Action?," (June 1970), 2; "Bomb Shelter," 15 (Oct. 1970), 2; "Student Forum--Lt. Calley," (7 May 1971), 3-4; "Memorial Day," (14 June 1971), 5; Larry Abrams, "Political Football," (Nov. 1972), 6.
6. *Tinker v. Des Moines*, 393 U.S. 503 (1969).
7. *The Golden Wave* 26 (23 Dec. 1969).
8. Pete Bowles, "The Foes of War On March Again," *Newsday*, 7 Apr. 1969, 3, 27.
9. *The Rambler* 29 (2, 20 Apr. 1969).
10. *The New Voice* 1 (15 Apr. 1969); "Stony Brook Students Hold Recruiter 3 Hrs.," *Newsday*, 6 May 1969, 4, 26; Joe Vasquez, "Recruitment Opposed by Student Council," *Statesman*, 4 Mar. 1969), 3; Ned Steel, "Justice Above Law: Library Sit-In Granted Amnesty by Polity Judiciary," *ibid*, 29 Apr. 1969, 1.
11. *Newsday*, 23 May 1969; Ron Kovic, *Born on the Fourth of July* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976).
12. "War Becomes Real In Teen's Project," *Newsday*, 17 Sept. 1969.
13. "Peace Strike Oct. 15," *The New Voice*, 6 Oct. 1969; Fred Halstead, *Out Now! A Participant's Account of the American Movement Against the Vietnam War* (New York: Monad Press, 1978), 777.
14. "Strike Against the War," *Time* 94 (17 Oct. 1969), 17-22; Martin Arnold, "39 in Legislature Back War Protest," *New York Times*, 10 Oct. 1969, 16, and 14 Oct. 1969, 17; Bill Sievert, "AntiWar Movement Grows: Nixon Unaffected," J. Horenstein and R. Thomson, "Many Faculty

- Continue to Work for Peace," H. Rubenstein, "Tune In To the War," *Statesman* 10 Oct. 1969; David Trask, "History of the War," Lee Gruenfeld, "The Zoo: Vietnam Moratorium," *ibid.*, 7 Oct. 1969, 12; as a respected historian with close connections to the State Department, Trask's disaffection with administration policies signalled an important shift among the moderate faculty on campus.
15. "Peace Tide Sweeps Across L I As Thousands Protest Vietnam," *Newsday*, 16 Oct. 1969, 2, 28.
16. "Vietnam Committee Holds 1st Meeting," *Post Pioneer* 16 (21 Sept. 1967), 7, and Linda Carr and Belinda Racine, "Post Observes Moratorium Day," 19 (17 Oct. 1969), 1-2.
17. *Newsday*, 16 Oct. 1969, 28; Linda LaForte, "On the Moratorium," *The Rambler* 30 (17 Oct. 1969), 3; Nancy McArthur, interview with Kathy Smith, 3 Apr. 1994; Robert Nathan, "Withdraw from Vietnam," Tom Holgate, "Moratorium or Skip a Day," *The Rambler* 30 (17 October 1969), 4, 5.
18. *The Adelphian* 20 (19 Nov. 1969); Steven Gotlieb, "The Great Debate," *The Rambler* 30 (Nov. 1969), 11; Staff Memo from Dean S.F. DeMarr, 17 July 1969, Box 1, Hofstra Univ. Student Unrest Correspondence, May-December 1969; Nancy Prins, "Candlelight and Guitars Unite in Vigil for Peace," "Death March ' for Peace," Cannibal Careens, "Washington Moratorium Death March--'It Was Beautiful,'" Art Schneider, "'We Will Not Support This' Declares Senator in Speech," *Hofstra Chronicle* 35 (20 Nov. 1969), 1-2; Date Behrens, "LI's 'silent Majority' Is Heard," *Newsday*, 10 Nov. 1969, 5, 24; Neil Welles, "Violent Demonstrations an Undesirable Tactic," *Statesman* 12 (14 Mar. 1969), 5.
19. *The New Voice* 2 (11 May 1970); *Newsday*, 6 May 1970.
20. *Newsday*, 6 May 1970, 7; "Strikes Force Closing of Post Until Monday," *Post Pioneer* 19 (8 May 1970), 1,3.
21. Clifford Lord to Richard M. Nixon, 5 May 1970, Student Unrest Correspondence, May 1-8, 1970, Box 1; Faculty Petition, *ibid*; Bob Monzeglio, "Two Thousand People Rally in University Quad," *Hofstra Chronicle* 35 (7 May 1970), 5.
22. Student Blurp, "March," Student Unrest Correspondence, May 1-8, 1970, Box 1; "Students Gather on Parking Lot to Urge Strike in Protest of War," *Hofstra Chronicle* 35 (7 May 1970), 1.
23. Sal Luiso Letter to Student Body, 8 May 1970, Student Unrest Correspondence, May 1-8, 1970, Box 1; Clifford Lord to Members of the Hofstra Community, 8 May 1970, *ibid*.
24. "Speakers Support Student Strike," Bob Monzeglio, "Protest Brings School Shut-Down," *Hofstra Chronicle* 35 (11 May 1970), 1, 3.
25. Student Unrest Correspondence, May 10-30, 1970, Box 1; Clifford Lord to Parents of Hofstra Students, *ibid*. On 11 May, university officials adopted a plan stating that "classes be conducted for all students who wish to continue their studies according to their original intentions" (Lord to Parents). Mathematics professor S. F. Pines expressed the view of a large segment of the faculty: "Whatever our political views, it must be recognized that the bulk of our student body and faculty, are honestly concerned about and acting on the invasion of Cambodia, the shooting of students at Kent and the latest unprovoked shooting of Black students at Jackson, Mississippi. They, and we, want to bring a halt to these events by legitimate means...If we cannot affect a reversal of the national trend toward arbitrary use of power, by democratic methods then I fear for our survival as an ethical society and our university as a place of learning." (S.F. Pines, Mathematics to Faculty and Administration, *ibid.*).
26. "Rallies and Sit-Ins Mark Strike Action," *Hofstra Chronicle* 35 (14 May 1970), 2.
27. *Newsday*, 21 April 1970, 4.
28. "Student Mobilization Holds Moratorium Today," *Hofstra Chronicle* 36 (15 October 1970), 1, 5; "Protest Against Military," *Hofstra Chronicle* 36 (25 March 1971), 8.
29. "Anti-War Rally Major Success Young and Old March Together," *Hofstra Chronicle* 37 (26 April 1972), 1; *Newsday*, 14 Jan. 1972.

30. *Newsday*, 10 Apr. 1972.
31. Henry Steele Commager, "Why Student Rebellion?" *Newsday*, 1 June 1968, 8.
32. See Mel Small, *Johnson, Nixon and the Doves* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1988), *passim*.
33. Kenneth J. Heineman, *Campus Wars: The Peace Movement at American State Universities in the Vietnam Era* (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 2; Adelphi student Scott Clark's interviews with Vietnam veterans Louis Buffardi, 15 May 1994, and Jimmy Kay, 1 June 1994.
34. Charles Chatfield, *The American Peace Movement: Ideals and Activism* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1992), 143-45.

# Robert Cushman Murphy and Environmental Issues on Long Island

By Richard P. Harmond

Robert Cushman Murphy, naturalist, ornithologist and conservationist, was a fourth-generation Long Islander, and for most of his life a resident of the Island.<sup>1</sup> He was born in Brooklyn Heights on 29 April 1887, and grew up in Mount Sinai, on the north shore of Suffolk County, where his family moved in 1894. At Mount Sinai, the youngster developed an enthusiasm for birds, and became a “close amateur bird-watcher.”<sup>2</sup>

Murphy attended Port Jefferson High School (walking three miles each way to and from his home). In 1911 he received a Ph.B. (Bachelor of Philosophy) from Brown University, and, completing his formal education, was awarded an M.A. in 1918 by Columbia University.

After graduating from Brown, Murphy was employed by the Brooklyn Museum, first as curator of birds and mammals from 1911 to 1917, and then as curator of the department of natural science between 1917 and 1920. He was out of the country on a number of expeditions in this period. On his first trip, in 1912-1913, he sailed on the whaling brig *Daisy* to South Georgia Island, a thousand miles east of Cape Horn. Murphy, who was assistant navigator on the *Daisy*, recounted his experiences many years later in his popular memoir, *Logbook for Grace*.<sup>3</sup>

Murphy became an authority of world renown on marine birds, with an interest in the sea as well as in birds and other wildlife, dating from his childhood. “I was born near salt water and have lived near it all my life,” he once said. As a small boy he even tried his hand at dissecting dead whales cast up on the Long Island shore. In 1921, he joined the American Museum of Natural History as an associate curator of birds, and was named curator of oceanic birds in 1927. Nine years later, he published his monumental two-volume study, *Oceanic Birds of South America* (which was awarded the John Burroughs Medal for excellence in natural history writing in 1937).<sup>4</sup> In 1942 he became chairman of the department of birds, and, in 1949, Lamont Curator of Birds. Under his leadership, the American Museum’s bird collection was recognized as one of the world’s foremost, with a million specimens. Some of these specimens were collected by Murphy himself, during more than a dozen expeditions in which he visited every continent except Australia.

For about fifteen years in the 1920s and 1930s, he resided in Bronxville, in

Westchester County, though he and his wife and children spent their summers on the North Shore. In the late 1930s he returned to Long Island to live year-round, after selling the Bronxville place and buying one in Setauket.

Like many ornithologists, Murphy was a staunch conservationist. He was, for example, treasurer of the National Audubon Society between 1929 and 1937, and was president of that influential conservationist organization from 1938 to 1940. In the latter year—and it was a rare distinction—he was named honorary president of the society for his “invaluable contributions to the Society’s welfare [and his] services to the wildlife of the world.” There were other such awards; in 1941 Murphy received, from the Garden Clubs of America, the Francis K. Hutchinson Medal for service in the cause of conservation.<sup>5</sup>

Given his background as a Long Islander and his commitment to the cause of conservation, it is not surprising that Murphy took an active interest in environmental issues affecting the Island. As early as 1933, for example, he urged that Fire Island—where the beach, he wrote, offered “infinite space for body and soul”—be set aside as a park area, “as soon as possible before vandalism and development have destroyed the natural features.” During the next thirty years he continued to speak out for the proposal. And, when the Fire Island National Sea Shore project was finally in place, Murphy was appointed in 1965 to the fifteen-person Fire Island National Advisory Commission.<sup>6</sup>

Another island that attracted his attention in the 1930s was Gardiner’s Island. When, in 1937, it seemed as though that island—home to osprey and other valuable avian species—was to be offered for sale and that certain “out-of-town parties” proposed developing it as an American Monte Carlo, Murphy did not dally. He led an effort by himself and other private parties to purchase the island and turn it over to the federal government. As it happened, the proposed auction never was held, and the Gardiner family managed to retain ownership of the island. Although the federal government failed to gain possession and the island remains in the hands of the Gardiners, it also stands, thus far, undeveloped.<sup>7</sup>

Some two decades after the Gardiner’s Island episode, Murphy became embroiled in an intense struggle with the federal government—or more precisely the Department of Agriculture—over the use of DDT. Introduced in 1942, and employed during World War II by the armed forces to destroy disease-bearing insects, like body lice, DDT was made available for civilian purposes in 1946. A cheap, potent insecticide, DDT was soon widely used. But, by the mid-1950s, some scientists had begun to question the safety of the chemical compound. For one thing, when taken into the bodies of livestock, DDT accumulated in the fatty tissues, and, it was discovered, “was passed on in milk.” A further consideration was the damage DDT inflicted on the environment. The insecticide was implicated, for instance, in a number of serious bird kills.<sup>8</sup>

At any rate, in 1957 the Agriculture Department decided to launch an aerial spray campaign in the northeastern United States against a major pest, the gypsy moth. The scheme called for spraying some three million acres,



most of which were in New York. (The spray, released by airplanes between 5:00 a.m. and 7:00 p.m., was composed of DDT mixed in an oil solution.) Soon after the planes took off in April, public complaints were heard. Concern was expressed about DDT's contaminating milk supplies, and there were reports of significant fish kills in Orange, Ulster, and Sullivan counties.<sup>9</sup>

On Long Island, where officials planned to spray all of Suffolk County and the eastern part of Nassau, the opposition went beyond mere protests. In May 1957, a group of Long Island homeowners, led by Robert Cushman Murphy—who owned a seven-and-a-half-acre estate in Setauket—filed suit in federal district court to enjoin Department of Agriculture officers from continuing the spraying. Charging that DDT was a “cumulative poison such as will inevitably cause irreparable injury and death to all living things,” the Long Islanders sought an injunction to halt the aerial spraying. The judge decided that the benefits of DDT exceeded the dangers, and denied a temporary injunction. However, he refused to dismiss the suit, thus leaving the way open for a future hearing on a permanent injunction, which the plaintiffs elected to pursue.<sup>10</sup>

In the weeks following the federal court decision, Murphy remained active. In a letter to the *New York Times*, he alerted readers to scientific findings of increased genetic resistance to DDT by a species of mosquito. “Yet we go merrily ahead,” he lamented, “using the biological techniques of artificial selection to produce tougher and tougher insect undesirables.”<sup>11</sup>

In the meantime, the New York Zoological Society set up a special Committee Against Mass Poisoning, “formed to combat indiscriminate DDT spraying by the U.S. Department of Agriculture and certain associated agencies.” Murphy, named chairman of the committee, presented further evidence, in a bulletin published in July, that spraying had destroyed wildlife and that DDT had infiltrated New Yorkers' milk supply. Moreover, in September, at a pre-trial hearing, he again testified about the dangers of DDT to birds, fish, and insects. Indeed, Murphy pointed out, the spraying campaign had killed millions of insects that, in turn, preyed on the gypsy moth!<sup>12</sup>

The trial for a permanent injunction took place in federal district court in Brooklyn, between 11 February and 5 March 1958. There were twenty-nine witnesses for the plaintiffs and twenty for the government's side. Murphy was the first witness called, and testified about the damage done by DDT on his and a nearby property in Setauket. After the spraying, said Murphy, he discovered the death of a school of cold-tolerant tropical fish with which he was experimenting. He also asserted that “millions” of fiddler crabs died in a neighboring marsh, and that this was especially unfortunate since they fed on the eggs of starfish which destroy oysters and clams.<sup>13</sup>

In the end, the judge found the government's case more persuasive: its witnesses argued that DDT was essentially harmless to humans, and highly effective against the gypsy moth. The judge agreed, and in June 1958 rejected the request for a permanent injunction. In truth, the judge's decision was not unwarranted, for in 1958 the scientific case against DDT was hardly rock-solid.<sup>14</sup>

Murphy and his fellow Long Islanders pressed on, however, and carried their case to the United States Court of Appeals. In October 1959, the Appeals Court upheld the dismissal of their suit the previous year. And in March 1960, the Supreme Court refused to hear the case, thus affirming the Appeals Court's decision.<sup>15</sup>

Of course, the struggle was far from over. The publication of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* in 1962 focused the American people's attention on the issue of DDT as never before. Years more of lobbying and counter-lobbying, hearings, and reports followed, but at last, in June 1972, the Environmental Protection Agency outlawed the use of DDT in the United States.<sup>16</sup>

For his part, Murphy never reconciled himself to the legal defeat he and his associates incurred in 1957-1960. Many years later, he asserted that the spraying campaign of 1957 "wrought damage from which we can probably never fully recover," after which he declared:

Americans have often employed science and technology arrogantly, forgetting the precept of the Elizabethan, Francis Bacon, that "nature is not governed except by obeying her." The spraying of Long Island with DDT in 1957 was a terrible example of that mistake.<sup>17</sup>

Nor was it the only such instance, as Murphy made abundantly clear in *Fish-Shape Paumanok*. In this gracefully written, highly personal essay published in 1964, Murphy recorded, in species-specific detail, the destruction inflicted upon Long Island's natural environment from the days of the earliest settlers who, he wrote, "suffered under the fallacy of the inexhaustible":

If the woods were laid low, plenty more stood just beyond. The habit of destruction extended not only to the Long Island bear, wolf, bobcat, and rattlesnake—our only venomous serpent—but equally to harmless and eneficent creatures of every sort.

Still, as Murphy observed,

It would be quite incorrect to leave the impression that all the natural resources of Long Island were eliminated within any short period. Nature is too long-suffering and tough for that. The wild turkey went out early, along with the wolf and the beaver. The great- auk, Labrador duck, heath hen, passenger pigeon, and Eskimo curlew one by one became extinct—as dead as the dodo—but not solely through the destructive propensities of Long Islanders. Ducks, geese, snipes, and plovers remained to be slaughtered for the markets of the metropolis, and they withstood the toll, more or less well, up to a definite point determined by modern firearms, rapid transportation, and an exploding populace.<sup>18</sup>

In this and other passages in *Fish-Shape Paumanok*, the sense of loss—of forests destroyed, ponds and brooks drained, and animals heedlessly

slaughtered—is almost tangible. And Murphy did not appear especially sanguine about the future of the natural realm on Paumanok. As he wrote toward the end of his short classic,

Vast works have been carried out on Long Island for the quick transport of hordes of human beings to their goals, yet we usually seem about the same distance behind. The drive and competence of Robert Moses have gone far to provide, for the moment, greatest good for the greatest number. But we know that there is a point at which numbers alone destroy the greater good.

Much more is ominous and awry, he continued:

We amplify and beautify the centers of congregation for fast redoubling human populations without giving equivalent thought to the living space of man's fellow creatures, or to the soil and ground water which are limiting "trace elements" of existence. Shall those who come a few generations after us be able to look anywhere on a luxuriant, vital, and fecund, yet uncrowded world, such as Walt Whitman pictures so stirringly in his myriad verses?<sup>19</sup>

Yet, if Murphy seemed less than upbeat about the future in *Fish-Shape Paumanok*, he had not surrendered to defeatism. In an interview not long after the publication of *Fish-Shape Paumanok*, Murphy, while again deploring the trend toward overdevelopment, said that,

Living on Long Island can be magnificent...there is still time to get more land put aside so our descendants will be able to see just what we have seen, but not nearly enough is being done...It's the slowness that hurts...Much of what ought to be preserved is rapidly slipping through our fingers. We have to grab it now or it will be lost forever.<sup>20</sup>

Murphy was true to his beliefs. A founder of the Long Island chapter of the Nature Conservancy, he battled to preserve woodlands and marshes, bays, coves, and beaches. He was, for example, an eager supporter of New York State's acquisition of the 1,426-acre Marshall Field estate in 1960, and the establishment on that Lloyd Harbor property of Caumsett State Park.<sup>21</sup>

Conversely, he fought to block projects he considered damaging to the environment. Thus, in 1962, he joined others in resisting Robert Moses' plan to build a boulevard down the eastern segment of Fire Island. Two years later, New York proposed the construction of a nuclear-powered water purification plant on the William Floyd Estate in Mastic. Murphy, who saw the "Floyd plantation [as a] rare and outstanding sanctuary of plant and animal life," opposed the scheme. He suggested that the estate be incorporated into the Long Island State Park System.<sup>22</sup>

Given later developments, it is interesting that Murphy also favored a pine barrens state park. In an article published in December 1971, Murphy wrote

that it should be a “good big” park, “which would preserve forever one of our most fascinating plant associations, the pitch pine, bearberry, pink moccasin flower, and many examples of flora brought south by the glaciers, [or] spread from the southern coastal plain.”<sup>23</sup>

All in all, Robert Cushman Murphy, who died in March 1973, left an impressive environmental legacy. Perhaps no one had so successfully articulated a conservationist agenda for his fellow Long Islanders. And few had fought as hard at “doing the arduous nitty-gritty work of conservation” to preserve Paumanok’s natural treasures. As a *Newsday* editorial summed up: “For what’s left of our natural beauty, Long Islanders owe a great debt to the work of Robert Cushman Murphy.”<sup>24</sup>

#### NOTES

*In preparing this article, I was fortunate in having the assistance of a number of people. In particular, I wish to thank Iris Quigley and her associates of the Newsday library; Bonnie Verrine of the Long Island chapter of the Nature Conservancy; Joel Sweimler, Special Collections, American Museum of Natural History; and the reference staff of the Bay Shore-Brightwaters Public Library.*

1. Unless otherwise stated, biographical material in this and the following several paragraphs is drawn from the *New York Times*, 21 March 1973, and Dean Amado, “In Memorium: Robert Cushman Murphy, April 27, 1887—March 20, 1973,” *The Auk* 91 (Jan. 1974), 1-9.

2. *New York Times*, 15 May 1955.

3. *Logbook for Grace: Whaling Brig Daisy, 1912-1913* (New York: 1947; reprint, *Time Inc.*, 1965) His interest in whaling and its lore aroused by his year on the *Daisy*, Murphy later played an instrumental role in the founding of the Cold Spring Harbor Whaling Museum; see *Robert Cushman Murphy, The Founding of the Whaling Museum at Cold Spring Harbor, L.I., N.Y.*, (Cold Spring Harbor: Whaling Museum, 1967).

4. *Oceanic Birds of South America* (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1936).

5. *Audubon Magazine* 57 (1955), 254-55; “Robert Cushman Murphy—Biographical Background,” American Museum of Natural History Press Release (9 September 1960), 2.

