The image is a monochromatic blue-toned cover for a journal. It features an aerial photograph of a city, likely Long Island City, with a prominent tower and a grid of streets. In the foreground, a man wearing a dark suit, a patterned tie, and a fedora hat is smiling and looking down. The title 'THE LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL JOURNAL' is printed in a bold, serif font in the upper left corner.

**THE LONG ISLAND  
HISTORICAL  
JOURNAL**

**Spring 1995**  
Volume 7 • Number 2



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

*Walt Whitman*

*Spring 1995*

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*Cover:* Robert Moses, ca. 1930, and aerial view of Jones Beach State Park, 3 July 1932, courtesy of the New York State Department of Parks Recreation and Historic Preservation: Long Island Region.

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

For information write to the  
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# Editorial Comment

We dedicate this issue to the late Hugh Gregg Cleland, professor emeritus, USB, interpreter of the American past and lifelong champion of freedom. This man of good will excelled as a soldier, teacher, husband, father, and dauntless friend of democracy; he enlightened countless students, worked ceaselessly for social progress, and, among many other accomplishments, proposed the creation of the *Long Island Historical Journal*. Farewell to you, Hugh Cleland, may your memory never fade.

After a tribute to Hugh by his colleague David Burner, Charles F. Howlett examines the Long Island anti-Vietnam War movement, in which Cleland played a significant role. Sadly, we also present Mitzi Caputo's memoir of Rufus Burford Langhans, the Huntington Town Historian whose work may be emulated but never surpassed.

Three articles focus on Long Island in the American Revolution: Michael Hayes reappraises the death of Gen. Nathaniel Woodhull, while he was a prisoner of the British after the Battle of Long Island; Patrick J. McNamara analyzes the life and work of the noted Queens County Loyalist, judge, and historian, Thomas Jones; and Sarah Buck explores a North Hempstead housewife's dairy, purportedly written during the Revolution but actually in the mid-nineteenth century, thus giving an antebellum overlay to patriot ideology.

After Maxwell C. Wheat Jr.'s evocative poem on Great South Bay, Marc Fasanella contributes part two of his series on Robert Moses and the creation of Jones Beach State Park. We then release the first evaluation of the Long Island Long-Term Marriage Survey by its organizer, Finnegan Alford-Cooper. Last, but far from least, are Michael J. Robinson's summary of the archives of the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, and Frances R. Kesler's "Lost and Found" assessment of the novelist, Faith Baldwin. We conclude with another comprehensive assortment of reviews and communications.

This completes our seventh volume of studies of Long Island as America. You soon will receive a renewal notice, to which we hope you promptly attend. Please note that the annual rate is still \$15.

Our exciting plans for Volume 8 can be carried out only with your support. It is you who sponsor the study of Long Island as America—our future is in your hands.

# **A Life of Integrity: Hugh Gregg Cleland 1922-1995**

*By David Burner*

The late Professor Hugh Gregg Cleland lived labor history from childhood. His life and teaching were faithful to that heritage, and a contribution to it.

Professor Cleland was born in Marion, Ohio, in 1922. In the year of his birth, his father was engaged in a railroad shopmen's strike while his mother gave piano lessons. Soon his father found work in Detroit on an auto assembly line, commuting home on weekends. In 1928 the family moved to Akron. There the elder Cleland was employed at General Tire and Rubber. Both of Hugh's grandfathers encouraged him to study history. One, a railroad engineer originally from New Hampshire, had read books about American history, particularly the Revolution. The other grandfather was a dentist interested in Native American culture: he would take arrowheads in lieu of payment. In Hugh, a love of history and a feeling for the country's labor past coalesced.

Industrial Akron was alive with the energies of the labor organizing that responded to the Great Depression and the politics of the New Deal, and involvement in the movement came early to Cleland. He lived in Goodyear Heights and attended Goodyear High School. Each day he passed by the main plant of Goodyear Tire and Rubber. He would see the street fires union organizers lit to keep warm; he listened to their speeches and avidly read their leaflets. Becoming editor of his school paper, he also had the independence to join the Young People's Socialist League. Before being inducted into the army in World War Two he entered Cleveland State. Then called Fenn College, it was one of several YMCA schools that required students to work in alternate semesters. Fenn had a radical, working-class student body, and Cleland broadened his understanding by attending American Student Union conferences in Boston.