6. *Newsday*, 21 March 1973, 11 June 1965; *Audubon Magazine* 66 (Jan.-Feb. 1964), 6-9.

7. Richard P. Harmond, “The Gardiners and Their Island, 1937-1972,” *Long Island Historical Journal* 2 (Oct. 1989), 15-20.

8. *Thomas R. Dunlap, DDT: Scientists, Citizens, and Public Policy* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1981), 37, 59-79.

9. *Ibid.*, 87; *Newsday*, 22 April 1957.

10. *Newsday*, 9 and 25 May, 16 August 1957.

11. *New York Times*, 20 June 1957.

12. *Living Wilderness* (Summer-Fall 1958), 20; *New York Times*, 3 September 1957; *Newsday*, 13 September 1957.

13. *New York Times*, 11 February 1958.

14. “Cases Argued and Determined in the United States District Courts...Court of Claims and...Customs Court,” *Federal Supplement* (St. Paul, MN: West Publishing, 1959), 164: 20-30; Dunlap, 88-9.

15. “Cases Argued and Determined in the United States Court of Appeals...Court of Customs and Patent Appeals and...Emergency Court of Appeals,” *Federal Reports, Second Series* (St. Paul, MN: West Publishing, 1966), 270, F.2d; 419-22; “Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme

Court of the United States, October Term, 1959," *Supreme Court Reporter* (St. Paul, Mn: West Publishing, 1961), 80: covering volumes 361-62, *U.S. Reports*, 750-53.

16. Dunlap, 98-101, 234.

17. *New York Times*, 5 December 1971.

18. Robert Cushman Murphy, *Fish-Shape Paumanok: Nature and Man on Long Island* (1964; reprint, Great Falls, VA: Waterline Books, 1991), 36, 45; we are fortunate to have Murphy's essay back in print.

19. *Ibid.*, 57-58.

20. *Newsday*, 29 May 1961.

21. *The Nature Conservancy: New York Notes* III (Spring 1987), 4; *Newsday*, 15 August 1960.

22. *New York Times*, 19 July 1962; 17 March 1964. It was subsequently incorporated into Fire Island National Seashore.

23. *Ibid.*, 15 December 1971.

24. "Robert Cushman Murphy," *Sanctuary: Bulletin of the Long Island Chapter of the Nature Conservancy* 15 (Summer 1973), 11; *Newsday*, 22 March 1973.

# **Title IX, a Catalyst for Change Women and Education Since 1972: Long Island, a Case History**

*By Edith L. Gordon*

Ever since the first feminist meeting at Seneca Falls, New York, called in 1848 by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, women have fought to change societal limits on the roles to which they may aspire and the rules which dictate acceptable gender behavior.<sup>1</sup> After focusing on abolishing slavery, they took up the suffrage cause again in the decades after the Civil War. In World Wars I and II, America's leaders called on women to do men's work, only to reclaim the jobs for men when the emergency ended. In 1992, in response to a series of sexist events involving Congress and other branches of government, women were elected to the House of Representatives and the Senate in impressive numbers, but congresswomen still find themselves patronized in debate and barred from the inner sanctums of power.<sup>2</sup>

This article examines the two-part evolution—even revolution—in thinking and action in education since the passage of Title IX of the Higher Education Act of 1972, prohibiting sex discrimination, and the 1975 regulations to implement it.<sup>3</sup>

Although enactment of Title IX was followed by high-visibility legal challenges, the basic, male dominated pyramidal structure of education at every level was remarkably unaffected. Women sought administrative positions on men's terms. In the last five years, however, American women are redefining the woman leader in education, developing a gender-specific sense of self, and executing responsibilities in uniquely feminine style. Women in positions of authority who view education as an agent of change are modifying the learning process to match girls' learning style. New concepts and programs encourage young women to pursue their education and aspire to non-traditional careers.

## **Historical Background**

In New York City and its environs before 1783, schoolmasters were men, mostly English and a few Dutch, and students were male. Before 1800, girls were taught household skills at home, and perhaps elementary reading and figuring. As one farmer-school-board-member put it, "In winter it's too far for girls to walk; in summer they ought to stay home and work in the kitchen," thus expressing a contemporary perception of the female's position

within the family economic unit. Informally, however, eighteenth-century girls and boys under the ages of six or seven might take part in privately supported “dame schools,” where the mother of the house minded her own and her neighbors’ children and taught the rudiments of literacy.<sup>4</sup>

In the early republican years, New Yorkers were concerned with the disruption of education caused by the Revolutionary War, and, under Governor George Clinton, passed the first state education law, in 1784. Three years later, a bill written by a Long Islander, Ezra L’Hommedieu, encouraged “academies of instruction of youth.” The first to be incorporated by the New York Board of Regents were Clinton Academy, in East Hampton (built and organized in 1784, chartered in 1787), and Erasmus Hall, in Flatbush (chartered in 1787, opened in 1789), both of which eventually enrolled females. In the first decade of the 1800s, during which she gave birth to six of her nine children, Roxana Beecher, the wife of Lyman Beecher, the well-known Presbyterian minister, opened a “select” school for young ladies in her home in East Hampton. In 1834, a female seminary was established at Riverhead<sup>5</sup>

Emma Willard argued to the New York State Legislature, in 1818, that: “A proper education for Republican Motherhood involved a distinct body of knowledge and a philosophic coherence that could only be maintained with the help of state aid and authority.” By 1828, the legislature made female academies with Regents status eligible for the Literature Fund, created in 1813. Linda Kerber calls 1828 to 1860 the “age of academies” in New York, the majority of which enrolled both men and women. From the elementary level up to and overlapping college course work, vocational studies were taught to male students, and ‘ornamental’ studies to females, English grammar was taught to both sexes.<sup>6</sup>

As models for the public school, the important female academies wielded considerable influence. New York State encouraged academies to train students as teachers. In 1867, academies in New York trained 363 men and 1,122 women as public school teachers; it was the hope of feminist educators such as Emma Willard, Catharine Beecher, and Mary Lyon that for educated women marriage would become an option rather than a “trap.”<sup>7</sup>

Because of changes in the mid-nineteenth-century economy, an educated wife became more useful to an upwardly mobile husband. Alexis de Tocqueville, who visited the United States in the early 1830s, described the American girl as quite free and bold, self-reliant, and armed with reason. This independence “is irrecoverably lost in the bonds of matrimony,” yet the American woman “supports her new condition with courage because she chose it.”<sup>8</sup>

Early in the nineteenth century, the coeducational structure of the informal dame schools became the standard for public school—perhaps because it made economic sense, perhaps because rural Americans modeled the structure of their schools after that of family and religion. Through much of the nineteenth century, a one-room school house with one schoolmaster teaching all elementary grades to a fluctuating enrollment of boys and girls was typical of

each four-square-mile New York public school district. In the winter, when farm fields lay dormant, teen-age boys attended school. The male teacher kept a birch rod in a corner as a warning of corporal punishment. This held most students on task. By mid-century, economy-minded Long Island school boards were hiring female teachers, to the consternation of parents worried about a woman's ability to maintain discipline. Women teachers performed the same duties as men, at first in spring and fall, when only the younger children attended. The women, whose average age was sixteen to twenty-five years, were paid even less than men. As for discipline, the New York educational reformer Alonzo Potter explained that women did not need to use the same tactics as men because they had "native tact," gave attention to improving morals and manners, commanded deference and respect by their female delicacy and helplessness, and gave and received warm affection, while teaching with disinterested zeal.<sup>9</sup>

During the 1830s and 1840s, employment of educated women increased. New York State tried to standardize teacher preparation, but did not yet have the authority to require districts to hire only certified teachers. For this reason, few students could be induced to enroll in the three-year certification program, and the state felt it necessary to lower certification requirements drastically. In 1849, New York education law reduced the minimum age for admission of women to fourteen, and required only four months of study for certification. Existing practices became the standard, trivializing a profession to which women were turning their talents and dedication. The pioneer female seminaries sought to raise the level of training, but had to proceed without public money. They tended to recruit students able to pay with promises of higher standards and social status. After the Civil War, some districts extended public education. Passage of the law of 1864, abolishing rate bills charged to students' families, marked a turn toward universal secondary education and the demise of the academy (dependent on tuition). Some were absorbed into public high schools, but most ceased to function by 1900.<sup>10</sup>

Some Long Island school boards, under pressure from taxpayers to spend money economically and from the state to consolidate, joined to form union free school districts. Appropriations for constructing large, modern, two-story wooden schoolhouses, often with separate entrances for boys and girls (but rarely two "necessaries" [outhouses]), were more generous than funds for paying teachers.<sup>11</sup>

In 1896, Stony Brook hired Louis Fralick as teaching principal for \$500, plus \$100 to act as janitor, and turned down a teacher, Miss Swezy, requesting a salary of \$400, in favor of Miss Elizabeth Hallock, engaged at \$350. Teachers on the secondary level received higher pay than primary teachers. Despite the low pay, long hours, and demanding work, there was no shortage of female applicants.<sup>12</sup>

Children on Long Island generally graduated from public school after eighth grade and went to work. In the first quarter of the twentieth century, in the few existing Long Island high schools, one teacher often constituted an



entire department. Class and ethnicity, not gender, defined enrollment. Just as work at the start of the twentieth century was sex-typed, so was education. Male high school students were assigned to a four-year college preparatory course. When “white-collar” office jobs opened to young women, high schools developed a general business curriculum, expanding educational and career opportunities somewhat for women. Soon, however, the large number of high-school-trained clerical workers contributed to keeping wages in this field depressed.<sup>13</sup> Girls who wanted to enter the nursing profession had to get the principal’s permission to take needed science courses.

At the end of World War II, veterans and their wives, helped by low-rate government mortgages and tax exemptions, rushed to buy homes on Long Island and other formerly rural communities radiating from metropolitan areas. Builders snapped up Long Island farmland to construct thousands of inexpensive houses, quickly purchased by couples who became the parents of the “baby boom” generation. From 1950 to 1968, amazing growth characterized Nassau and Suffolk counties. Because dozens of new schools were needed, the demand for teachers outstripped supply and districts felt pressured to raise salaries to be competitive. In addition, in the 1950s, men trained for and entered the teaching profession in unprecedented numbers, and led teachers in demanding higher salaries. Professional teachers associations, once docile pets of school boards, became militant unions championing higher pay as well as equal pay for equal experience and assignment.<sup>14</sup>

By and large, men still garnered the department chairs and key administrative positions, while women were assigned to rank-and-file teaching positions. In New York City, by contrast, administrative appointments were made on the basis of qualifying tests, regardless of gender. Some city principals came to the Island in the late 1960s, one of whom, Olga Lugano Carlin, became the first woman administrator hired in the Three Village Central School District. Her vision of the role of principal was to empower her staff and her school’s parents, a leadership style quite different from the traditional model of the principal as patriarch.<sup>15</sup>

### **Title IX of the Higher Education Act of 1972**

The movement for “women’s liberation” occurred concurrently with the civil rights struggle in the first half of the 1960s, and with the women’s peace movement during the latter half of the decade. Feminist organizations such as the National Organization of Women (NOW) worked for passage of an equal rights amendment to the Constitution, and sought legal redress from gender discrimination in employment.<sup>16</sup>

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 banned discrimination on the basis of race, color, and national origin, and Title VII did forbid gender discrimination in employment, but colleges and universities were exempted. Opponents managed to cut out enforcement powers for the Health, Education and Welfare Department and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, leaving these agencies notably ineffective. President Lyndon B. Johnson’s

Executive Order 11375, issued 13 October 1968, which banned discrimination by all federal contractors, exempted educational institutions. A women's rights activist, Bernice Sandler, cited this order when filing class action suits charging discrimination against women in hiring, promotion, and salaries by colleges and universities.<sup>17</sup>

In the 1970s, activist women fought against quota systems and overt discrimination, while feminist scholars researched women's history and psychology, developed interdisciplinary Women's Studies, and continued to lobby local, state, and federal legislatures to pass laws banning discrimination on the basis of sex. Addressing gender imbalance among elected officials, they cited the U. S. Senate, where the late Margaret Chase Smith (R.-Maine) was the only woman. Ten women joined the 425 men elected to the House in 1970. The battle for change was omnidirectional, characterized by Congresswoman Bella Abzug (D.-NY) as a period of enthusiasm, excitement, and self-discovery. The effort to state the case for change, encourage women to adopt more positive attitudes toward themselves and other women, and organize to achieve gender equality was exhausting. The women representatives and their male allies in the 91st Congress felt that their every effort to effect reform was thwarted.<sup>18</sup>

During the same period, federal support for education became an issue. Although in the 1950s and 1960s Congress passed a number of higher education aid programs, the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) was the first to provide federal aid to school districts serving large numbers of poor children. This measure allocated money for library books, educational materials, supplementary educational centers and services, programs for gifted children, strengthening state educational departments, bilingual teaching, and drop-out prevention. It was a lynch pin of Johnson's "Great Society" plans.<sup>19</sup>

Enactment of federal educational legislation halted following the sometimes violent campus unrest of 1968. The House and Senate failed to complete any major education measure in 1969; in 1970, the largest ESEA bill ever enacted by Congress was vetoed by President Richard M. Nixon and an over-ride failed. In mid-1971, the Higher Education Act expired. Rep. Edith Green (D.-Ore.), who chaired the House Committee on Education and Labor's Special Education Subcommittee, led a two-year effort by the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee and the House Education and Labor Committee to consolidate aid-to-education legislation. The resulting \$21-billion bill, held over until 1972, was refused clearance and floor consideration by the House Rules Committee.<sup>20</sup>

Green's Special Education Subcommittee, whose fifteen members included New York representatives Hugh L. Carey (D.), James Scheuer (D.), and Ogden R. Reid (R.), held hearings in June and July 1970. At the outset, Green stated that the committee

would consider section 805 of HR 16098, which would amend the Civil Rights Act to prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex in federal

financial programs and would remove the exemption presently existing in Title VII of the Civil Rights Act with respect to those in education. It would authorize the Civil Rights Commission to study discrimination against women, and lastly it would remove the exemption of executive, administrative and professional employees from the equal pay for equal work provision of the Fair Labor Standards Act.<sup>21</sup>

Green hired Dr. Bernice Sandier as consultant to the subcommittee. Sandier, for a decade, had devoted her energy to the campaign to legitimize the equity issue through class action suits against many colleges and universities, and was then the chair of the Action Committee for Federal Control and Compliance in Education of the Women's Equity Action League (WEAL). Many outstanding women with relevant information testified before the subcommittee, including Congresswomen Shirley Chisholm (D-NY) and Patsy Mink (D-Hawaii)<sup>22</sup> Subcommittee witnesses affirmed that discrimination often began with "Males Wanted." advertisements for jobs. A woman was consigned to type, or, deliberately, to a different job with less pay. The more her education, the greater the inequity. Documentation was submitted to disprove myths about women workers, such as that they had a high rate of absenteeism, worked only briefly until marriage (the average age of working women was rising steadily), and worked for "pin money" unlike men, who worked to support their families. Willma S. Heide produced statistics compiled by the U.S. Department of Labor Women's Bureau showing that 60 percent of poor children in the United States were completely dependent on earnings of women. She stated that the problems of poverty were the problems of women, their dependent children, and of older women with diminished opportunity for paid employment. Another myth was that women were unsuitable for many jobs because they were innately passive and non-aggressive (thus making women more vulnerable to unemployment, while those with the same qualifications and 9 performing the same work as male co-workers were paid less and often given lower-level job titles).<sup>23</sup>

Because the Civil Rights Act Section 701's definition of employer excluded state or political subdivision, the public schools, although federally funded, were entitled to hold boys-only athletic and shop classes. Green agreed with a witness that women taxpayers felt strongly against supporting institutions that discriminate against females. One committee member, John Dellemback, said he felt "part of the group being attacked, but I try not to be defensive about this." Green assured him that the focus of the meeting was not anti-male, and that the hearings were about equal rights. Virginia Allen declared, "I strongly believe that legislation does change attitudes," and urged the committee to take action. She noted that Congress's recognition of the issue of women's rights was leading to changes in companies' affirmative action stances.<sup>24</sup>

Green's hearings, which provided a prestigious national forum, established the legitimacy of the charges of discrimination against women in the work

place. Witnesses submitted eighty pages documenting discrimination by educational institutions in pay, promotion, and admission. Every member of Congress received one of the six thousand copies of the two-volume report on the Special Education Subcommittee hearings that Green had printed. Public awareness of the substance of women's complaints of inequity brought a change in the national climate, and contributed to the willingness of the public and their representatives to include Title IX in the Higher Education Act of 1972.<sup>25</sup>

Additionally, protracted debate over the ESEA and the Higher Education Act, the earlier veto by President Nixon, and the fact that busing was the big issue when debate on the Higher Education Bill began in March 1972, distracted Congress. The omnibus nature of the bills also may have obscured the significance of the one-paragraph sex-discrimination section. In the Senate debate, Birch Bayh (D.- Ind.) proposed an amendment to S659, the omnibus education bill, banning discrimination based on sex, but it was voted down as "not germane." In the compromise House-Senate Conference bill, Title IX remained in place, and Nixon signed the Higher Education Act into law on 23 June 1972. Few members of Congress foresaw the wide-ranging impact of Title IX, the procedure for implementation of which took three years to formulate, and which assured that no "person...shall on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program (preschool to postgraduate, public and private)...which receives or benefits from federal aid." Title IX focused public attention on long-established sexist practices, of which some were subtle expressions and behavior, and others illegal employment practices. It confronted deeply internalized values and attitudes about the places of women and men in the social structure which perpetuated inequalities and demeaned women.<sup>26</sup>

Among the findings in Title IX hearings, five stand out. First, the language used by school people was faulted as "man made and man controlled," treating the masculine as the linguistic norm. Gender-neutral words like lawyer, chair person, mail carrier, and police officer have been inserted and are increasingly accepted as correct usage.<sup>27</sup>

Second, primers and textbooks before 1972 did not portray girls in active, positive roles, nor were women named who helped to make historic changes or other contributions. As Dana Scheer, a 1983 fifth grader in North Bellmore, put it, "Boys...[are] recognized and we are not." At first, newly published texts and trade books included and valued the role of women and minorities in history and in today's society. In the 1970s and 1980s, these changes were merely added to the existing text, without integrating feminist subjects or considering the more subtle implications.<sup>28</sup>

Third, our culture's gender-driven expectations for girls as opposed to those for boys in the home and classroom have been deeply imbedded in the female psyche. For example, secondary school girls took "home economics," while boys enrolled in "shop." Today, in many Long Island junior high

schools, a course called "Home and Careers" teaches such basic survival skills as cooking and home repairs to boys and girls alike. On the professional level, girls and women have been and are overtly and subtly discouraged from pursuing courses and careers on mathematics and science. After passage of Title IX, a first priority was to encourage girls to enroll in mathematics and science classes. Gradually, more girls study these subjects but, despite test scores comparable with boys' at each successive subject level, they tend to drop out.<sup>29</sup>

This situation was explored in a two-week gender equity conference sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation in Princeton, New Jersey, in 1993. A Port Jefferson science teacher, Linda Padwa, returned from that experience determined to open more opportunities for Long Island high school female students. Together with high school teachers and professors of science at the State University at Stony Brook (USB), she organized a day-long Symposium for Girls Exploring Mathematics and Science, sponsored by Long Island BOCES (Board of Cooperative Educational Services), and held at USB.<sup>30</sup>

During the 1960s and 1970s, the number of all-male colleges fell from 236 to ninety-nine, all-female colleges from 231 to 102, and single-sex colleges and universities from 25 percent to 6 percent of the total. After 1972, women's colleges, like Vassar, rushed to become co-educational. By 1980, only 2.3 percent of college women attended all-female institutions, the number of which dropped to eighty-one by October 1994.<sup>31</sup>

Yet equity issues persist. Young women have difficulty gaining equal computer access, and enrollment in courses with greater career rewards (engineering, electronics, aircraft mechanics, and computer-assisted drafting) is but 10-to-18 percent female. On the other hand, males in New York State received only 15.5 percent of B.A. degrees in education in 1990-1991, down 2 percent from 1970-1971. The majority of education majors continues to be disproportionately female. Such 1990s' feminists as Ellen Weaver and Evelyn Fox Keller contend that men have defined science inquiry to fit a typically male thought process of convergent thinking, which stresses logic and tends to function in isolation. Feminist writers suggest that females tend to divergent thinking, which deals with relational and intuitive thought processes. Difference in preferred style does not imply less quality on either side, yet that assumption is still made. Many male professors still imply to female students that their gender *per se* limits their ability to succeed in mathematics, science, and engineering, the way some professors teach the subjects tends to discourage women and undercut their interest and success.<sup>32</sup>

An example of 1960s' and 1970s' New York employers not tapping the full potential of women is Abbey L. Boklan. In her law-school class in 1962, she was one of only two women students. Turned away by many law firms because of her sex, Boklan was informed by New York County District Attorney Frank Hogan that he would not permit any woman to prosecute a case before a jury. Today, Boklan is a Nassau County Court judge.<sup>33</sup>

A fourth finding pointed out that toys traditionally were assigned

according to gender, with boys getting war toys and girls receiving dolls and kitchen toys, thus sanctioning the separate and unequal role of male and female. In 1993, Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsberg reversed tradition by hiring a male law clerk, because, she announced, in addition to his qualifications, he requested flexible hours so that his wife as well as he could pursue demanding careers and share child care.<sup>34</sup>

Finally, sport selection, coaching staffs and funds allotted, plus the negative attitude of teachers toward female athletes, often rank female sports much lower than male sports, despite new laws and regulations. National media coverage of the UCONN women's basketball team's winning the 1995 NCAA championship was a breakthrough for women's athletics. Health, Education & Welfare Department (HEW) guidelines for Title IX stated that recipient school districts could not conduct educational programs or activities separately, or refuse participation on the basis of sex. Sex-segregated physical education was prohibited, except for contact sports. Schools were requested to "select sports and levels of competition which effectively accommodate the interests and abilities of members of both sexes." The President's Physical Fitness certificates recognized healthy activity and improvement in agility, endurance, and fitness from the least to the most athletically endowed child. With the focus on the physical and athletic development of every student, curricula for physical education became dramatically more inclusive and less competitive. Field days, once a showcase for the best athletes, became events in which every student could participate and have fun.<sup>35</sup>

### **Litigation Pursuant to Title IX**

When a valid complaint of sex discrimination is filed against a school district it has ninety days to comply voluntarily, after which the government litigates, either by an administrative hearing or Department of Justice enforcement. In 1975, a dozen Plainview-Old Bethpage teachers challenged the policy mandating that pregnant teachers take maternity leave in the fourth month and not return for at least six months after giving birth. After a seven year effort in federal court, the twelve won a precedent-setting decision entitling a pregnant teacher to sick pay while she is physically unable to work, with the option of taking unpaid leave with no minimum time offset.<sup>36</sup>

### **Education in Gender Equity**

In October 1975, Nassau County opened two types of courses as the first "Women's Studies" in-service program on the East Coast. All Nassau and Suffolk school personnel could enroll. The first course, Sexism in the Public Schools, described sex-role stereotyping and socialization, examined the impact on children, and explored the ways schools contribute to perpetuating sexism. The second type of course, with such titles as Sexism & Racism in the Media, Women's History, Women in Literature, and Rediscovering Women in Social Studies, tapped subjects not previously in school curricula.

The courses culminated in a conference, *Strategies for Change*, at which teachers and administrators exchanged ideas and information and established bi-county female support and communication networks. This led to the formation of the Nassau-Suffolk Council of Administrative Women in Education, whose one hundred fifty practicing and aspiring administrators filed Title IX sex discrimination complaints against the Commack, Smithtown, and Bay Shore school districts in 1975.<sup>37</sup>

While Commack acknowledged that its superintendent, assistant superintendents, and eighteen school principals were male, the district personnel director, Joseph Heinlein, asserted that "over the past 15 to 20 years, when I reviewed the number of applicants for any administrative position, the ratio generally worked out to be approximately 20 male applicants to one female applicant, and the hiring pattern reflected this fact."<sup>38</sup> No affirmative action plan was devised to correct the imbalance, and in 1976, only three of the two hundred applicants for the vacant position of superintendent of schools were women.

As a Wantagh elementary school principal, Dr. Sally Evans, noted, women (and men) outside the circle of cronies were told, "You can't become a principal until you've had experience as an assistant principal first." Since women were not given the opportunity to become assistant principals, they were effectively excluded from all but the lowest rung of the career ladder. When asked about gender-biased application forms still used in 1983, the president of the Nassau-Suffolk School Boards Association, Iris Wolfson, "explained" that the application forms had long been in use and were not changed "terribly frequently."<sup>39</sup>

Nevertheless, by 1987, as a result of the challenges, the Kings Park School District led in promoting women to positions of influence. Dr. Mary DeRose praised Kings Park's new "gender-neutral" hiring system for putting her in a position to be a "catalyst for change." Soon Commack had eight and Smithtown seven of the total number of forty-five female administrators. Even so, few Long Island school districts were giving white women the opportunity to gain the qualifications and experience needed to advance as administrators, African American female educators were told, "We have no black children," implying, therefore, that no African American teachers were needed. One such applicant retorted, "But then you cannot fail to hire me—your children are getting only half an education." Brentwood, Sachem, Smithtown, and Wyandanch are four districts which employed women of color in administrative positions. Once hired, most of these women, like many white women school administrators, found that no degree of excellence or additional studies led to promotion.<sup>40</sup>

One technique in the pattern of exclusion used by those who interviewed women for top administrative posts was a line of questions to which men with comparable qualifications were not subjected, such as: Will your husband object if you have to go to meetings at night? Are you planning to have another baby? Are you emotionally strong enough to withstand the pressures of an

administrative position? The process discouraged women from applying.<sup>41</sup>

In 1977, Dorothy Pierce, the legal affairs director of the Council of Women Administrators, sued the West Babylon School District for denying her the post of district coordinator of state and federal aid. The administrative judge ruled in her favor, finding that the man hired did not meet the qualifications set forth in the job description, while Pierce did. In 1981, when she became West Babylon's assistant superintendent for finance and evaluation, Pierce credited her rise to "a different administration which has different attitudes."<sup>42</sup>

Novice female administrators of Pierce's generation in the 1970s were unlikely to encounter feminine leader models, or find woman mentors, making the perception of women's ability to lead problematic. Also, as observed by DeLysa Burnier, women's pay was lower and their 'career ladders' shorter than men's. After 1972, many of these women's issues still were not addressed in courses on Principles of Public Administration, in which women enrolled to prepare for administrative certification. Even so, graduate degrees in educational administration awarded to women in New York State have increased from 583 in 1972 to 1,408 in 1985. By 1988-89, women constituted 29.5 percent of elementary school principals and 13.5 percent of secondary principals.<sup>43</sup>

Statistics confirm recent studies that find that women are a significant presence in the public workplace, but that equality remains an elusive aim. In 1992-93, fourteen (7 percent) of the fifty-seven Nassau and seventy-one Suffolk school districts had women superintendents. Significantly, six of Suffolk's ten female superintendents served in districts with only one school. In Nassau, many of the eighty-three women listed as administrators were directors below the level of assistant superintendents. Two hundred eighty (34.6 percent) of Suffolk's 909 administrative positions dealing directly with personnel and school curriculum were filled by women. Women held seventy-four (8 percent) positions directly related to curriculum, but few that dealt with finance. Of Nassau's 286 schools, 109 (38 percent) had women principals; of Suffolk's 319 school principals, the 104 (34.6 percent) women were almost all in elementary schools or special education programs. In Suffolk, forty-three of 183 assistant principals (23 percent) were women. As assistant principal posts are the training ground for higher administrative positions, it is noteworthy that twenty-eight of Suffolk's seventy-one districts had no female assistant principals, and fifteen had no female principals.<sup>44</sup>

Kathryn Lusteg, co-president of the Nassau/Suffolk Council of Administrative Women in Education, regards female representation in school administration, especially in the top echelons, as too low in light of the growing number of certified candidates. School district leaders counter that the number is small because fewer than half of the candidates are women, and also that the turn-over rate in Suffolk is smaller because of fewer open positions. The latter contention is belied by the decrease in the average tenure of Suffolk County administrators.<sup>45</sup>



### **Changing Role Perceptions**

In the 1970s and 1980s, women managers expected to function in a man's world, where leadership meant a hierarchical structure that valued separateness, winning, besting an opponent, and communicating through a chain of command. Recently, those concerned with the ongoing struggle for gender equality have suggested that the female style differs from the traditional male model of leadership, which emphasizes rationality, hierarchy, large-scale organizing, and impersonal language.<sup>46</sup>

Hence, the early drive by women to succeed in a man's world on masculine terms has been amended in the 1990s, as women explore their own worth and values. Along these lines, USB President Dr. Shirley Strum Kenny, while president of Queens College, described parenthood as an excellent career preparation. Poise, time management, negotiation skills, endurance, controlled emotions, immunity to embarrassment, dealing with general chores like paperwork (which consist of hundreds of little items), organizational skills, delegation of authority, creativity, planning, financial management, tact, and diplomacy are traits that Kenny felt being the mother of five children helped her develop.<sup>47</sup>

In the workplace, women who lead are likely to do so by modeling and persuasion, to seek connections between staff, and to communicate at all levels. They require cooperation and collaboration, and look for input from all, breaking down status distinctions. Where women are in charge, these tendencies are reflected in the design of the workplace, which is less vertical or pyramidal and has more open-space. Women leaders seek to balance the demands for efficiency with a need to nurture the spirit of those with whom they work. They are likely openly to recognize positive achievement, to stimulate employees, and to function through a team approach, allowing for flexibility. According to Sally Helgesen, this style of leadership has been recognized as an effective approach in the present "information economy" by such large corporations as Ford Motor Company.<sup>48</sup>

### **The New York State and Long Island Initiative for the 1990s**

"The universal truth is that gender equity has not only not been achieved, it has not even improved in any measurable degree," wrote Dr. Lionel Meno, the New York State Deputy Commissioner of Education, in 1990:

The bias against women in educational administration has an adverse effect on all members of the educational community, students, and educators alike...we cannot afford to squander any of our resources. Women and minorities offer skills, ideas, qualities and viewpoints that are necessary for strengthening the process of education in the challenging decade ahead.<sup>49</sup>

New York State's latest action plan identifies four areas that may help women in educational administration to achieve parity: heightened awareness of the issues relating to equity for such women: access through attention to

recruitment, education, and placement: encouraging advancement through such supporting strategies as mentoring, networking, professional development, and striving to eliminate inappropriate stereotypes of what men and women can accomplish as educational administrators;<sup>50</sup> and accountability by local districts.

New York State's 1992 Action Plan was initiated because, after twenty years, equity issues addressed on the federal level through Title IX and on the state level in a 1972 Regents' Position Paper had met with little success. It is argued that in the competition to recruit excellent women and men educators, the relatively low salary scale of teachers discourages quality candidates. Young women in our public schools now have more employment options outside the profession of education than were available in the early 1970s. Still, in 1993-94, Commack, Smithtown, Kings Park, the Three Village Central School District (TVCS), and a number of smaller districts could point to female administrators. In the TVCS, the district superintendent, the assistant superintendent for personnel, and the directors of curriculum, language arts, and libraries all are women. Determined to counter negative messages beamed at girls, the Three Village policy makers took note of career testing in which males scored higher than females, thus suggesting that girls were neglected in preparatory efforts. In 1995, the district sponsored its third "Women Helping Girls make Choices," a day-long conference participated in by fifth-grade girls from eight Suffolk County school districts. Through literature, discussion, and writing, facilitators help the students think about gender messages, increased options, and enhanced self esteem. The girls meet women doing nontraditional work, and learn leadership skills. They are encouraged to go back to the home district with the attitude, "If it is to be, it's up to me," and to work with younger children to help girls have a positive self image.<sup>51</sup>

The Port Jefferson science teacher, Linda Padwa, returned from the Princeton University conference in June 1993 ready to encourage female students to consider further studies in mathematics and the sciences. A small group of local high school and USB faculty organized a symposium for three hundred female eighth, ninth, and tenth graders and their teachers to explore careers in mathematics and science, held at USB in January 1994. Robert Bedford lent the good offices of BOCES, and two dozen women professors of mathematics and science at the university participated as mentors, guides, and role models. Professor Cynthia Burrows, a research chemist and the mother of triplets, met students in her laboratory. She affirmed that a scientific career can mix with motherhood, but only after the training in science has occurred and the career has been established.<sup>52</sup>

Because a woman with Ph.D. in science finds it difficult to obtain a postdoctoral appointment, the bottom rung of the academic career ladder, many women effectively are excluded from a career in science research. In 1987, the average salary in every category of institutions of higher learning and at every level of academic rank was significantly lower for women than

for men faculty.<sup>53</sup>

Twenty-three years after passage of Title IX, there are tenured women professors in many departments of USB's College of Arts and Science, but, although seven chairs and program directors are women, all fifteen top administrators—provosts and deans—are men. On the Health Sciences side of the campus, women serve as chairs of Preventative Medicine and of Allied Health Resources, and deans of the School of Nursing and the School of Social Welfare. An outstanding, pro-active, health administrator is Dr. Lorna S. McBarnette, dean of USB's expanding School of Health Technology and Management. And, in September 1994, Shirley Strum Kenny, the president of CUNY's Queens College since 1985, succeeded John H. Marburger as the president of USB. In her first address to the university community, Kenny pledged to spend more money to hire additional female and minority students. The USB student government president, Crystal Plati, told *Newsday*, "It's about time...Women and minority students have the right to see faculty in those positions where they can excel."<sup>54</sup>

The USB administration is sensitive to gender issues as they are defined by women of the 1990s. In fall 1993, Associate Dean of Arts and Sciences Wendy Katkin introduced a mentoring program for fifteen incoming female freshmen with talent in mathematics and science. More recently, a consortium has received a \$100,000 grant from the National Science Foundation for a year-long (1994-95) program, Women in Science Excel (WISE), which is continuing.

WISE's six-fold purpose is as follows: 1) to engage some thirty participating women in the excitement and challenge of mathematics and science early in their college careers, before they make academic decisions that will shape their subsequent education; 2) to motivate women at the critical juncture between high school and college to continue in mathematics and science education; 3) to help women develop confidence in their ability to learn and perform well in mathematics and other quantitative courses; 4) to promote awareness of a range of educational and career opportunities open to individuals with advanced quantitative and empirical skills; 5) to create a supportive social environment that encourages continuation; and 6) to build a model program that readily can be "mainstreamed" at USB and replicated or adapted at other learning centers.<sup>55</sup>

A free-of-charge, three-day residential orientation is held before the beginning of the fall semester. "Eureka 187," a two-semester sequence during which leading professors expose the students to a range of scientific disciplines, helps the WISE students develop critical skills, gives them hands-on research experience, and addresses gender-focused considerations that might influence their educational and professional plans. Researchers, including the chair of the Physics Department, Gene Sprouse, take responsibility for various project-oriented scientific work.<sup>56</sup>

Interactive teaching of the basic WISE calculus course emphasizes a group approach to learning. A multiple-tiered mentoring system involves advanced

women undergraduate science majors, graduate students, and women faculty. Finally, informal programs and social activities foster collegiality and socialization with women scientists.

WISE focuses on recruitment and retention, especially at the interval bridging high school and college and through the first year of college, the period of highest risk, when a significant proportion of college-bound women decide to discontinue their science and mathematics studies. Through WISE, USB seeks to increase participation by women in mathematics, science and engineering, education, and careers.

Until now, physical science departments had difficulty finding qualified women candidates to fill faculty vacancies. In such areas as high energy physics, the strategy has been to seek candidates with specific expertise. An alternative procedure that may prove more successful is to advertise an opening, hire a respected female scientist, and fit her skills into the structure of the department. Once qualified women have the opportunity to enter scientific fields, fair treatment by established male faculty will encourage them to remain in the department.

National Science Foundation-sponsored teams of nationally known women physicists have been visiting universities. In April 1994, the USB Physics Department hosted an NSF site team, which met with the chair, the department faculty, women faculty members in various departments, WISE undergraduate and graduate students, and administrators, collecting quantitative and anecdotal information on the status of women physics students and faculty. Looking at the situation nationally, NSF will evaluate the site teams' visits to campuses around the country with the aim of presenting effective programs and practices for replication by science, mathematics, and engineering departments.<sup>57</sup>

### **New Model for Leadership**

Although Title IX, passed in 1972, aimed at ending discrimination against women in the field of education, the pace of change on Long Island has been slow. Weak federal commitment to enforcement during the 1980s had a chilling effect on women and minorities seeking compliance to correct inequities. President William J. Clinton's appointment of women as cabinet members, ambassadors, judges, and undersecretaries of federal departments (for example, Madeleine Kunin, former governor of Vermont, is Deputy Secretary of Education), has set a standard of diversity for lower tiers of government and private institutions to emulate.<sup>58</sup>

The dramatic increase in the number of women college and university presidents is reflected in New York State, where, in 1992, fifteen women and one hundred eight males were executive officers of colleges and universities. In 1995, women head Queens College of CUNY, St. Joseph's College, and the SUNY College at Old Westbury, as well as USB, where Shirley Strum Kenny has become a leader in articulating educational priorities in the face of changing state fiscal appropriations.

The 1992 New York State Action Plan recommends that, in the next five years, 40 percent of principals and assistant principals, 20 percent of superintendents and assistant superintendents, and 10 percent of district superintendents be women. Control of government in Albany has shifted, and it is early to know the extent of the new Republican administration's commitment to gender equity. Governor George Pataki is appointing members of the Board of Regents and Office of Education who will have an impact on action at the local level. The state's 1995-1996 budget, which makes acute cuts in state aid to education, inhibits formulating needed new initiatives to prepare children to function well in the electronic age of the twenty-first century.<sup>59</sup> Meeting this daunting task with curtailed resources will require creative leadership. After more than twenty years of feminist educators' working to change cultural perceptions and gender expectations, a substantial pool of white and minority women is trained and available to assume policy making responsibilities on Long Island.



*Ann Goehringer, custodian, Barbara Michaels, first-grade teacher, and Arrowhead School (TVSCD) student participants, 1994 Women Helping Girls Make Choices Conference, Photograph by the author.*

## **Conclusion**

This article has compared the situation and values of women in education at the time Title IX was passed in 1972 with those of the 1990s. To succeed, females in 1972 were expected to fit the masculine mold. In the nineties, feminist educators are turning away from a pyramidal structure of authority and practicing a style of leadership analogous to the interwoven strands of the spider's web. In the light of women's success, will the men who hold the purse strings strive to regain control by withholding economic resources?

If gender equity is to be sustained in the decade of the nineties, as

educational institutions confront the issues of budget constraints and the quality of education in an inter-active, networkdriven, computerized culture, there must be acceptable preschool child care for working parents, and flexible work schedules both for women and men employees. Given necessary budgets and authority to fulfill their mandates, female leaders should be evaluated on the basis of their skills and effectiveness. That is the meaning of gender equity.

*The author will appreciate feedback from readers on her ongoing study of this subject.*

#### NOTES

1. For the historical background and text of the meeting at Seneca Falls, see Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage, *History of Woman Suffrage, 1848-1880*, 6 vols.(New York: Fowler & Wells, 1881)1(1880):70-73. For American feminism, see Miriam Schneir, ed., *Feminism: The Essential Historical Writings* (New York: Random House, 1972), Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1963), and Kate Millet, *Sexual Politics* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1970). For women's struggle for equality, see Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle, Women's Rights Movement in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, Harvard Univ., 1966); Nancy Woloch, *Women and the American Experience* (New York: Knopf, 1987).
2. For barriers faced by women in the professions, see Kevin Merida, "Capital Disrespect: A New Book Reveals the Plight of Female Lawmakers in Congress," *Newsday*, 4 April 1994, B3, and Anne Thompson, "Moving On, Not Up, in the Video Business," *New York Times*, Sunday, 3 April 1994, Bus. 23.
3. *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (CQA), Government Printing Office, 27 (1971):385.
4. Robert F. Seyholt, "Some Schoolmasters of Colonial New York," in *New York State Local History Leaflets* (Albany: Division of Archives and History, SUNY, 1921); William Frost, "356 Years of Formal Education in New York City: Origins of the First Dutch School in New Amsterdam in the Year 1628," in T. Gehring and Nancy Anne McClure Zeller, eds. *Education in New Netherland and the Middle Colonies: Papers of the Seventh Rensselaerwyck Seminar of the New Netherland Project* (Albany: New York State Library, 1985); Thomas Bayles, "Early Schools in Suffolk," *Long Island Forum* 24 (Nov. 1961): 249; David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot, *Learning Together: A History of Coeducation in American Public Schools* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1990), 19.
5. Martha Bockée Flint, *Early Long Island* (New York G. P. Putnam & Sons, 1896) 249; Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1976), 7, Natalie A. Naylor, "Encouragement of Serninaries of Learning: Early Academies on Long Island, New York," presented 3 Nov. 1988, History of Education Society Annual Meeting, Toronto, Canada, 5, 7; Edmund W. Case, "Education in Nassau and Suffolk Counties," in Paul Bailey, ed., *Long Island: A History of Two Great Counties, Nassau and Suffolk*, 3 vols.(New York: Lewis Historical Publishing, 1949)1:304.
6. Nancy Beadie, "Emma Willard's Idea Put to the Test: The Consequences of State Support of Female Education in New York, 1819-67," *History of Education Quarterly* 33 (Winter 1993): 545, see also 543-77 passim, Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1980), 189-231, 548, 549-50.
7. Ann Firor Scott, "What then, Is the American: This New Woman?" *Journal of American History* 65 (1978):698-701, cited in Tyack & Hansot, 43.
8. Kathryn Kish Sklar, "The Schooling of Girls and Changing Community Values in Massachusetts Towns, 1750-1820," *History of Education Quarterly* 33 (Winter 1993): 513;

- Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (1835; reprint, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945) Part 2, 198-200, 201, 202.
9. "Minutes of Common School District 1," 28 August 1888, Archives, Three Village School District, Setauket; see Kate Strong, "Boyhood Recollections," *Long Island Forum* 17 (April 1954): 165; Tyack & Hansot, 63, Alonzo Potter, *The School and the Schoolmaster: A Manual for the Use of Teachers, Employers, Trustees, & Inspectors of Common Schools* (Boston: W. B. Fowles & N. Capen, 1843), 205, quoted in Tyack & Hansot, 68.
  10. Beadie, 555, Naylor, 5.
  11. The New York State Common School Law of 1812 was the first education law in the nation. In 1853, the legislature passed the Union Free School District Act, allowing small districts to combine (see Edith L. Gordon, "The People and Their Schools," *LIHJ* 4 (Spring, 1992): 226.
  12. The 1896 minutes of Stony Brook District 1 record that several women teachers bargained unsuccessfully for higher pay than the stipend offered by the school board.
  13. John Rury, *Education and Women's Work: Female Schooling and the Division of Labor in Urban America, 1870-1930* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1991), 227.
  14. See LILCO Annual Statistical Reports, 1949-1953. As an example of postwar growth, the Setauket and Stony Brook Union Free School Districts joined in 1966 to form the Three Village Central School District; residents passed a bond issue to build five new schools to accommodate the extraordinary influx.
  15. Author's interview with Arrowhead School Principal Olga Lagano Carlin, October 1993.
  16. Winifred D. Wandersee, *On the Move: American Women in the 1970s* (Boston: G.F.H. Hall, 1988), 104.
  17. See "Transcript of Hearings," Special Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, 91st Congress, 2d Session, on section 805 of HR 16098 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970), passim.
  18. *Bella Abzug, Bella! Ms. Abzug Goes to Washington*, Mel Ziegler, ed. (New York: Saturday Review Press, 1972), passim.
  19. The Higher Education Act was first passed in 1867 to create land grant colleges, for the ESEA, see COA 26 (1970):250.
  20. Congressional Quarterly Service, *Congress and the Nation* (Washington, DC: U.S. GPO, 1969)3:598; Rep. Edith Green (1910-1987) served from 1955 until 1975 (see *Biographical Directory of the U.S. Congress 1774-1989*, s.v. "Green, Edith."
  21. *Congress and the Nation*, 598; CQA 28:39590; "Hearings," 1.
  22. Wandersee, 104; "Hearings," 1, 6.
  23. "Hearings," 123, 409.
  24. "Hearings," 498; Wandersee, 105.
  25. COA 27: 587, and 28:385.
  26. COA 28:385; H. S. Astin, "Affirmative Action, 1972-1982," *Change* (July-August 1982): 26; under Title IX women no longer were barred from such educational opportunities as becoming Rhodes scholars.
  27. Dennis Baron, *Grammar in the Classroom* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1986), 3, 8.
  28. Sidney C. Schaer, *Newsday*, 8 March 1983, Part 2, p. 3; Dorothy C. Holland and Margaret A. Eisenhart, *Educated in Romance: Women, Achievement & College Culture* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1990), xii, 3.
  29. Holland and Eisenhart, 3.
  30. Telephone interview with Linda Padwa, 18 Jan. 1994; Peter Marks, "Encouraging Girls to Enter a Mostly Male World," *New York Times*, 12 January 1994, B4.
  31. Tyack and Hanson, 280.

32. "Equity for Women in the 1990s: A Background Paper Supporting the NYS Board of Regents Proposed Policy Paper and Action Plan for Equal Opportunity for Women" (Albany: SUNY, State Education Department, Dec. 1992);<sup>4</sup>; "Women Scientists' Group Launches Effort to Probe the Plight of Female Researchers," *The Scientist: The Newspaper for the Science Professional* 8, 10 January 1994; Weaver is a member of the Association for Women in Science (AWIS); for Keller's views, see "Feminists Find Gender Everywhere in Science," *Science* 260 (16 April 1993):392.
33. For Boklan, see Monte R. Young, "Bias Attack Indictment," *Newsday*, 23 October 1993, 11.
34. "A Talk with Ginsberg on Life and the Court," *New York Times*, 7 Jan. 1994, B 13.
35. For Long Island and women's athletics, see Steve Marcus, *Newsday*, 12 Nov. 1993, 183, and Beth Whitehouse and Christian Bethelson, *Newsday*, 23 Oct. 1994, A, p. 5; HEW guidelines included health, physical education, industrial, business, vocational, technical, home economics, music, and adult education courses.
36. Recipient schools must treat pregnancy, child birth, or the termination of pregnancy as they do other temporary disabilities for all job-related purposes; Bill Bleyer, "Teachers Win Maternity Case," *Newsday*, 31 March 1982, 23.
37. The Woman's Studies in-service program was sponsored by the Feminist Press, Old Westbury, "Combating Sexism in Public Schools, Title IX," *Women's Time: A Free Newspaper for Women on Long Island* [Islip Terrace] 3 October 1975, 1,3; Lawrence C. Levy, "School Chiefs on the Firing Line," *Newsday*, 2 August 1979, 4.
38. Eve Glasser, *New York Times*, 23 October 1977, L.I Sec., p.5.
39. Glasser, 5; Phyllis Lader, "Women in Education Move Forward as the Books Close on the 1980s," *Smithtown News*, 4 January 1990, 1.
40. Author's interviews with Willa Prince (reading coordinator [retired], Sachem School District), November 1993, and Joyce Turner (assistant principal [retired], Brentwood School District), 21 October 1994.
41. "Women Await School-Bias Ruling," *New York Times*, 23 October 1977, L.I. sec., 4.
42. Paul Vitello, "School Official Wins Bias Suit," *Newsday*, 27 June 1981, 7.
43. NYS Educational Department figures for 1988-1989; DeLysa Burnier, "Administrative Woman and Administrative Man: Teaching Public Administration from a Gender Inclusive Perspective," *Feminist Teacher* 7 (1):2630.
44. For the source of these extrapolations see SCOPE Directories of Nassau and Suffolk County Administration Directories, *Public Schools and Educational Organizations Serving Long Island, 1992-1993*.
45. For pertinent *Newsday* articles, see Barbara Fischkin, "Sex Bias Ruled in Pensions," 26 April 1981, 9; Geraldine Baum, "School Job Forns Said to Show Bias," 14 December 1983;<sup>37</sup>; "Women Leaders at Rally Call for End to Inequities in Pay," 27 August 1985, 21; there are four female superintendents in Nassau County, and ten in Suffolk.
46. Phyllis Lader, "Women Slowly Making the Grade in Principle Roles in Education," *Smithtown News*, 28 December 1989 (Smithtown Archives, n. p.); Sally Helgesen, *The Female Advantage: Women's Ways of Leadership* (New York: Bantam Doubleday Dell Publishing Group, 1990), 246.
47. Aurnier, 17; Helgesen, 246; Shirley Strum Kenny, "From Parenting, a Presidency," *New York Times*, 3 Nov. 1991, Ed. sec., p. 46.
48. Helgesen, 23446.
49. Theodore Repa, ed., *A View from the Inside: An Action Plan for Gender Equity in New York State Educational Administration*, Report of Select Seminar on Women in Educational Administration, NYS LEAD (Leadership in Educational Administration Development Center)1:iii, 5-19, v.
50. The percentage of women in educational administration positions is increasing, but has not



kept pace with that of women receiving Ph.D.'s, M.A.'s, or NYS certification in educational administration (*Women Administrators in New York State Public Schools, 1968-1991* [Albany: State Education Department Information Center on Education, 1992],2).

51. Dorine Ellell, "Women Help Girls See Choices for Careers and Life," *Three Village Herald*, 19 May 1993, 7; TVCSD, "Women Helping Girls With Choices: A Conference for Future Leaders Designed to Increase Career Options, Inspire Leadership, Enhance Self Esteem," 12 May 1993 program schedule.

52. Peter Marks, "Encouraging Girls to Enter a Mostly Male World," *New York Times*, 12 January 1994, B4.

53. *Academe: Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors* (Mar.-Apr. 1987), 10.

54. Carl Corry, "President Kenny Outline Strategies for Campus," *Statesman*, 29 Sept. 1994, 3; Robert Fresco, "Focusing on Undergraduates: Stony Brook Chief Pledges Improvements," *Newsday*, 29 Sept. 1994, A,18.

55. See "Stony Brook: Project WISE, National Science Foundation grant proposal, 35 pp.

56. Author's interview with Gene Sprouse, chair, Physics Dept., USB, April 1994.

57. Mildred S. Dresselhaus, Judy R. Franz, and Bunny C. Clark, "Interventions to Increase the Participation of Women in Physics," *Science* 5 (11 Mar. 1994): 1392.

58. Stephen Labaton, "President's Judicial Appointments: Diverse, but Well in the Main Stream," *New York Times*, 17 Oct. 1994, A15; of 129 Clinton-nominated, confirmed judges, forty-four are women, and 60 percent are either women or members of minorities, compared with 8 percent for Reagan and 27 percent for Carter; for Kunin, see Susan Chira, "As No. 2, an Ebullient Point Person for Education," *New York Times*, 2 April 1993, A3.

59. Robert Fresco and Nicholas Goldberg, "Slashing SUNY: System Reels at Plan to Cut \$290M," *Newsday*, 27 Mar. 1995, A5.

# Secondary School Essay Contest

*The LIHJ is pleased to publish the three winning essays of the “Long Island as America” contest for secondary school students, which we sponsored in conjunction with the SUNY at Stony Brook Center for Excellence and Innovation in Education, Dr. Eli Seifman, director.*

## FIRST PLACE

### **A LONG ISLAND SPY STORY and ITS EFFECT on AMERICAN LEGAL HISTORY**

*By Tami Thompson*

Cold Spring Harbor High School: faculty advisor, David Egan

During World War II, Long Island became the scene of major German espionage, which led to the Supreme Court’s involvement in wartime liberty and treason issues. Long Island’s proximity to New York City, its rural-residential character, its reputation as the Cradle of Aviation, and its accessibility to the open seas made it a prime target for spy activity. In 1940, a double agent set up a clandestine radio link with Hamburg from a secluded North Shore location. Then, in 1942, a submarine discharged four German spies on Eastern Long Island intent on committing acts of sabotage against the United States. These events had a profound effect on United States history by challenging the fundamental laws of the Constitution.

Before the United States overtly became involved in World War II and fighting the Germans, covert spy operations were taking place here and in Germany. Since the late 1930s, the Abwehr (German Counter-Intelligence), had been implementing a master plan for launching a series of sabotage plots in the United States. Through spies in America, a long list of key targets was drawn up, and German agents in the United States obtained descriptions and maps of all major cities.

A particular area targeted was Long Island. One German spy suggested that saboteurs sneak into the U.S. by air, and provided a map showing more than fifty Long Island golf courses that could be used as landing fields.<sup>1</sup> Long Island’s booming aircraft industry also made it vulnerable to sabotage plots. During the war, the work force at the Island’s airplane plants soared to almost

90,000 people. Republic Aviation Corporation, in Farmingdale had more than 23,000 workers and turned out more than 9,000 Thunderbolt fighter-bombers. Grumman, with 25,000 employees, put more than 17,000 planes into the hands of the Navy. There was also the Sperry Gyroscope Company, whose 32,000 workers made bombsights, automatic pilots, radar equipment, and other flight-related instruments at plants in Lake Success and Garden City. More than 4,000 employees worked for the Fairchild Camera and Instrument Corporation, and thousands of others were hired by the Long Island aviation industry's largest sub-contractor, The Liberty Aircraft Products Company, in Farmingdale.<sup>2</sup>

Because Long Island had many people working with war-related materials, it was a prime location for spy activity. Some employees at Long Island plants were actually Nazi spies, for the Abwehr's master plan of sabotage operations was already being implemented by a few German-born American citizens, among whom was William Sebold, of California. They considered him a good candidate because he worked for Consolidated Aircraft, in San Diego, where they already had Nazi agents planted. Upon returning to Germany for a visit, he was approached by Gestapo officials who persuaded him to work for the Third Reich by threatening the safety of his family in Germany.

While detained in Hamburg, Sebold was trained at the "Academy," where he learned about radio operations and espionage. The Abwehr told him they would provide him with money, and that when he returned to the United States he was to buy radio parts and establish his own clandestine station for communicating directly with Hamburg. One of Sebold's assignments was to obtain information about the Sperry plants, and, especially, to find out if the latest Sperry Range Finder was equipped to register changes in altitude, and how it was being done.<sup>3</sup> He was instructed to radio this information to Germany, where it could be used for the benefit of the Third Reich.

While in Germany, Sebold had slipped into the American consulate and told his story to Vice Consul Dale W. Maher. His confession was then sent to the state department in Washington. Because of this, FBI agents met Sebold when he arrived in New York. J. Edgar Hoover, who took a personal interest in the project, led the search for a house for Sebold in the area of New York City, where many Nazi spies were planted and Nazi money was on deposit in many Manhattan banks. Hoover also wanted to provide Sebold with a house secluded enough to insure privacy. His search led to Centerport, Long Island. Here Sebold would broadcast to and receive information from Germany. Given the code name "Tramp" by Abwehr, Sebold was to open radio communication with the Third Reich precisely at 7:00 p.m., eastern standard time, on 15 May 1940. He was to use the call letters CQDXVW.2 to contact station AOR, a radio transmitter in Hamburg. The first message to Centerport that he decoded read: "To all Friends of the New Order: Information is urgently required on the size, quantity, type and description of all U.S. war material, the destination and shipping dates of such material and all other pertinent information."<sup>4</sup>

Many more messages followed, and the Germans became increasingly dependent on Sebold. With the help of the FBI, Sebold became adept at sending phony information to Hamburg, including descriptions of obsolete aircraft. In turn, he was told where to go to receive more money, and given the addresses of Nazi agents he was to assist. The money was handed over to the FBI, as well as the names of the contact men from whom it had been received, and Nazi spies who brought Sebold military secrets were photographed by a concealed camera at his home. This operation continued for sixteen months, during which the FBI received some four hundred fifty messages from Germany to the radio station in Centerport. In June 1941, Hoover called an end to Sebold's work and decreed the arrest of every German spy with whom Sebold had contact. In one day, thirty-three Germany agents in the United States were seized, including Everett Roeder, a Sperry engineer. Following the radio station's shutdown, Hoover turned over to the United States Treasury a check for \$18,000, representing the "profit" the FBI made from the funds Adolf Hitler's surrogates gave Sebold to purchase the Centerport house and radio equipment.<sup>5</sup> The cooperative efforts between the FBI and William Sebold brought this Long Island spy story to a successful end.

In the days that followed, the story of the Centerport radio station was told, and Sebold gave revealing testimony concerning covert Nazi operations in the United States, naming scores of people, places, and dates. Shaken by this turn of events, the Germans vowed never again to let something like it happen. "Remember Sebold!" they often said before selecting new spies in the United States.<sup>6</sup> One man who remembered Sebold well was Lieutenant Walter Kappe, an Abwehr official planning the next Long Island spy caper.

Back in Germany, the groundwork was being laid for a group of spies to be sent to the United States to supervise the large, well-organized sabotage ring already in existence. Abwehr II the second section of German counter-intelligence, which dealt with military and industrial sabotage, chose Kappe to lead this operation. Kappe had been ordered by Hitler himself to lead Abwehr's sabotage acts in the United States to frighten and intimidate the Americans. Warned to be wary of who he chose to avoid another Sebold, Kappe carefully chose eight English-speaking Germans for what he called Operation Pastorius, after Franz Daniel Pastorius, the first German to land in America. Each saboteur had lived in and was familiar with the United States. The men were divided into two teams. Team 1, led by George Dasch and including Ernest Berger, Heinrich Heinck, and Richard Quirin, was to land on Long Island and begin its acts of sabotage in New York. Team 2, led by Edward Kerling and including Herbert Haupt, Hermann Neubauer, and Werner Thiel, was to land near Jacksonville, Florida, and make its way up north. German Intelligence supplied each man with forged Selective Service and Social Security cards. Each was to carry explosives disguised as lumps of coal and blocks of wood, incendiary bombs enclosed in pen and pencil sets, and handkerchiefs with the names of contacts written in invisible ink.<sup>7</sup>

On 26 May 1942, team 2 left by submarine, and landed safely at Ponte

Vedre Beach, Florida. Two days later team 1 left, also by submarine, and reached Long Island coastal waters on 12 June. What this team failed to realize was that Coast Guardsmen patrolled the many miles of shoreline, as the Island's location made it particularly sensitive to fears of bombing and submarine and naval attack. The beaches bore grim reminders that the war was being fought only miles away. Gobs of oil, charred timbers, and bits of life jackets often floated onto the sand from torpedoed ships.<sup>8</sup>

The four saboteurs from team 1 disembarked at Amagansett and rowed through the fog of the early morning to get to the beach. When they landed and began to unload their clothes and explosives, one of them noticed the glow of a flashlight coming toward them out of the fog. The man holding this flashlight was Coast Guardsman John Cullen, a member of the beach patrol. After Cullen saw the unloading and questioned the saboteurs, Dasch concocted a story that he and his men were fishermen from Southampton who had run aground. When one of the men came out of the fog, dragging a bag and speaking in German, Cullen grew suspicious and asked if there were clams in the bag. Cullen had set a trap; he knew that no one took clams on that part of the shore, and that anyone from Southampton would know this. When Dasch claimed that was exactly what the bags were filled with, Cullen's suspicions were confirmed. At this point, Dasch threatened the unarmed Cullen and thrust wad of currency into his hand, telling him to forget what he had seen. Cullen immediately returned to the Coast Guard station, where he reported the strange incident on the beach, showing the \$265 that Dasch had thrust into his hand. Within minutes, Coast Guardsmen combed the beach, unearthing first a pack of German cigarettes and then crates of explosives and German uniforms. Within hours, one of the most extensive spy hunts in American history was underway.<sup>9</sup>

While the beaches were being searched, Dasch and his mates trudged across fields to the tracks of the Long Island Railroad and followed them to the Amagansett station, where commuters were waiting for the early morning train to New York. Dasch bought newspapers and handed one to each man, telling them to keep their mouths shut and stick their noses in the papers just like the commuters on the platform. The four saboteurs boarded the 6:57, and, when they reached the city, the team split in two. Dasch and Berger checked into the Governor Clinton Hotel, while Quirin and Heinck registered at the Martinique.<sup>10</sup>

Meanwhile, the search on Long Island continued. Files of the FBI were checked for the names of Nazi sympathizers in that part of Long Island, all of whom were questioned without result. The only clue was provided by the railroad agent at Amagansett, who remembered the arrival of four men on Saturday morning, and that he had sold them tickets for Jamaica. Though the prospect of finding the saboteurs soon seemed remote, the search went on.

That evening, while Dasch and Berger were having dinner at their hotel, Dasch admitted how nervous he was about being seen by the Coast Guardsman, and convinced Berger to join him in turning themselves in to the

FBI. Dasch reasoned that the Americans had been very grateful to William Sebold when he had gone to the FBI, so by following Sebold's example they still could land on their feet. The two decided to sell out the others in order to save themselves. Several days later, Dasch went to Washington, where he told the FBI all about Abwehr Lieutenant Walter Kappe and Operation Pastorius. He described the other six saboteurs in detail, and gave the names and addresses of their likely contacts in America.<sup>11</sup>

Fourteen days after the four Operation Pastorius saboteurs landed at Amagansett, all eight had been caught by the FBI. It was discovered that the spies had plans for the following campaign of sabotage:

Destruction of hydroelectric plants at Niagara Falls, New York, as well as Aluminum Company of America plants at Massena, New York, East St. Louis, Illinois, and Alcoa, Tennessee;

Crippling a cryolite plant at Philadelphia that produced materials essential for the production of aluminum;

Blowing up the Hell Gate Bridge over the East River, in New York City; Destruction of the Pennsylvania Railroad Terminal at Newark, New Jersey, through which flowed great quantities of war products and raw materials for the nation's war effort;

Sabotage of New York City's reservoirs, concentrated in Westchester County;

Destruction of the canal and lock systems at Cincinnati and St. Louis;

Destruction of the "horseshoe" curve of the Pennsylvania Railroad at Altoona, to paralyze Pennsylvania's anthracite coal industry by wrecking rail transportation.<sup>12</sup>

J. Edgar Hoover informed President Franklin D. Roosevelt of the capture of all eight saboteurs. The president made the news public at once, to discourage the Third Reich's espionage masterminds from launching more sabotage expeditions in the United States. Operation Pastorius, perhaps the most spectacular episode of the war to be enacted on Long Island, did not end with the capture of the spies. What followed effected American legal history by challenging previously untested principles of the Constitution. Even after the sentencing of all eight and the execution of six, the Supreme Court was called on to rule on their cases.

On 2 July 1942, the president declared that the saboteurs would be tried by a special military tribunal, on charges of violating the laws of war. This military commission, the first to be convened since the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, in 1865, consisted of four major generals and three brigadiers. The prosecution was directed by Attorney General Francis Biddle, who concluded: "A Military Commission is preferable because of the greater flexibility, its traditional use in cases of this character and its clear power to impose the death penalty." The president's preference for a military trial was understandable, for, should a civil court try the accused men, six of them could not be executed, and obtaining death penalties against the other two would be extremely difficult. The obvious charge was attempted sabotage,

but that offense carried a maximum penalty of thirty years in prison. Berger and Haupt could be prosecuted for the capital crime of treason, a crime against the state to which allegiance is owed, because, while living in the United States before World War II, they had become American citizens. However, the Constitution provides that a conviction for that offense can be obtained only if the accused confesses in open court, or the government produces testimony by two witnesses to the same overt act. Previously, the eight defendants swore that it had never been their intention to commit sabotage, and that they had volunteered for Operation Pastorius as a ploy for getting safely out of Germany. Therefore, the Justice Department foresaw factual as well as legal problems if it attempted to prosecute Haupt and Burger for treason, and could not charge the other defendants—all of whom were German citizens—with that offense.<sup>13</sup>

The main lawyers appointed for the defense were Colonels Kenneth Royall and Cassius Dowell, who neglected no opportunity in defending the lives of the enemy agents. In the midst of the trial, Royall challenged the competency of the commission to try the saboteurs. He petitioned the Supreme Court and the United States District Court for the District of Columbia for leave to bring habeas corpus proceedings, arguing that as long as the regular courts were open and operating, the accused were entitled to trial by jury and other constitutional rights. Royall and Dowell contended that the president lacked the statutory and constitutional authority to order trial by military commission, that the defendants had been denied constitutional guarantees extended to persons charged with criminal offenses; and that they should have been tried in civilian courts.<sup>14</sup>

At the end of July 1942, the court convened a special term to hear *Ex parte Quirin*. Chief Justice Harlan Stone accused the German agents of unlawful belligerency, and stated that the offense traditionally was dealt with by a military commission, under the Fifteenth Article of War. He also reasoned that the Fifth and Sixth Amendments explicitly excepted from their requirements for indictment by a grand jury and the guarantee of a jury trial, “cases arising in the land or naval forces or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger.” He argued that the guarantee of jury trial under the Sixth Amendment applied to civilian, not military, courts. Stone concluded that it would be absurd to hold that the Constitution, which specifically withheld trial by jury from members of the American armed forces, would extend that right to enemy military personnel. On 31 July, the court in *Ex parte Quirin* held that the president possessed the authority to try the saboteurs before a military commission, that the body which he created was lawfully constituted, and that “petitioners...have not shown cause for being discharged by writ of habeas corpus.” The total war effort and the requirement of national security justified the president’s right as Commander-in-Chief to set policy. The president’s action indicated that enemy military personnel could not claim the protection of the Constitution and its Bill of Rights.<sup>15</sup>

Around the same time the Court reached its verdict, the military

commission found the eight saboteurs guilty. Six were swiftly put to death, on 8 August 1942. Ernest Berger was sentenced to life imprisonment, George Dasch to confinement for thirty years, their lives spared because of their revelations and the help they gave to the FBI.<sup>16</sup>

A significant sequel was a pair of treason trials which gave the Supreme Court its first opportunity in history to expound the meaning of Article 3, Section 3, of the Constitution. This article defines the offense of treason against the United States as consisting "only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort." It goes on to say that "No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court."<sup>17</sup> The question of what constituted an overt act would be examined in each of these related cases.

The first, *Cramer v. United States*, took place in 1945. Anthony Cramer, a naturalized American citizen of German background, befriended two of the saboteurs, met with them, and was suspected of assisting them in their mission. However, the only overt acts to which two witnesses could testify were two meetings between Cramer and one of the saboteurs, an old friend of his. The prosecution was unable to produce the testimony of two witnesses for what took place at the meetings, nor to establish that Cramer gave information, encouragement, shelter, or supplies to the saboteurs. After being convicted of treason, Cramer appealed to the Supreme Court. Justice Robert H. Jackson, for a five-to-four Court, asserted that, "every act, movement, deed, and word of the defendant charged to constitute treason must be supported by the testimony of two witnesses." Although there was evidence of Cramer's Nazi sympathies, and assistance to the saboteur, the meetings he had were not overt acts that displayed his obvious intent to commit treason. The conviction, therefore, could not stand.<sup>18</sup>

The Supreme Court sustained its first conviction for treason in *Haupt v. United States* (1947). Hans Max Haupt, the father of one of the saboteurs, was convicted of giving aid and comfort to the enemy after he sheltered his son, helped him to find employment in a bomb sight factory, and bought him an automobile. There were at least two witnesses to each of these three acts, and on whose testimony Hans Haupt was convicted of treason. In an eight-to-one decision, the Court held that sheltering the enemy was an overt act that gave aid and comfort, and there was no further need to prove that Haupt had traitorous intent when he took in his son. Unlike Anthony Cramer's public meetings with the saboteurs, Haupt's "harboring and sheltering" his son was of direct support to the enemy mission.<sup>19</sup>

These three Supreme Court cases tested the Constitution and demonstrated its flexibility during times of war. In *Ex parte Quirin* (1942), the Court ruled that the guarantees of the Bill of Rights should not be allowed to interfere with the nation's capacity to fight its enemies. It concluded that where the law of war applied, the Constitution did not. Then, in *Cramer v. United States* (1945), it protected civil liberties by reversing a treason conviction for lack of substantial evidence. Finally, in *Haupt v. United States* (1947), the Court denied a



father's natural right to protect his son, and sustained a conviction of treason for the first time in its history. Each case stemmed directly from pro-German action on Long Island during World War II, first by William Sebold and then by the eight saboteurs, four of whom who landed at Amagansett. Clearly, these Long Island spy capers profoundly effected American legal history.

#### NOTES

1. William Breuer, *Hitler's Undercover War* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989), 141.
2. Bernie Bookbinder, *Long Island People and Places, Past and Present* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1983), 218-19; see also Joshua Stoff, "Grumman versus Republic: Success and Failure in the Aviation Industry on Long Island," *LIHJ* 1 (Spring 1989):113-27.
3. Breuer, 150.
4. Breuer, 155; Michael Sayers and Albert E. Kahn, *Sabotage! The Secret War Against America* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1942), 29; Kurt Singer, *Spies and Traitors of World War II* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1945), 79.
5. Jules Archer, *Treason in America* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1971), 109; Singer, 80; Breuer, 242-43.
6. William Wise, *When the Saboteurs Came* (New York: Dutton, 1967), 25.
7. Wise, 10, 29; Breuer, 276; Bookbinder, 220.
8. Bookbinder, 219.
9. Wise, 96; Breuer, 279; Bookbinder, 220.
10. Breuer, 280.
11. Wise, 111.
12. Sayers, 123-24.
13. Wise, 123; Michael R. Belknap, "The Supreme Court Goes to War: The Meaning and Implications of the Nazi Saboteur Case," *Military Law Review* 89 (1980): 64, 63; Breuer, 283.
14. Elder Witt, *Congressional Quarterly's Guide to the United States Supreme Court* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1990):191.
15. Alfred H. Kelly, Winfred A. Harbison, and Herman Belz, *The American Constitution: Its Origins and Development*, 6th ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1983), 567; Belknap, 84, 76.
16. Wise, 125; *Ex parte Quirin*, 317 U.S. 1 (1942).
17. Kelly, Harbison, and Belz, 568; Witt, 396.
18. *Cramer v. United States*, 325 U.S.1 (1945; Lester S. Jayson and Johnny H. Killian, eds., *The Constitution of the United States of America: Analysis and Interpretation* (Washington DC: U.S. Government Office, 1973):786.
19. *Haupt v. United States*, 330 U.S. 631 (1947); Witt, 396.

SECOND PLACE (TIE)

**LONG ISLAND'S STRUGGLE for CIVIL LIBERTY  
UNDER the DUTCH REGIME**

*By David Aliano*

Plainview-Old Bethpage John F. Kennedy High School: faculty advisor,  
Heather Cottin

The Dutch West India Company formed the colony of New Netherland in 1621. Although the Dutch state was one of the most liberal in Europe, the directors of the company formed strict guidelines for the governing of New Netherland. Many of these measures curtailed liberty and freedom of conscience. It was the inhabitants of Long Island who insisted on more civil liberty and freedom of religion. With a perception of freedom that went well beyond the accepted forms of seventeenth-century government, they struggled for their basic rights in a colony which was resistant to change.

The Netherlands, after securing freedom from Spain, reached its golden age in the seventeenth century. Not only was this epoch in the history of Holland noted for great artists and scholars, it was also ahead of its time in a political sense. The government allowed discussion of political issues, including criticism of town and provincial regimes that extended to personal attacks on men in office. Although, in 1581, the Prince of Orange issued a law prohibiting the printing and selling of all books and pamphlets seen as abusive and seditious, it was never enforced. Indeed, the magistrates of Leyden refused even to publish it in their province. Instead, they issued a remonstrance condemning it. They reasoned that, "Liberty has always consisted in uttering our sentiments freely; and the contrary has been always considered as the characteristic of tyranny."<sup>1</sup>

The Netherlands was a refuge for people fleeing religious persecution. It welcomed Jewish fugitives from the Spanish Inquisition, as well as Huguenot victims of persecution in France. Also accepted were English dissidents opposed to the Church of England. One such Englishman, James Howell, explained the situation in Amsterdam in 1619: "I am lodg'd in a Frenchman's house who is one of the Deacons of the English Brownists church here; it is not far from the synagogue of Jews, who have free exercise of their Religion here."<sup>2</sup>

From the start of New Netherland, it was clear that the directors of the company had no intention of following their nation's example of freedom of speech and conscience. In 1640, the company formed a set of laws to run the colony, Proposed Freedoms and Exemptions for New Netherland, prohibiting the practice of any religion other than the Dutch Reformed Church, a form of Calvinism. Though the freemen of each town were allowed to nominate two men for the position, the governor had the power to appoint magistrates from one of the chosen candidates or someone of his own choice, and these officials required his approval for their actions. The document entrusted the

governor with additional powers:

The governor...who is appointed by the Company, shall take cognizance of matters appertaining to the freedom, supremacy, domain, finances and rights of the General West India Company; of complaints, which anyone can make in case of privilege, innovation, desuetude, customs, usages, laws or pedigrees; declare the same corrupt, or abolish them as bad.

This enabled a governor to rule in an authoritarian manner, as did Peter Stuyvesant when he became director-general in 1647, and announced upon landing that "I shall govern you as a father his children."<sup>3</sup>

Stuyvesant, an experienced company official, had been governor of Curaçao, where he lost his leg in the service of the company. A strict follower of the precepts of John Calvin, he felt that by virtue of leading Christian lives certain men were chosen to rule over others. No doubt, he wanted to look after the welfare of the inhabitants, yet he did not value opinions of others as equal to his own. This led him to rule in dictatorial fashion.<sup>4</sup>

The people learned early on how Stuyvesant intended to govern. One of his first acts was to effect the arrest and conviction of two burghers, Cornelis Melyn and Jochim Kuyter. They had justifiably complained to the company of the mishandling of the Indian war by Governor William Kieft, Stuyvesant's predecessor, for which Kieft was dismissed. Kieft, wanting revenge, charged Melwyn and Kuyter with sedition and rebellion. In his sympathetic response, Stuyvesant declared that, "It was treason to complain of one's magistrates, whether there was cause or not," and saw to it that the two were fined and banished. When they asked to appeal to the company, Stuyvesant responded: "If I was persuaded, that you would bring this matter before their High and Mightinesses, I would have you hanged on the highest tree in New Netherland."<sup>5</sup>

In 1650 a council member, Adriaen Van der Donck, pointed out the failings in the manner in which the governor ruled. He stated, in his *Criticisms of New Netherland*, that:

These directors [Kieft and Stuyvesant] having the power in their own hands can do and have done what they chose according to their goodwill and pleasure; and whatever was, was right, because it was agreeable to them...they have also conducted themselves just as if they were sovereigns of the country...they refuse to allow appeals and assent the maxim that they are above the law.<sup>6</sup>

It was against this government that the Long Island settlers would stand firm to ensure their liberty.

Most of the Long Island towns were settled by English Puritans who crossed the Sound after short sojourns in New England. They brought with them the idea of representative government, based on the town meeting which enabled members of the community to discuss and settle its problems. Gravesend, the only town settled by the English in what would become Kings County, was settled in 1643 by followers of Lady Deborah Moody. She had

left Massachusetts Bay after being accused of Anabaptist (belief in adult baptism and the separation of church and state) deviation from Puritan doctrine. The charter of Gravesend assured a degree of self-government comparable to that of New England towns, as did those of the English towns of New Netherland in the future county of Queens—Flushing, Newtown, Jamaica, and Hempstead. The eastern two-thirds of the Island, composed of the town of Oyster Bay and all of Suffolk Country, was English from the beginning. The five Long Island towns founded by the Dutch—Brooklyn, Flatlands, Flatbush, New Utrecht, and Bushwick—desired the rights that were granted to the English towns under Dutch jurisdiction, but received them later and on less favorable terms.<sup>7</sup>

The inevitable clash between Stuyvesant's authority and the Long Islanders' ideas of self-government came in 1653. During the naval war between England and Holland, robbers preyed on Long Island towns and caused a great amount of damage. The settlers were infuriated by the governor's failure to send a sufficient number of soldiers or approve other measures that would protect the security of the towns. Another cause of protest was the governor's ignoring or rejecting magistrates nominated by English towns in favor of magistrates of his own choosing. On 11 December, an assembly from New Amsterdam, Brooklyn, Flatlands, Gravesend, Newtown, Flushing, and Hempstead adopted the "Humble Remonstrance and Petition of the Colonies and Villages of this New Netherland Province." The document was written by George Baxter, the English secretary of the colony, who had negotiated the Treaty of Hartford three years earlier, which settled disputed claims between New England and New Netherland.<sup>8</sup>

The remonstrance listed six grievances, based on the way the towns interpreted government. The first clause attacked the manner in which the colony was governed:

Arbitrary rule by ordinance in which the people had no part is contrary to the privileges of the Netherlands, and odious to every free-born man and especially so to those whom God had placed under a free state...it is our humble opinion that in making new laws our explicit consent or that of our representatives is required for their adaptation.

The second demanded redress for the denial of the right of the towns to meet and conduct measures of defense, contending that since the governor would not provide them with adequate protection, the settlers should have the right to protect themselves by their own means. In the third grievance, the towns protested the appointment of magistrates "without consent or nomination by the people," claiming, in effect, the right to elect officials answerable to the people. The fourth protested enforcement of laws of which no knowledge had been given: "Transgressors from ignorance without knowing it, by which we are exposed to many dangers and troubles and may occasion our own ruin, without knowing it." The English colonists, who resented the governor's authority, and wanted more autonomy, added to the remonstrance that, "It is

much more necessary that they have if [self-government] under the *Dutch*, whose llawes they know not/nor understand their language and the way and manner of their exercising this sole power.”<sup>9</sup>

The remonstrance held that the towns had the right to the privileges and laws that were present in Holland. However, it went much further by claiming the right to popular self-government. It presented a declaration of rights, some of which would be incorporated in the United States Constitution’s Bill of Rights. The remonstrance clearly opposed Stuyvesant and the West India Company’s ideas on how to govern the colony. Stuyvesant immediately declared the assembly to be illegal, and ordered it to disperse, contending that it consisted of “unqualified delegates; who assume, without authority, the name and title of commonalty.” He added that the delegates from Flatbush, Brooklyn, and Flatlands had no right to send delegates since they had no proper court. He also accused Baxter of “having treasonable designs against Dutch authority.” Stuyvesant did not address the issues brought up, but simply chose to ignore them.<sup>10</sup>

By 13 December 1653, the people realized that the governor did not intend to respond. They issued a second remonstrance, appealing to the “laws of nature” which permit all men to assemble for protection of liberty and property. They also threatened to send a copy to the Estates-General of the Netherlands, stating their case.<sup>11</sup>

Stuyvesant answered by telling the delegates to “disperse and not to assemble again on any such business,” objecting strongly to magistrates being chosen by the people because,

Each would vote for his own stamp, the thief for the thief, the rogue, the tippler, the smuggler, each for a brother iniquity that he might enjoy greater latitude for his own offenses...we derive our authority from God and the Company not from a few ignorant subjects...we alone can call the inhabitants together.

The West India Company approved of Stuyvesant’s action. The directors actually felt he had not been harsh enough: “You ought to have acted with more vigor against them. It is therefore our expressed command that you punish what has occurred as it deserves.”<sup>12</sup>

Because they had signed the remonstrance, Stuyvesant denied the appointments of George Baxter and Sergeant Hubbard as magistrates for Gravesend, and put Dutch officials in their place. This infuriated the residents, who declared, “There was no Dutchmen among the nominees and no Dutchman should have anything to do with the government of Gravesend.” Seeing the potential for an uprising, Stuyvesant discussed the matter with Lady Moody. A friendship had developed between them, and she was able to convince him to allow Gravesend to elect its own magistrates.<sup>13</sup>

Freedom of conscience was another right that Long Islanders struggled to obtain. The Long Island communities had a great deal of religious diversity. In fact, a majority of the English settlers had come to the Island hoping to

find greater religious toleration. Lady Deborah Moody had been the spiritual leader of a group of Anabaptists in Lynn, Massachusetts, the heresy for which Governor John Winthrop excommunicated her. This was the reason she founded Gravesend. The English dissenters of Gravesend obtained a guarantee of religious autonomy in return for sworn allegiance to the Dutch government, as did the other English towns on Long Island under New Netherland's jurisdiction.<sup>14</sup>

Stuyvesant ignored the charters which granted the English freedom, referring instead to the earlier law that the company issued forbidding the practice of any religion except Dutch Reformed. The Dutch Reformed Church depended on his authority to force inhabitants to support it through taxes. To this end, Stuyvesant enacted laws which forbade the removal of grain until the tithe, or church tax, was paid. These laws created problems in light of the religious diversity in the colony. Father Isaac Jogues, a French Jesuit missionary, described the religious situation in New Netherland, in 1642: "No religion is publicly exercised but the Calvinist, and orders are to admit none but Calvinists, but this is not observed, for besides the Calvinists, there are in the colony Catholics, English Puritans, Lutherans, Anabaptist, here called Mennonites, etc."<sup>15</sup>

Long Islanders were open about their religious beliefs and their support of religious toleration. The first act of defiance came from Gravesend, when the people selected Anabaptist magistrates in contradiction to the law requiring magistrates to be of the state religion. However, Lady Moody again convinced Stuyvesant to back down and allow Anabaptists to go unpunished and hold office in Gravesend. This victory paved the way for future disobedience to laws concerning religion. In 1656, William Wickendam, a cobbler from Rhode Island, came to Flushing and took a leading role in house meetings of small dissenting sects. Both he and William Hallet, who allowed meetings to be held in his house, were fined and banished from the colony. This prompted Flushing inhabitants to absent themselves from church and refuse to pay the minister, Francis Doughty, his salary.<sup>16</sup>

After the appearance of Quakers in the colony, tensions mounted. Stuyvesant made it clear that they would not be tolerated. Mary Wetherhead and Dorothy Waugh were the first to suffer from this policy. After arriving in New Amsterdam, they began to preach Quakerism on the streets. They were immediately arrested and imprisoned for their action, and Stuyvesant had them deported on the next ship to Rhode Island. This prompted Domine Johannes Megapolensis, the leading Dutch Reformed minister, to explain: "That is the receptacle for all sorts of riff raff people and is nothing else but the sewer of New England." Despite such strong words, Quakers continued to come.<sup>17</sup>

Robert Hodgson, who led a group of Friends to Long Island in 1656, was preparing a sermon in the orchard of his house, in Hempstead, when he was seized by the local magistrate, Richard Gildersleeve. He was made a prisoner and ordered to pay a fine of one hundred guilders or be sentenced to labor at a wheelbarrow for two years. This was "in order to suppress the evil at the

beginning.” When Hodgson refused to perform this work because he felt he was innocent of committing a crime, he was beaten and then chained to the barrow all day in the hot sun. He still refused to work, and was thrown into prison. His ordeal caused many people to show compassion and offer to pay his fine. When he did not allow them to do this because it would be an admission of guilt, he gained even more supporters, who put pressure on the governor to release him. Stuyvesant, fearing the turmoil created, released Hodgson and allowed him to leave the colony, without having to pay the fine. Hodgson’s defiance inspired Long Islanders to come to the aid of the Quakers, and led to the rapid formation of Quaker Meetings. Stuyvesant enacted several laws to curb the spread of this movement, including a fine of fifty pounds on anyone who allowed Quakers to enter his or her house. He also ordered the confiscation of all ships which carried Friends into the colony.<sup>18</sup>

These harsh measures prompted the Flushing Remonstrance, on 27 December 1657, in which the people claimed that they could not condemn the Quakers for their beliefs and insisted that the government did not have the right to prohibit the practice of a religion: “For our part wee cannot condemn them, neither can wee stretch out our hands against them...Wee desire in this case to judge lest we be judged or to condemn lest we be condemned, but rather let every man stand or fall on his own.” They pointed out that just as Holland allowed freedom of conscience, so their charter granted them that liberty. In the words of the remonstrance, “The law of love, peace, and liberty extends to al be they Jews, Turks or Egyptians.” By asserting that the government had no right to issue laws concerning religion, they called for the separation of church and state.<sup>19</sup>

The historian John Fiske later evaluated the Flushing Remonstrance:

I do not know, whether Flushing has ever raised a fitting monument to their memory. If I could have my way I would have the protest carved on a stately obelisk with the name of Edward Hart, town clerk, and the thirty other Dutch and English names appended, and would have it set up where all might read it for the glory of the town which had such men for its founders.

Stuyvesant did not share this sentiment. He labeled the document “seditious and mutinous,” revoked the people of Flushing’s right to hold town meeting, and arrested and fined the town leaders. Sheriff Tobias Feake was fined two hundred florins and banished from the province for harboring Quakers and signing the remonstrance. These measures did not prevent the residents from standing by their principles. Rather than give in, they formed a Quaker Meeting in Flushing.<sup>20</sup>

The determination of John Bowne would ensure freedom of conscience, six years after the signing of the remonstrance. Bowne bought a farm in Flushing in 1653, and three years later married Hannah Field, who became an active Quaker and persuaded him to join. In 1662, the governor fined him one hundred fifty florins for allowing Quakers to meet at his house. Bowne

refused to pay and was imprisoned. After three months he was warned that “for the welfare of the community and to crush as fast as possible that abominable sect: he would be transported ”in the first ship ready to sail“ to Holland for trial, should he remain obstinate. Bowne remained steadfast in his convictions, and was deported. When the West India Company directors heard his plea in Amsterdam, in 1663, they reached a decision to allow the free practice of religion. As they explained in a letter to Peter Stuyvesant, though they “heartily” desired that “these [Quakers] and other sectarians remained away from there [New Netherland],” they doubted whether they could “proceed against them rigorously without diminishing population and stopping immigration.” Therefore, they instructed Stuyvesant, “shut your eyes, at least not force people’s consciences, but allow every one to have his own belief, as long as he behaves quietly and legally, gives no offense to his neighbors and does not oppose the government.”<sup>21</sup>

Bowne’s victory, however reluctantly given, was highly significant because his landmark case led the directors to grant religious tolerance in New Netherland. However, before the decision could take full effect, the British ousted the Dutch in 1664. With New Netherland about to become New York, the colony’s Dutch Reformed Church sought and received the toleration that Stuyvesant and Megapolensis so strongly had opposed: Article 8 of the terms of surrender provided that “The Dutch here shall enjoy the liberty of their consciences in divine worship.” This was a large step in the right direction, but full religious toleration did not come about in New York until the adoption of the state constitution, in 1777, during the American Revolution.<sup>22</sup>

To sum up, the Long Island inhabitants of New Netherland strove to maintain their basic rights. They knew the consequences of their actions, yet protested for what they felt was just. The rights they asked for were well ahead of their time. They demanded the right to self-government, and they exercised freedom of speech by voicing their objections to government policy in several important remonstrances. They also secured the right to freedom of religion, and the separation of church and state. These ideas formed an early foundation for the personal liberty that would be guaranteed in the Bill of Rights well over one hundred years later.

#### NOTES

1. Alexander C. Flick, *History of the State of New York*, 10 vols. (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1933), 1:213.
2. *Ibid.*, 187, 188.
3. David Ment, *The Shaping of a City* (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Education and Cultural Alliance, 1979), 16; Pamela Smit and J. W. Smit, *The Dutch In America 1609-1970* (Dobbs Ferry, NY: Oceana Publications, 1970), 46,47,4.
4. Rufus Rockwell Wilson, *Historic Long Island* (New York: Berkeley Press, 1902), 67; Henry H. Kessler and Eugene Rachlis, *Peter Stuyvesant and His New York* (New York: Random House, 1959), 3; Wilson, 67.
5. Wilson, 68.
6. William Benton, *Annals of America* (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1968), 1: 205.



7. Joseph Buscemi, *History of Flushing NY* (New York: Queens Historical Society, 1983), 1; Michael Kammen, *Colonial New York* (1975; reprint, White Plains, NY: KTO Press, 1975), 53; Ment, 15; for the founding and early history of the towns of Long Island, 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, 1865, in *Historical Chronicles of New Amsterdam, Colonial New York and Early Long Island*, Cornell Jaray, ed. [Port Washington: Ira J. Friedman, 1968]), 3-53, 84-88.
8. Kammen, 53; Wilson, 77; Wood, 85-86.
9. Wood, 168-71; Kammen, 53.
10. Flick, 311.
11. Jacqueline Overton, *Long Island's Story* (Garden City: Doubleday Doran, 1929), 55; Wilson, 78.
12. Overton, 54; Wilson, 78.
13. Overton, 54.
14. Rufus M. Jones, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (1911; reprint, New York: W. W. Norton, 1966), 218; Ment, 17; Overton, 54.
15. Kessler and Rachlis, 172; Ment, 17; William Warren Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1960), 87.
16. Jones, 218; Hugh Hastings, comp., *Ecclesiastical Records: State of New York* (Albany: James B. Lyon, 1901) 1: 361.
17. Jones, 220.
18. *Ibid.*, 221, 222, 223.
19. Hastings, 412; Buscemi, 4.
20. Jones 224; 225 Henry Waller, *History of the Town of Flushing* (Harrison, NY: Harbor Hill Books, 1975), 42; Hastings, 415.
21. Buscemi, 2; Waller, 44; Hastings 1: 530, cited in Kammen, 62.
22. Sweet, 126; article 38 of the state constitution ordains "the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference...forever...to all mankind" (Alexander C. Flick, ed., *The American Revolution in New York: Its Political, Social, and Economic Significance* [Albany: Univ. of the State of New York, 1926], 337).

## SECOND PLACE (TIE)

**CONFRONTING BIAS in SCHOOLS and HOUSING:  
THE LONG ISLAND CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT in 1970**

*By Kaisha K. Moore*

Amityville Memorial High School: faculty advisor: Charles F. Howlett

The year was 1970. It had been two years since the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., and many organizations and officials were pushing for a state observance of his birthday. Violent activities surrounding desegregation were occurring in the South. The most notable were in Augusta, Georgia, and at Jackson State College, Mississippi. In Augusta, on 12 May, six black people were killed by police during a violent racial confrontation; one day later, at Jackson State College, two black students protesting the Vietnam War and the recent Kent State shootings were killed, also by police. According to Thomas L. Blair, a civil rights historian, in the late 1960s the Black Panther party was "hit hard by FBI agents, police infiltration, and arrests; many were killed or given length prison sentence. Violent confrontations with other black groups decimated their ranks."<sup>1</sup>

1970 was an eventful and turbulent year, nearing the close of the traditional civil rights movement. Tensions developed for decade between black and white students exploded with the opening of the 1970s, on Long Island and almost everywhere else in the country. Students fighting each other and for their own causes opened a new chapter in the Protest Era.

**Integration**

Integration was still being put into affect on Long Island and across the country. One line of reasoning for it was presented in a 1970 statement by Roy Wilkins, the executive director of the NAACP: "Given the position of the Negro American population as a numerical minority of one-tenth and an economic, political and social minority of far less than one-tenth, the only tactical road for the black minority is integration into the general population."<sup>2</sup>

However, not everyone agreed that integration was necessary, while some, both black and white, considered it a threat to their way of life. Although, in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), the Supreme Court had decided that integration was the appropriate course, tensions still were high in 1970. Angry and often violent shows of emotions spread across the country, with major impact on Long Island.

New York State allotted \$3 million for desegregation projects, \$580,500 of which was sent to some ten Long Island districts. The money was used to provide buses, expand school buildings to adjust to the new flow of students, and train teachers to handle classrooms with students of different races. Long Island districts receiving state funds included Freeport, Glen Cove, Hempstead, Long Beach, Roosevelt, Malverne, Roslyn, West Hempstead,

Westbury and Bellport.<sup>3</sup>

### **Race relations in the classroom**

The attitudes of the adult world were transferred into the school communities. Long Island schools which had been or were in the process of integration felt racial strains. Some schools had “experienced clashes between black and white students, such as Bellport, Glen Cove, Amityville and Freeport.”<sup>4</sup>

In Hempstead, racial relations were strained for months before an outburst occurred. On 4 March, “six black girls were ordered to leave the Venice Pizza shop ... about three blocks from school.” The manager said that he took this action because the girls were loud and disruptive. The girls admitted they were a bit noisy, but claimed they had not been purposefully disruptive. The next day one of the girls and thirty other black students went to the shop and threw objects through the doorway. After the police broke up the group, they returned to the high school. During the lunch hour, some black girls approached a table where a group of white students were seated, seeking retribution for some name calling that had occurred earlier that day. Following “a brief melee in the cafeteria,” the 1,500 students were sent home early and Hempstead High School was closed for week.<sup>5</sup>

On 14 September, black and white students began fighting at Glen Cove High School, which once was a model of peaceful integration but now was having severe racial problems. After the fighting started, police officers patrolled the campus, full-time. “Racial tension and scuffles are not new to the high school. The school was closed ... about 12 days in January as a result of interracial fighting.” The outbursts were believed to be caused by resentment between privileged children and those with few advantages. Social and economic conditions in the black communities deteriorated with the rise of unemployment. Glen Cove’s welfare roll rose from “about 1,400 clients two years ago to more than 2,000.” Another problem was lack of transportation. The city had no official buses, and the collapse of the Loop Bus Line, which served the poorer residents, left many without a way to get to work. Those problems, together with the lack of black political power, added to the racial tension. According to Reginald Townsend, a local youth worker, “The kids don’t feel as if they are getting their fair share of the action, so sometimes they lash out.” Many Glen Cove white people saw the friction as a law-and-order, not a social problem. “Our kids are good kids,” said one white father. “There are just 35 or 40 others who have no interest in learning, and they should be kicked out. What we need is strict discipline.”<sup>6</sup>

In Bellport, there were warnings about impending problems more than a week before an actual incident. The warning came in the form of a New York State Education Department report, presented on 5 January, contending “that the polarization and antagonism between those of different races and socioeconomic backgrounds are considerable factors in Bellport community life.” The Bellport school district was called a microcosm of the nation, with a prediction that the problems of its surrounding community would filter into

the school. Although there would be problems, a major advantage mentioned was that students could learn to live with other types of people, an experience expected to prepare them for going into the “real” world.<sup>7</sup>

On the following day, the report was called too general by Donald Ackerman, the research coordinator at the State University at Stony Brook (USB), as well as by a few board members. According to Ackerman, “The report says that there should be more participation. Anyone could have turned out something like that without ever having been to Bellport.” The head of the Long Island Regional Planning Board, Lee E. Koppelman, claimed that a term like “microcosm of American Society” was phony: “It’s just putting rose colored glasses on the analysis.” The school board members agreed with the report on the whole, but believed that it would cost too much to implement its recommendations.<sup>8</sup>

Perhaps if school officials had paid more attention to the report, the violent events which followed could have been avoided. Otherwise, the only action which could have been taken was to postpone the inevitable. Eleven days after the report, on 16 January, Bellport High School was closed “after a series of fistfights and scuffling broke out among 100 black and white students.” Although no serious injuries occurred, a few students received cuts and bruises.” Police said that one male teacher was ‘pushed around’ by a group of black students.” The incident was believed to have been started by a series of incidents between some black and white students the day before. Another contributing factor was suspected to be the posters of Stokely Carmichael, Martin Luther King Jr., and Malcolm X, along with a black nationalist flag, which were placed in the school display case. Ironically, the violence may have been ignited by a display honoring Dr. King’s birthday.<sup>9</sup>

Later that day, a closed school board session discussed the fighting. Because parents were denied access to the meeting, they held one of their own, at which many declared they would not send their children to school unless there was more protection. Dr. Leonard Andors, a former school board candidate who organized the parents’ meeting, said, “I will not accept the board’s word any longer. They lie. And I am sick of being called a racist and hearing the board and administration tell us that things here are quiet [in the schools].”<sup>10</sup>

### **Other problems: living in the zone**

Although the struggle for integration played a major role in the disruptions on Long Island, it was not the only provocation. Poor economic conditions, rezoning, and housing problems gave people other reasons to act. The NAACP pushed for better housing opportunities and other ways to raise the standard of living for African Americans.

At a major debate in the town of Oyster Bay, the NAACP pushed for rezoning half of the vacant land in the town for middle- and lower-class housing. On 9 January, “Nassau County Executive Eugene H. Nickerson announced his support of the NAACP’s demands.” Nickerson proposed a state zoning appeals board with the power to override local zoning in

communities that refused to make housing reforms, along with a plan for the state to reimburse communities and school districts for losses in property taxes. Nickerson claimed that his design would “guard against the creation of new ghettos and depressed areas.”<sup>11</sup>

On 1 February, James Davis, the president of Glen Cove’s NAACP chapter, told an interviewer “that more than 500 acres of land have been for sale by the landowners in the town.” The only obstacle was the town board’s rezoning policy. The NAACP also asked Governor Nelson Rockefeller to support its actions. In opposition to this program, Neil N. Gold, of the Suburban Action Institute, challenged the constitutionality of Nickerson’s plan, and even called it socialist: “Do you want to live in a society where government is used to determine who your neighbors are going to be?” To determine public opinion both on the Nickerson plan and the NAACP’s demands, a questionnaire was sent to 70,000 households, which the town supervisor, John W. Burke, hoped would provide “a representative cross-section of opinion.”<sup>12</sup>

On 16 February, the League of Woman Voters conducted a forum to help clear up confusion about the Oyster Bay situation. The NAACP, Nassau County Planning Commission, Long Island Council of Churches, and local civic association all had representatives present. About three hundred people attended, in hopes of “getting all of the parties involved so we could ask questions of them all at the same time and get some factual information,” according to League president Mrs. Harold Rosenblum. The one absent group was the town board, which chose not to attend.<sup>13</sup>

A request was made by the East End Civic Association to transfer 1,500 students, in the area between Carmans and County Line roads, from the Amityville to the Massapequa school district. In a letter to both districts, the association gave its reasons: “We are a geographic part of Massapequa and pay taxes to the Town of Oyster Bay and feel we should be a be a part of the Massapequa School District for practical reasons.” According to the association’s vice president, James V. Reed, the change would cut transportation costs because Massapequa schools were closer to the affected area.<sup>14</sup>

The request was denied by both districts in early September. Massapequa could not handle the number of transfer students expected. It was currently overcrowded, using “15 portable classrooms at its two high schools.” Amityville rejected the proposal because it did not want to lose 1,960 taxpayers and part of the school district’s property. There was also the factor of the proportional change the move would cause in Amityville’s school population. Because “about half of Amityville’s 4,700 students are black,” the switch to nearly all-white Massapequa would change the population to two-thirds black.<sup>15</sup>

Many black families who moved to Long Island from the city or other nearby areas, experienced vicious forms of prejudice. One black Queens family was greeted with pointed racial slurs at the building site for their new home in Massapequa Park. Willy and Minnie Early were faced with direct and indirect bias from their white neighbors. “Everybody came out as if they

had antennae, and would stand and stare until I would drive off," said Mrs. Early about her weekend visits to the site. The Earlys filed a report with the Nassau County Human Rights Commission, which began an investigation shortly after. The Catholic Diocese of Rockville Centre also launched an investigation of racism in the area. The Catholic institution was brought into the situation "because the county rights commission believes that Massapequa has a large Catholic area."<sup>16</sup>

### Voices: protesting for a cause

On 22 May, a group of Roslyn High School students took over the home economics building to protest Principal Robert V. Canosa's refusal to permit an observance of the deaths of the Jackson State College students killed by police, and the slain in Augusta, Georgia. A statement released by the students said, "You white students took your day and that's what we as black students are going to do. Brothers and sisters are not forgetting about their people being murdered." They were referring to 5 May, the day after the Ohio National Guard killed four Kent State University students protesting American policy in Indochina, when Roslyn High School shut down with no disciplinary action against the students for their peaceful protest. In the words of Clayborne Carson, an editor of *Eyes on the Prize*, the killing of two black students at Mississippi State "received only a fraction of the press coverage given the killing the same month of white students at Kent State."<sup>17</sup>

There was also a "90 minute march that begun at Pilgrim State Medical Hospital and ended with a rally outside of the state division of human rights office in Brentwood." The march was held to honor the Jackson State students and the blacks who were killed in Augusta, Georgia. Although there were only about thirty blacks in Roslyn's 1,500 student population, their voices were allowed to be heard. On 3 June, Canosa relented and the students won the right to observe the Jackson State and Georgia deaths. Classes were suspended for workshops, assemblies, and a memorial service.<sup>18</sup>

A student, Kirk Williams, spoke to seventy mostly white parents after the memorial service. He tried to explain why blacks died at higher rates: "We die from dope. We die from ill housing and poor education. We might not die on the steps of Roslyn High School. We might die in Hempstead, California, or Vietnam, but we die." He also spoke of the bias with which he had to deal in school: every day "I had to put up with guidance counselors who told me I could not keep up with the work." By the end of the session, some of the parents, while they may not have agreed with it, understood his point of view.<sup>19</sup>

### Conclusion

These students, as well as many others, spoke out against racial injustice and imbalance in their schools. Some, like the students at Roslyn, found a peaceful way to protest. Others, like the students in Hempstead and Glen Cove, used violence to make their statements. The events of the year 1970

showed that peaceful demonstrations were often more effective than violent ones. The zoning changes in Oyster Bay continued to be debated through the year. Many people who lived in the affected areas feared that a rise in crime and a drop in property values would result, while those people who would move into the low-income zones wanted a chance to live in nicer neighborhoods and better school districts. No matter what decision was made, one side would stand to lose something. Traditional racial relations began to crumble as new ones formed, causing this period of tension. Adjustments had to be made in troubled areas to help them adapt. This year also clearly pointed out that the problems of racism faced by the civil rights movement were far from over.

#### NOTES

1. For Augusta, see *New York Times*, 12 May 1970, 1; 13 May, 32; 14 May, 1. For Jackson State, see *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years: A Reader and Guide*, Clayborne Carson et al., eds. (New York: Penguin, 1987), 237-40; for the Black Panthers, see Thomas L. Blair, *Retreat to the Ghetto: The End of a Dream?* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 97-98 and passim.
2. Roy Wilkins, cited in Blair, xxi.
3. "New York Weighs Impact of Integration Bill," *Newsday*, 12 June 1970, 6.
4. Ed Lowe, "Racial Tension Key in Some Long Island Elections," *Newsday*, 1 May 1970, 9.
5. Laura Blackwell and Paul Schreiber, "Incidents Shut Hempstead High School," *Newsday*, 7 Mar. 1970.
6. Brian Donovan, "Racial Problems: In School and Out," *Newsday*, 2 Oct. 1970, 1, 6.
7. Ed Lowe, "State Education Report Finds Bellport Still Divided By Bias," *Newsday*, 6 Jan. 1970.
8. Patricia Burstein and Ed Lowe, "Bellport Study called 'Too General'," *Newsday*, 7 Jan. 1970.
9. Knut Royce and Brad O'Hearn, "Blacks, Whites Scuffle at Bellport High School," *Newsday*, 6 Jan. 1970, 7.
10. Ed Lowe and Don Smith, "Parents Meet on Bellport Fights," *Newsday*, 17 Jan. 1970.
11. Joseph M. Treen and Bill Kaufman, "Nick Backs NAACP Bid On Rezoning," *Newsday*, 9 Jan. 1970.
12. Mel Damski, "Blacks Map Zone Fight," *Newsday*, 2 Feb. 1970.; Joseph M. Treen, "Debate on Zoning Is Round-Robin," *Newsday*, 20 Feb. 1970; Bruce Lambert Jr., "Oyster Bay to Poll 70,000 On 3 Solutions to Zoning," *Newsday*, 11 Feb. 1970, 7.
13. Joseph M. Treen, "Meeting Draws Crowd, But Not Board," *Newsday*, 17 Feb. 1970, 13.
14. Joseph M. Treen, "Board Reject School District Shift," *Newsday*, 18 Sept. 1970.
15. *Ibid.*
16. Bruce Lambert Jr., "Digging In Against Bias," *Newsday*, 11 Sept. 1970, and "Catholics Probing Massapequa Bias," *Newsday*, 12 Sept. 1970, 13.
17. "Blacks Seize Roslyn High School Wing," *Newsday*, 23 May 1970, *Eyes on the Prize*, 216.
18. *Ibid.*; "Roslyn High Blacks Win Demand for Observance," *Newsday*, 3 June 1970.
19. Bob Imbriano and Henry Gilgoff, "Black Student Tells Parents 'Why We Die,'" *Newsday*, 4 June 1970, 6.

**HONORABLE MENTION**

(We will publish some of these excellent essays in forthcoming issues)

AMITYVILLE MEMORIAL HIGH SCHOOL: *Faculty Advisor, Charles F. Howlett.*

Michael Freeman and Alexis Elman, "A History of Amityville's Northeast and Northwest Schools."

Andrew Lee, "1964."

Stephanie Reese, "The Civil Rights Movement of 1968 on Long Island."

Shana Rosenbaum, "Low-Income Housing: The Forest Hills Project."

Jeff Ruyle, "Civil Rights on Long Island."

Lisa-Marie Scannepieco, "Civil Rights and the Integration Problem on Long Island in 1975."

LAWRENCE HIGH SCHOOL: *Faculty Advisor, Steven Sullivan*

Margaret Kate Chalson, "A Park for the City of Brooklyn: Class Conflict Over Recreational Space in a Nineteenth-Century City."

Adam Herbsman, "His Majesty's Loyal Subjects: Long Island's Tories and the Division of Hempstead Town."

SAYVILLE HIGH SCHOOL: *Faculty Advisor, Walker Hall*

Kevin Tolan, "Long Island: The Suburban Frontier."

SYOSSET HIGH SCHOOL: *Faculty Advisor, Martin Rogoff*

Joshua Friedlander "Brookwood Hall—Past, Present, and Future."



# Reviews

Gaynell Stone, ed. *Readings in Long Island Archaeology and Ethnohistory*, vol 3, 2d ed., *The History & Archaeology of the Montauk*. Stony Brook: Suffolk County Archaeological Association, 1993. Illustrations, notes, bibliographies, index. Pp. xxii, 685. \$75.00 (plus \$13.00 tax and shipping). Available at museum shops, or from the publisher, P. O. Drawer 1542, Stony Brook, NY 11790.

This is the second edition of *The History and Archaeology of the Montauk*, originally published in 1979 by the Suffolk County Archaeological Association as the third volume of the series entitled *Readings in Long Island Archaeology and Ethnohistory*. Approximately one-fifth of the present volume consists of material that appeared in the first edition. The purpose of the volume is to assemble all of the available information (primary and synthetic) relevant to the study of Montauk Indian history.

The modern Montauk are descendants of Algonquian speakers who, based on archaeological evidence, have inhabited the far east end of Long Island for many thousands of years. Since the European arrival in the early seventeenth century, the Montauk have been, through a variety of means, removed from their traditional lands and these have now been turned into playgrounds for the well-heeled and their retainers and functionaries. As Gaynell Stone points out in her introduction, due to the fact that they no longer possess a formal "reservation," the Montauk are less visible to the white community than other Long Island groups such as the Shinnecock and Poosepatuck who have state recognized preserves. This volume does much to reverse this state of affairs.

The seventy-one papers in the second edition are divided into nine sections. The first consists of three selections reprinted from the first edition that synthesize seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and early-nineteenth-century Montauk history. Among these are Marion Fisher Ales's 1950 master's thesis on the Montauk, and Lynn Ceci's critical appraisal of the work. New material on Montauk history is found in the second section. The most prominent piece, and to my mind the most engrossing chapter in the entire volume, is John Strong's lengthy analysis of the legal proceedings leading to the 1910 court decision in which the Montauk "tribe" was judged not to exist. This tragic event in effect served to block Montauk claims to regain the land from which they had systematically been removed during the preceding two and a half centuries. The struggle to reverse the pernicious ramifications of this judicial ruling continue to this day.

The third section, "Early Ethnographic Information on the Montauk,"

contains three important chronicles that describe (from a Christian missionary perspective) eighteenth-century Montauk life. The three works, written by the Rev. Samson Occom (a renowned Mohegan missionary leader), the Rev. Earnest Eells, and the Rev. Azariah Horton, are accompanied by introductions that place the documents in historical and interpretive contexts. In the fourth section, "Later Ethnographic Statements about the Montauk" are provided. These are primarily nineteenth- and twentieth-century newspaper and magazine articles that contain descriptions and accounts of native life on Long Island's South Fork.

Montauk families are the focus of the fifth section. The bulk of the section is a photographic archive that is organized based on detailed genealogical reconstructions. Photographs (accompanied by detailed explanatory captions) of individuals from Long Island and elsewhere (e.g., Brotherton, Wisconsin) are reproduced and keyed to accompanying text. Many of these were originally assembled by Red Thunder Cloud, a Catawba who lived with and studied the Montauk and Shinnecock for many years during the middle of this century. Others have been gathered by Philip Rabito-Wyppensenwah, who also provides the notes accompanying Maria Pharaoh's autobiography that appears in this section. Some of the photographs date as far back as the 1860s, making the collection an extremely vivid visual record of Montauk continuity.

Rabito-Wyppensenwah is also a major contributor to the sixth section, where a large selection of historical records pertaining to the Montauk is reproduced and discussed. He and other researchers have painstakingly tracked down census and colonial militia lists, tribal rolls, account books, court and meeting transcripts, town and church records, newspaper accounts, and other documents. These will prove to not only be of great scholarly value, but also of great interest to contemporary Montauk living on Long Island and elsewhere.

The seventh section treats the departure in the 1770s and 1780s of Christian Montauk, under the leadership of David Fowler and Samson Occom, from Long Island to the Brotherton community in Oneida County, New York, and the subsequent history of Long Island Native Americans in this locale. Also included is material on Brotherton, Wisconsin, where many Algonquian Indians from the Oneida community resettled in the nineteenth century. The role of Samson Occom is detailed in a paper by Russell T. Blackwood, and relevant historical information is synthesized in Robert W. Venables, "A Chronology of Brotherton History to 1850." Philip Rabito-Wyppensenwah has assembled papers relating to the Wisconsin settlement in a chapter entitled "Brotherton Revisited." In additional chapters he details the Montauk/Brotherton participation in the American Civil War, and their "herbal practices." The final chapter in this section contains a fascinating interview with June Ezold, a descendant of Samson Occom who is now the chairperson of the Brothertown Indians, and is working to re-obtain their federal tribal status.

Montauk "material culture" is the focus of the eighth section. Among the subjects treated are place names, baskets, oak splint scrubs (brushes for cleaning pots and pans), beadwork, barns, and herbal practices. With the

exception of William Wallace Tooker's "Indian Place-Names in East Hampton Town, Long Island, with Their Probable Significations" that was originally published in 1911, all of the chapters in this section report on new research, much of which was done for a 1991 exhibit and program on the Montauk that was presented at Guild Hall.

As an archaeologist, it saddens (shames?) me that the weakest section of the volume is the one treating archaeological data. This is not the fault of either the researchers whose work is reported in the ninth section or the editor of the volume. Rather, it reflects the incredibly small amount of modern scientific study that has taken place in the town of East Hampton. Although many archaeological excavations have been conducted over the last two decades, virtually all of this work has been done to meet the legal mandates of federal, state, and local regulations. Unfortunately, the reports of these studies are buried in town and state files, and their findings, as interesting and important as they might be, are not widely distributed. This lack of modern studies is clearly reflected in John Strong's synthesis of Montauk prehistory. Strong is forced to rely on studies performed in other parts of North America, the results of amateur excavations, and Long Island field studies conducted many decades ago, in order to construct a history of the first 12,000 years of Montauk settlement on the East End. An example of these very early studies is Foster H. Saville's (1920) "A Montauk Cemetery at Easthampton Long Island," which is reprinted in this volume.

As was the case with the three previous volumes she has edited, Gaynell Stone has done a commendable job of bringing together research results and documents from a wide variety of sources. The contributors to this volume are an eclectic bunch of researchers (both Native and Euro-American), who have clearly labored hard to compile every bit of information they could find on Montauk history. The volume is a rich archive that will be mined for decades, and should be (and I suspect will be) on the shelves of all serious students of Long Island and southern New England history. This is certainly not the last word on Montauk history, but rather a fruitful beginning that should generate much in the way of outstanding research in the coming years.

What is unique about the volume is that it allows for a focus on individual Montauk. By examining photographs, public documents, church records, transcriptions of oral accounts, genealogies, etc., we are able to view the lives of individual Montauk as they go about their lives and experience the transitions shared by all humans. I suspect that the research presented in this volume will prove to be useful to the Montauk in the continuing effort to regain the land that they have lost over the previous three and one-half centuries.

As a final note, I would like to comment that the price of the volume is extremely unfortunate. While the book should be owned by all students of Long Island history, the excessive cost means that it will be found primarily in a few select libraries.

DAVID BERNSTEIN  
*Department of Anthropology, USB*

Clarence Taylor. *The Black Churches of Brooklyn*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xix, 297.

This monograph explores the history and culture of a large urban community, Brooklyn, New York. Recent scholarship by Professor Taylor, and others, reveals the African American contributions to this important community. Taylor examines more than seventy-five African American religious institutions. His unique work includes both mainstream Protestant churches and Holiness-Pentecostal churches.

Clarence Taylor, professor of history at LeMoyne College, Syracuse, chronicles the history of the earliest churches in Brooklyn before the Civil War. The black churches cared for the sick, buried the dead, and educated the children. The churches provided not only social and intellectual outlets, but engaged in social protest while addressing the relevant religious needs.

In writing of the diverse character of the churches, Taylor presents an overview of the black community in Brooklyn, where African Americans have been residents since the seventeenth century. Besides the early black communities of Weeksville and Carrville, there were concentrations of African Americans in downtown Brooklyn, Fort Greene, and Williamsburg.

Historically, the black churches and the black middle-class intellectuals have been in the vanguard of social protest movements. Black churches in Brooklyn opened their sanctuaries to fugitive slaves seeking refuge and to abolitionists seeking a meeting place. The Bridge Street African Wesleyan Methodist Episcopal Church (1766/1818) is the oldest AME church in Brooklyn. Varick Memorial AME Zion Church (1818) was the first African American church in Williamsburg. Concord Baptist Church was founded in 1847 by members from Manhattan's Abyssinian Baptist Church. The Reverend William Dixon pastored the church for forty-six years, until his death in 1909. In more recent decades, Dr. Gardner C. Taylor emerged as an outspoken community leader who addressed the economic and social needs of his congregation. In 1849, the Rev. James N. Gloucester broadened the black church movement with the establishment of the Siloam Presbyterian Church. The last church founded before the Civil War was the interracial Berean Missionary Baptist Church, in 1850.

The author charts the growing influence of a black middle class in Brooklyn. Urban society offered greater opportunities to this group of ministers, physicians, teachers, and entrepreneurs. William Dixon, of Concord Baptist, and T. McCants Stewart were the most noted ministers. Stewart, a minister and a lawyer, became the attorney for Bridge Street AWME Church. George Frazier Miller, rector of St. Augustine's Protestant Episcopal Church and an early twentieth-century activist, was a socialist, pacifist, and leader in the struggle for civil rights.

Several of Brooklyn's physicians and educators were active in social and political affairs of the day. Peter William Ray, who opened a family practice on Herkimer Street and a drugstore in Williamsburg, founded the Provident

Clinical Society a year before his death, in 1906. Susan Smith McKinney Steward, who received a medical degree in 1870 from the New York Medical College for Women, founded the Women's Hospital and Dispensary in Brooklyn, was active in temperance and suffrage, and also served as organist for the Bridge Street AME Church. Susan Marie Smith married Rev. William McKinney, and later Theophilus Steward, a chaplain in the United States Army. Sarah Smith Tompkins Garnet, who began teaching in Williamsburg before the Civil War, was the first black woman appointed a school principal in New York City. Maritcha Lyons was a classroom teacher and principal in Brooklyn from 1869 until she retired in 1918. She and Garnet trained many new teachers for elementary school service.

Professor Taylor reveals the intrarelationships of Brooklyn's black middle class. Susan's older sister, Sarah, was married to the abolitionist minister, Henry Highland Garnet. Her daughter Annie married M. Louis Holly, son of the bishop of Haiti. Had Taylor investigated further, he would have learned that T. McCants Stewart married the sister of Dr. Verina Morton Jones, a friend and colleague of Susan McKinney Steward.

The black middle class justified its position in the community by arguing that the race could advance through social, economic, and moral uplift. By the second half of the nineteenth century, Brooklyn's black elite established and maintained several institutions for the aged, orphaned, poor, and destitute. The board of trustees of the Colored Orphanage included the Rev. William Dixon of Concord Baptist, W. T. Timms, pastor of Holy Trinity, and L. Joseph Brown, pastor of Berean Baptist. The Women's Auxiliary, which conducted fund-raising activities, consisted of Maritcha Lyons, Verna Waller (wife of a physician, Owen Waller), and others. African American women in Brooklyn created clubs and organizations in their churches for social, charitable, educational, and political purposes. Eleanora Walker Hill established the Dorcas Home and Missionary Society at Concord Baptist Church, in 1877, to provide assistance to the needy.

Black women challenged the patriarchal notion that men in the churches were superior to women. As Taylor asserts, this idea conflicts with the historical experiences of African American women, who, in all areas of church work except the ministry, were far more active than Taylor suggests. More women than men volunteered their services in church activities, and their efforts contributed to the success of the institutions. Cheryl T. Gilkes found that the experiences of black women in the early Sanctified Church provided for alternative careers and spheres of influence. Although Taylor cites Gilkes' study (178), he does not present a strong assessment of women's leadership as founders and supervisors of Sunday schools, Bible schools, Bible classes, and support services.

Brooklyn's middle class shaped the religious institutions of the black churches to reflect the new urban setting, which demanded accommodation to the values of the larger society. Taylor maintains that mainstream churches modified the cultural practices of American society to fit the needs of black

congregations. The churches brought culture to their members through auxiliaries, clubs, and literary societies that functioned as a mode of resistance to discrimination.

Between 1900 and the era of World War I, migration from the rural South to the North increased Brooklyn's black population. By the 1930s, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn's largest black community, was emerging as an urban ghetto. Taylor declares that while some black mainstream churches were active in politics and community affairs, most of Brooklyn's black clergy did not challenge city, state, and federal officials to improve the lives of the ghetto poor. On the other hand, black migrants to the North created institutions, like the sanctified churches, which reflected their customs and traditions. These churches, organized by working-class people, were more resistant to the cultural values of the dominant society.

A main theme in Taylor's book is the 1963 protest campaign, organized by the Ministers' Committee for Job Opportunities for Brooklyn, demanding jobs for minorities at the Downstate Medical Center construction site. Thus, the author examines a large protest in the urban North during the civil rights era. He explores the role of the radicalized black clergy and the efforts of ordinary people. Taylor explains why the black ministers reclaimed their roles as mediators between government and African Americans. The chapter shifts the focus from the southern campaigns to the role some northern black ministers played during that crucial era in American history.

In his conclusion, the author explores the careers of politically conscious black ministers in the Brooklyn community since the 1970s. He emphasizes the significant outreach program of the Bridge Street Church, directed by the Reverends Fred and Barbara Lucas. The Rev. Johnny Youngblood, of St. Paul Community Baptist Church, reached out to black men to bring them back into the church. Clarence Taylor, however, shifts to a journalistic approach when evaluating contemporary activists such as the Rev. Herbert Daughtry of the House of the Lord Pentecostal Church, and the Rev. Al Sharpton. Although Taylor claims to focus on ministers who have continued the legacy of the black churches of Brooklyn, he discusses the secular rather than the religious efforts of Daughtry and Sharpton.

Professor Taylor has written a history of *Black Churches of Brooklyn* that will interest scholars of religion, African American history, and urban history. Some black churches were more successful than others; some black ministers have been more controversial than others. Yet, all attempted to adapt black churches and the African American religious heritage to the socioeconomic problems that challenged their community.

FLORIS BARNETT CASH  
*SUNY at Stony Brook*

*Editors' note: for relevant articles by Clarence Taylor published in the LIHJ, see "Whatever the Cost, We Will Set the Nation Straight: The Ministers' Committee and the Downstate Center Campaign, LIHJ 1(Spring 1989):136-*

46, and "The Formation and Development of Brooklyn's Black Churches, from the Nineteenth to the Early Twentieth Century, LIHJ 5 (Spring 1993): 209-28.

Edward A. T. Carr with Michael W. Carr and Kari-Ann R. Carr. *Faded Laurels: The History of Eaton's Neck and Asharoken*. Interlaken, NY: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1994. Illustrations, appendixes. Pp. 324. \$24.50 postpaid, from Edward Carr, Village Historian, 117 Asharoken Avenue, Northport, NY 11768.

Today the Eaton's Neck area, the peninsula situated north of Northport, appears to be just one more pleasant, waterfront suburb. It conceals, however, a rich past, interesting in itself and closely tied to regional and national events. The sale of Eaton's Neck in 1646 to Theophilus Eaton, the governor of New Haven, was the first purchase in Huntington from the Matinecock tribe (which ten years later sold the same land as part of the Eastern Purchase to Huntington settlers, provoking the inevitable legal dispute). Later in the seventeenth century, Eaton's Neck became one of six royal manors on Long Island. One of its owners, John Sloss Hobart, played an active role in the Revolution, both as statesman and as participant in the resistance to the British occupation. After the war he was at first a New York State and then a U.S. judge, as well as, for a brief time, a U.S. Senator. He introduced the legislation authorizing the construction of the Eaton's Neck Lighthouse, the second oldest in the state. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, Eaton's Neck became tied to another thread in Long Island history, when it was purchased by John Gardiner, of the Gardiner's Island family; a substantial piece of the area remained in the family until 1955.

Throughout the nineteenth century, farming was Eaton's Neck's mainstay. Beginning in 1862, however, with the first of several land purchases, Cornelius H. DeLamater transformed almost all of Eaton's Neck into a gracious country estate and gentleman's farm. Local history again touched national history, as it was DeLamater's iron foundry which built much of the equipment for the *Monitor*, designed by his close friend, John Ericsson. Sand and gravel mining and summer excursion resorts, camps, and bungalows moved Asharoken Beach, owned largely by the town of Huntington until 1890, and Eaton's Neck into the twentieth century. Changing patterns of land use, accelerated by the Great Depression and often fiercely contested, favored suburban development, although almost one-third of Eaton's Neck remains undeveloped former estate property, held mysteriously by an anonymous owner.

Edward Carr points out in his preface to *Faded Laurels*, that as he set out briefly to update one of the two pamphlet histories earlier written about Eaton's Neck and Asharoken, where he happily spent his childhood, he became captivated by its rich past and largely untold story. Assisted by his wife and his brother, the project grew, admirably, into this comprehensive, 324-page book, the result of extensive research. Carr interviewed over forty

former and present residents, who contributed diaries, letters, and other documents as well as many of the more than 400 photographs which accompany the text. It is clear from both the text and the many current photographs included that the author combed every corner of the community, working at deciphering its history on site.

*Faded Laurels* is organized by topic in a loose chronological arrangement. There is not much about Eaton's Neck and Asharoken that misses the author's attention, from shipwrecks and school life to the Asharoken Police Department. Chapters on the DeLamater family are particularly worthwhile, for their careful delineation of Long Island estate life in both its glory and decline and of the large role this family had in shaping the character of Eaton's Neck today, its suburban landscape dotted with old mansions. The section on the successful development of Asharoken Beach as a summer resort by the respected Northport realtor, William B. Codling, affords insights into this turn-of-the-century phenomenon, aggressively promoted by the Long Island Rail Road and so much a part of Huntington's history. The chapter on sand and gravel mining succeeds in conveying the huge scope of this land-scarifying industry in Eaton's Neck and Asharoken, and satisfies the curiosity of all who visit Hobart Beach as to the nature of the offshore concrete structures--the remains of a 1911 sifting factory. Chapter 14 places the current severe coastal erosion problem in historical perspective, suggesting origins earlier than 1967, when the new LILCO plant in Northport shifted the flow of water and sand.

The narrative is enriched by the many photographs, reproductions of documents, and excerpts from ledgers, diaries, and memoirs. Lists of subjects as varied as ruins of structures no longer in existence, storms, and important participants to the community's history add interest and depth. Maps, many of which were created specifically for the book, clarify the changes in land use. House numbers are given throughout the book to identify the location of buildings, landmarks, and events, to be used in conjunction with the house-numbered map on the inside of the back cover. Unfortunately, the author does not indicate to the reader this useful feature.

The extensive maps appendix is somewhat confusing, as the maps are neither clearly identified nor are they cross-referenced to the list of maps that precede them. Another frustration is the lack of reference notes, although the sources of quotations and documents are generally identified. The few typographic and editing errors were corrected in the second, January 1995 printing.

With much affection, *Faded Laurels* was written for and will appeal most to the residents of the Eaton's Neck and Asharoken community. It also will be enjoyed by all those who appreciate Long Island history, as a readable, informative exploration of an area which resonates with the Island's familiar themes and adds a few uniquely its own.

BARBARA JOHNSON

*Northport-East Northport Public Library*



Joshua Stoff. *Charles A. Lindbergh: A Photographic Album*. New York: Dover Publications, 1995. Illustrations, index. Pp. viii, 163. \$14.95 (paper)..

Few individuals in modern history have led as intriguing a life as Charles Augustus Lindbergh. Although many books chronicle the exploits of the first person to fly solo across the Atlantic—including Lindbergh's own *The Spirit of St. Louis* and *Autobiography of Values*—not until now has there been a book which displays him through the lens of a camera. By compiling more than 250 rare photographs from Lindbergh's childhood to the end of his life, Joshua Stoff, the Air and Space Curator of the Cradle of Aviation Museum at Mitchel Field, Long Island, gives the reader a fairly penetrating look at the life of this intriguing man.

The book begins with a detailed introduction to Lindbergh's life. Stoff argues that Lindbergh, "the most famous aviator in the world...revolutionized aviation with his 3,600-mile nonstop flight from New York to Paris" (v). This event, and many others, are chronicled in more than 160 pages of photographs reproduced from originals housed at the Cradle of Aviation Museum, the National Air and Space Museum, and the Yale University Libraries. The photographs, arranged chronologically according to what they depict, are accompanied by detailed captions.

The first set of photographs depicts Lindbergh's early life. Included are portraits of his parents. His father, Charles A. Lindbergh Sr., a Swedish immigrant who was the son of August Lindbergh, a former member of the Swedish Parliament, became a Progressive Republican in Minnesota. In 1906, he was elected to Congress. Although Stoff reiterates what Lindbergh himself wrote in *Autobiography of Values* about his father's influence—that his father's opposition to America's entrance into World War I conditioned how Lindbergh would view the American debate over entrance into World War II—Stoff fails to mention that the elder Lindbergh resigned from office over his opposition to Woodrow Wilson's foreign policy.

In 1920, after having managed the family farm in Little Falls, Minnesota, Lindbergh entered the University of Wisconsin at Madison to study engineering. Less than two years later, he left the university to begin flying. He first began "barnstorming" in Nebraska. Included in this set is a picture of his Curtiss JN-4 "Jenny" after it crashed in 1923 (5).

In 1924, Lindbergh joined the U.S. Army Air Service as a Second Lieutenant. Stoff includes a series of photographs portraying Lindbergh's tenure as an Army pilot. For most of this period, Lindbergh served as an air mail carrier. The next series depicts the construction of Lindbergh's most famous plane, *The Spirit of St. Louis*. Stoff, through the pictures he has chosen, gives the reader a detailed account of the building of this Ryan monoplane, from start to finish.

Next are photographs of Lindbergh and *The Spirit of St. Louis* in the final days before taking off from Curtiss Field, on Long Island. Stoff also includes a number of pictures taken in Paris after Lindbergh landed there, including

one of the Spirit of St. Louis damaged by souvenir hunters (45). The section on Lindbergh's famous trip, which naturally comprises the largest, most detailed portion of the book, concludes with a series devoted to his return to the United States, where he was honored with a ticker-tape parade in New York City.

Following his return from Europe, Lindbergh took *The Spirit of St. Louis* on a national tour. On a visit to Havana, the twenty-five-year old Lindbergh met Juan Trippe, the head of Pan American Airways, who hired him as a technical consultant. The task of surveying flight routes for Trippe took Charles and his wife, Anne Morrow Lindbergh, on their 1931 Great Circle flight to Asia on their floatplane. (128) This ten-thousand-mile trip across northern Canada, Alaska, Siberia, Japan, and China was the longest ever made by such a plane.

Also during this period, Lindbergh became very interested in rocketry experiments conducted by Dr. Robert Goddard. While Stoff explains that Lindbergh witnessed the "first hesitant steps into rocket-propelled flight," the book contains no pictures of these events (vi).

In 1932, the Lindberghs suffered the kidnapping of their twenty-month old son. After a two-month search which riveted the American public, the child was found dead in the woods near the Lindberghs' home in New Jersey. Stoff discusses the search for the kidnapper, which ended with the trial, conviction, and execution of a German immigrant, Bruno Richard Hauptmann, in 1936.

Stoff also explains the growing bitterness between Lindbergh and Franklin D. Roosevelt, which culminated in Lindbergh's opposition to American intervention in the Second World War, for which he lost his Army Air Corps commission. But unlike his father, whose protestations against American intervention in World War I caused him to resign from Congress, Lindbergh quickly took up the American cause soon after Pearl Harbor. Stoff neglects to discuss the contrast between the two men's actions.

After working as a consultant at Henry Ford's aircraft construction plant during the early period of American mobilization, Lindbergh went to Asia, where he engaged in combat flights against the Japanese. After the war, he joined a Naval technical mission in Germany. Lindbergh continued to serve as an air and space consultant to the American military until he discovered, in 1974, that he was stricken with cancer. The book ends with a picture of his winter home in Maui, the site of his grave (162).

By accompanying these rare photographs with detailed captions and an illustrative introduction, Stoff offers an interesting and worthwhile look at one of the more intriguing figures in modern American history.

PETER PARIDES  
*SUNY at Stony Brook*

Joann P. Krieg and Natalie A. Naylor, eds. *To Know the Place: Exploring Long Island History*. Rev. and expanded ed. Interlaken, NY: Hofstra

University/Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1995. Illustrations, bibliographies. Pp. 161. \$10 (paper).

This volume of papers, presented at the May 1986 Long Island Studies Conference and originally published as *To Know the Place, Teaching Local History*, edited by Joann P. Krieg, has been revised and expanded for this second edition. The new edition is much improved in appearance, now enhanced by illustrations. The new subtitle, *Exploring Long Island History*, may be an attempt to reach a wider audience than teachers.

The contents are an eclectic lot, and include John Strong's "Indian Labor During the Post-Contact Period on Long Island, 1626-1700," and Laura MacDermeid and Rosemary Sloggatt's "'A Child's Work and Play': Hands-on Learning in a Historic House and Barn," also Charles F. Howlett's "The Creation of a Students' Local History Journal: Amityville, New York in the Twentieth Century," which, in turn, includes two examples of student research ("A History of the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church, Amityville," and "Amityville: A Vacationland"). More than half of the new edition is devoted to Natalie A. Naylor's "Resources and Bibliographies" (75-156), possibly the most useful portion for those interested in using or pursuing the story of the Island.

John Strong's paper still focuses on the economic relations between the Native people and the European newcomers, but is much expanded and focuses more on slavery and indentured servitude. It is solid, scholarly research but somewhat out of tone with the other two papers, which deal with teaching in the classroom and at a historic site. Possibly high school teachers and college instructors teaching advanced courses in American or Long Island history would find Strong's paper useful, as would the general reader interested in local Native life. The chapter is enlivened by pencil drawings by the Shinnecock artist, David Martine. For more information on the enslavement of Long Island Native people, see Philip Rabito-Wyppensenwah, "Native American Slavery on Eastern Long Island," in *The History & Archaeology of the Montauk*, Gaynell Stone, ed., vol. 3, 2d ed., 429-33 [reviewed above].

The description of the Huntington Historical Society museum education program, originally written by Laura MacDermeid in the first edition and updated by Rosemary Sloggatt for this edition, reveals a well-thought-out interactive experience for children and inventive ways to interpret the evolution of a house and its families. The material culture surviving from their lifeways which is used in the program is exceptional. Unfortunately, this model enrichment program is an artifact; financial difficulties of the Historical Society resulted in its closing. It is now available only as a summer program.

The other teacher-related paper is Howlett's interesting program to make local history come alive through the research carried out and published by his high school students. He outlines his procedures (and problems) so that any interested teacher may set up such a project. The two examples of student

research in the first edition, on "World War II Veterans Living in Amityville" and "The Amityville Horror," appropriately have been replaced with new papers on the Bethel AME Church and the nineteenth-century tourist economy of Amityville. However, the story of the Bethel Church sounds more like the church historian's account than the type of information high school students could gather. His students will never forget discovering history with Dr. Howlett.

The "Resources and Bibliographies" section by Professor Naylor, the director of Hofstra University's Long Island Studies Institute, is a compilation of books, audio-visual resources, bibliographies on many topics, a listing of historical societies, museums and historic houses, Long Island population statistics, a history chronology, and more. Many of the bibliographies stem from conferences (African American, etc.) run by the Long Island Studies Institute, and it is useful to have these heretofore-separated resources in one compilation. While handy to have Long Island population statistics in one source, they are brief (by total population only) and by county, and therefore do not provide town or village records—the most useful ones for teachers who wish to include local history in the curriculum, or for those interested in their locality.

The Museums and Historic Houses (144) and Historical Societies (139) listings provide telephone numbers—very helpful and worth the book's price alone. I did not find a listing for the Suffolk County Farm, which provides museum programs, although there was a section on Environmental Organizations (143). A bit confusing was the listing of the historical society after the name of its historic house, i.e., Sayville Historical Society after Edwards House, if one were looking at the wrong list. Although the Greenlawn-Centerport Historical Association was listed under Societies, its Suydam House Museum was difficult to find on the Museums list. And the Big Duck listed as a museum? It also would be useful to have the multi-media "Long Island Discovery" show of the DNA Learning Center listed under Audio-visual Resources (100), as well. Descriptions of the museums may be found in the sources listed in the introduction to this section.

Naylor's bibliographies on Long Island Women (126) and Nationally Notable Long Island Women (135) are an important resource for Island history—returning to this story for the first time some representatives of half the people who participated in it. The list of Important Long Islanders (129) idiosyncratically includes a few (largely Republican) politicians in the body of historic figures; how were they chosen out of the hundreds through time? The other bibliographies range from guides for local history on the national level to general readings on Island history (83), children's works (92), reference works, maps, posters and multi-media resources (91), and art and artists (96). The bibliography of African Americans on Long Island (122) by Lynda R. Day contains New York State as well as Long Island references, and the section includes other helpful resources and information difficult to find elsewhere.

The section on Long Island Native American (113) sources--place names, bibliography, teaching materials, organizations, museums--is comprehensive, but suffers from the inclusion of many outdated early books and booklets which perpetuate myths and misconceptions, and are not indicated as such. The listing of Kent Lightfoot's local archaeological reports will assist those interested in archaeology, but equally useful regional analysis by Lynn Ceci and Annette Silver have been omitted. The recommendation for C. Keith Wilbur's book, *The New England Indians* (Chester, CT, 1978), must be qualified: while the material culture and illustrations are excellent, the social information is sometimes inaccurate. Like the little girl who stated that she now knew more about dinosaurs than she cared to know, this small volume, dense with information on Long Island, provides more resources than most Island aficionados knew were there.

GAYNELL STONE

*SUNY at Stony Brook/*

*Suffolk County Archaeological Society*

## EXHIBITION REVIEW

"Long Island Maps and Their Makers." An exhibition sponsored by the Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities (SPLIA) and the State University at Stony Brook. Guest curator: David Y. Allen, map curator for the Frank Melville Jr. Memorial Library, SUNY at Stony Brook. Through December 1995, at the Gallery, Main Street & Shore Road, Cold Spring Harbor. Tuesday through Sunday, 11 am-4 pm. Admission is free. For information and a brochure, call (516) 941-9444.

This is an exceptionally fine exhibition, for which all parties involved deserve generous praise. Its eighty-odd maps, drawings, atlases, and charts—ranging in time from the Cantino Planisphere of 1502 to contemporary satellite images—afford a tantalizing glimpse of Long Island's rich cartographic history. Some of the items on display, like the so-called "Adriaen Block Chart" of 1614 (the Island's European debut), the Robert Ryder survey of 1675, or the 1858 Chase map of Suffolk County, are well-known but always repay close-up scrutiny. Many others, among them a detail of John Scott's curious 1666 map, Major John André's 1778 map of Southampton, LIRR maps from the mid-nineteenth century, or a fascinating bicycle map published by George Walker & Co. in 1897, are both unusual and wonderfully evocative. There is also a thematic map that shows where lightning strikes the Island most often, and a Soviet-era map, in Russian, that conjures up images of the Red Army bogged down on the LIE at rush hour.

"Long Island Maps and their Makers" is much more than a grab-bag of the familiar and off-beat, however; its cogent and illuminating descriptions of every item add up to a short course on the Island's economic and social development over the past four hundred years (although one might quibble

that the last hundred get less than their due). It also contains a wealth of information about the process of map-making itself. On the technical side, visitors will find brief accounts of the tools and techniques of early surveyors, an explanation of triangulation and its significance, and some suggestive remarks about the growth of federal and state interest in cartography after Independence (including a welcome appreciation for the work of Simeon De Witt, Surveyor-General of New York from 1784 to 1834). Most important, *Long Island Maps* emphasizes that while maps may have become more and more scientific derived from increasingly precise mathematical measurements and displaying data in accordance with ever-stricter standards—they are not “objective” representations of “reality.” Every map is the product of what the map-maker sees, wants to show, and has the ability to depict; what the observer sees, conversely, depends on his or her own assumptions, expectations, and expertise. Making sense of a map (indeed our very definition of what constitutes a map) is thus no simple matter, and *Long Island Maps* deserves high marks for conveying some of the fascinating complexities of that task.

EDWIN G. BURROWS  
*Brooklyn College*

*Editors' note: for L.I. map articles by David Y. Allen, see "Dutch and English Mapping of Seventeenth-Century Long Island," LIHJ 4 (Fall 1991):45-62, and "Long Island Triangulated: Nineteenth-Century Maps and Charts of the U.S. Coast Survey," LIHJ 6 (Spring, 1994):191-207*

## GAME REVIEW

Jay Iaquina. *Long Island Trivia—The Race to Montauk*. Valley Stream: Long Island Trivia, 1992. A board game. \$29.95 (add \$2.55 tax plus \$2.45 shipping per game), from Long Island Trivia, Inc., P. O. Box 1031, Valley Stream, N.Y. 11582-1031.

Jay Iaquina, a physical education teacher at Lynbrook Middle School who doubles as Hewlett High School's football coach, has created a source of informative entertainment for trivia buffs who care about what makes Long Island so special a place. Choosing one of four methods of racing from the Nassau County border to Montauk Point--driving on the Long Island Expressway or Sunrise Highway, riding the Long Island Rail Road, or taking the ocean route--players progress along their selected routes by correctly answering questions on the four categories of history, geography, sports and leisure, and entertainment and “in the news.” The 250 questions, which span the centuries in content, are presented four-to-a-card, with three possible answers to each on the back (the right response is underlined). Added fun involves a player's right to advance two spaces by waiving the right to hear a

reading of possible answers: also, the “reader” can “steal” the question by giving the correct answer without checking the back of the card. Needless to say, a strict, no-peek honor system is needed.

The game defines Long Island as Nassau and Suffolk, but contains questions about the Mets (Queens), Jets (once Queens, now New Jersey), Giants (once Manhattan, now Jersey), and the Manhattan-based Knicks and Rangers, a form of poetic license that probably is justified. However, the tight definition leads to several problems, such as the names of the Long Island signers of the Declaration of Independence: William Floyd is the stated answer, omitting Francis Lewis, of Whitestone, to say nothing of Philip Livingston, who had a summer home in Brooklyn and is usually classified “one of ours.” Does not Suffolk County has five rather than four rivers, including the missing Forge River?

Well, all quibbling aside, this game is a delightful and pain-free form of education about Long Island, enhanced by its attractive 16” x 25” game cloth put up in a plastic cylinder. The maker, Jay Iaquina, invites readers to submit their own questions for possible inclusion in the next edition of *Long Island Trivia*.

ROGER WUNDERLICH  
*SUNY at Stony Brook*

### **Book Notes**

Irwin Silber, comp. and ed. *Songs of the Civil War*. 1960; reprint, Dover Publications, 31 East 2d. Street, Mineola, NY 11501, 1995. Illustrations, sources, references, index. Pp. 385. \$14.95 {paper}.

This splendid collection presents the words, music, and histories of the rousing marches, inspiring anthems, hymns and spirituals, romantic ballads, and comic ditties that marked the bloody period of fratricidal conflict, with interpretive essays preceding each of the book’s nine sections. Here are songs of the North and the South, of the Union and the Confederate armies, of slavery, abolitionism, and politics, and of personalities from Abe Lincoln to John Brown to Robert E. Lee to the troops of the Massachusetts Fifty-Fourth (Colored) Regiment. “Battle Hymn of the Republic,” “Dixie,” “Go Down Moses,” “The Yellow Rose of Texas,” “Gooper Peas,” and many other favorites are among the 125 songs preserved by the editor and folksong expert, Irwin Silber. This heartwarming Dover classic is a bonanza for everyone who cherishes America’s past.

### **To be reviewed in our Spring 1996 issue:**

David S. Reynolds. *Walt Whitman’s America: A Cultural Biography*. New York: Alfred K. Knopf, 1995. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xii, 671. \$55.00.

# Communications

To the Editor:

Proposals for papers on any aspect of Quaker History are invited for the eleventh biennial meeting of the Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists. The meeting will be held at Oakwood School in Poughkeepsie, NY, 21-23 June 1996. Send a one-page abstract to Charles L. Cherry, Department of English, Villanova University, Villanova, PA 19085. Deadline is 31 December 1995.

CHARLES L. CHERRY, CHAIR

*Steering Committee, Quaker Historians and Archivists*

Dear Editor (the latest epistle from our man in Nome, Alaska: readers' comments are invited)

Part of the fun of living in Nome over the winter is that the Iditarod Dogsled Race ends here. The Iditarod, sometimes referred to as a Mardi Gras with dogs, has become an Alaskan winter carnival of the first order... Dog teams finish for days after the winner comes in, arriving at all times of the day and night, every finisher met by cheering crowds.

For night spots, Nome is loaded. They go back to when we had twenty thousand people here. Some of the people left, but none of the bars. Nome always has boasted of as many bars as churches. While the churches are spread throughout the city, however, six bars are centrally located within one hundred yards of each other. It's like six bachelor house parties going on at the same time. The crowd crashes each one between dog team finishes. During the week of Iditarod, saloons stay open until 5 AM in tribute to the early wild days of Nome (which ended sometime in the 1980s).

Besides the mushers' families, friends, supporters, volunteers, and dog-fan groupies wandering through town, the largest single-site amateur basketball tournament in the world takes place in Nome at this time. More than eighty teams compete from all over rural Alaska and most of the state's cities, with occasional entries from Seattle and Oregon. The Bering Sea Ice Golf Classic plays through Front Street and onto the Arctic Ocean (or Arctic Polar Cap, as it becomes during winter) during the weekends of the dog race. Powdered-lime Jell-O was once sprinkled on the ice to designate putting greens. The rules for the Ice Classic are simple. You get five golf balls per team and play



until you run out of balls or loose interest. The team that gets the farthest through the course wins. There are no water hazards unless you count crevasses, horizontally blowing snow, frost heaves, and heaved sea ice, itself. Some more potent beverage hazards force opponents into early submission...

Nome's population almost doubles to 5,000 Alaskans, with a scattering of visitors from everywhere else. For years, full jets have chartered out of Seattle...Film crews are here from Japan and Italy,... Europeans decorate our street corners, Aussies and Kiwi's are in abundance, and Russians appear at every party.

Nearly every family in Nome has two or three visitors or newly found friends camped out on their floor. More than one family has begun on Nome's floors later in the Iditarod night, or at least been contemplated, in the fever of the wee-wee hours after the bars closed.

There is joy in the arctic, spring is nearly upon us. Iditarod marks the last of the minus-20 degree weather, and week-long storms. St. Patrick's Day, which occurs in the middle of the race, makes us all Irish for at least a night...

Mushers travel day and night during the race, rarely sleeping. Even while the dogs rest, the musher must mend his or her sled, cook dog food, care for his or her dogs' feet, camp, eat and socialize. Race rules forbid anyone from helping the musher. Standing alone on the runners behind their sleds for hours on the trail, mushers report conversations with family members, both living and dead; driving into baseball stadiums; swimming pools along the trail; and talking dogs. As one musher put it this year,

If you stare at 14 running huskies from our angle for 20 hours a day, each dog's rear end picks up a distinctive face with long braids or beard and mustache going down the sides and a fancy plume over their foreheads...it doesn't take much...before you're answering the strange faces. These conversations are only the beginning of your Iditarod dreamlife...

One of my favorite Iditarod stories is about the dazed lady musher who got up in the middle of a nap to feed her dogs, only to discover she'd put her seal skin parka on fur side in. A radio broadcaster asked how she felt later that day. She said she was tickled pink by the experience until she could find a shirt to wear under that coat.

Lew Tobin, P.O. Box 1585,  
Nome, AK 99762

Dear Readers,

According to William J. Ridings Jr. and Stuart B. McIver, their poll of 719 professors of history from forty-seven states and Canada ranked the first thirty-nine presidents (Washington through Reagan) in the following order of merit:

- The five highest:
1. Abraham Lincoln
  2. Franklin Roosevelt
  3. George Washington
  4. Thomas Jefferson
  5. Theodore Roosevelt

- The five lowest:
35. Franklin Pierce
  36. Ulysses Grant
  37. Andrew Johnson
  38. James Buchanan
  39. Warren Harding

Among recent presidents, Dwight Eisenhower ranked 9, Lyndon Johnson 12, John Kennedy 15, Jimmy Carter 19, Ronald Reagan 24, Gerald Ford 25, and Richard Nixon 30.

The editors

Dear Editors:

Thank you for an excellent journal. I'm learning more about Long Island than I ever did growing up in Brooklyn.

Henry P. Silka  
*Los Angeles*



**SUBSCRIBE TO THE LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL JOURNAL**

\$15 a year  
Published Fall and Spring

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

Please make checks payable to *LIHJ*, and mail to:

**LIHJ  
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY  
SUNY AT STONY BROOK  
STONY BROOK, NY 11794-4348.**

Please send a gift subscription in my name to:

Recipient's name \_\_\_\_\_

Recipient's street \_\_\_\_\_

Recipient's city \_\_\_\_\_ state \_\_\_\_\_ zip \_\_\_\_\_

Donor's name and address: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**A subscription to *LIHJ* is a historic gift**

**READERS' REMARKS**

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



**Long Island Historical Journal**

Department of History

State University of New York at Stony Brook

Stony Brook, NY 11794-4348

Non-Profit Org.  
U.S. Postage  
PAID  
Permit No. 65  
Stony Brook, NY  
11790