Called to active duty early in 1943, Cleland was assigned to the army horse cavalry. Upon its dissolution, he worked as a staff sergeant in Florida, training troops recruited from Nisei relocation centers. In spring 1945 he was assigned to improve his Japanese at the Monterey Language School, and to study intelligence reports preparatory to landing in Japan as part of a team charged with governing a prefecture there during the early time of military government.

After the service Hugh returned stateside in 1946 to complete his college education under the G. I. Bill of Rights. He attended the University of West Virginia, where he met his wife Celia. He moved to the University of

Pittsburgh to complete his M.A. and then to Western Reserve University, now Case Western Reserve, earning his doctorate in 1957. His dissertation continued his commitment to labor and social progressivism: it was a history of the United Electrical Workers, the famous “union in the valley.” He returned to Pittsburgh, but, with the university there facing bankruptcy, quickly took a job proffered to him at Stony Brook by the department chair, Richard Morse, now a professor of Latin American history at Yale.

Professor Cleland soon served as acting chair of the department and had a role in hiring many of its now senior members. The University of Pittsburgh published his study of George Washington’s military operation off the Western frontier, and he was a major contributor on labor history topics to the *Encyclopedia Americana*. He also did research on the rapid demobilization following World War Two, conducting extensive oral histories on the subject. In his teaching he aimed, and succeeded, at the mammoth task of conducting large courses well. In doing this he practiced educational theater, using props and homemade slides in his classes. Among the props was a single-shot derringer carried in his boot. With a group of excellent teaching assistants, Cleland managed the course so that students could not escape assignments. Meanwhile, he was a leading figure in the founding of the *Long Island Historical Journal*. In recognition of his unique work in the classroom he was given the Chancellor’s Award for Excellence in Teaching. He retired from Stony Brook in 1991.

Hugh’s loyalty to his labor upbringing expressed itself in activity outside the campus. After college he worked briefly for the American Veterans Committee, a liberal veterans’ organization connected to the Democratic Party. Later he served on committees of the Socialist Party in New York State and assisted Michael Harrington, Irving Howe, Lewis Coser, and others in setting up the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC)—now Democratic Socialists of America (DSA)—in response to President Nixon’s authorization of the bombing of Hanoi. He served as the Democratic Party zone leader for Stony Brook and worked closely with the present Democratic assemblyman, Steven Engelbright. In his political activism he stood for the old-fashioned democratic left. Here, as in his classes, his was a life of integrity.



*Hugh Gregg Cleland*

*Photograph, 1989, courtesy of Celia Cleland*

# In Memoriam: Rufus Burford Langhans

*By Mitzi Caputo*

Rufus Burford Langhans, Huntington Town Historian, died 2 November 1994. At his request, we dare not say “he passed away.” He was born in Queens in 1922, the son of Otto and Arixene Burford Langhans, moved with his family to Huntington in 1938, and lived most of his life in a house built in 1705 by Walt Whitman’s great-uncle. After earning a degree from Colgate in 1943, Mr. Langhans served in the Army Air Corps, then taught history in the New York City schools for five years before becoming a librarian in the Smithtown schools, a position he held for twenty-five years.

Mr. Langhans held an M.A. in history from New York University, an M.S. in education from Hofstra, and an M.S. in library science from the State University of New York at Albany. In 1970 he was appointed to the position of Huntington Town Historian and thereby established his place in history. For the next twenty-five years, through twelve town administrations, his tireless and fearless pursuits in the cause of historic preservation and his flamboyant techniques in the teaching of history gained wide coverage in the media. His impressive resumé indicated no formal training or experience in the theater, but his performances kept his audiences spellbound and unaware that they had received a lesson in history until they later began reciting historical facts.

The Huntington Militia was re-established in 1973 by Rufus Langhans, who served as their Muster Master. They were on hand when he hanged an effigy of King George on the Village Green and blew it up with gun powder, as Huntingtonians had done two hundred years before to celebrate the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Long Islanders will long remember and future generations will read about his famous trip to London in 1976 to present a bill for \$15,000 to the British government for nonpayment of vouchers left behind by their occupation forces billeted in Huntington during the American Revolution.

During his tenure as Town Historian, Mr. Langhans published more than thirty volumes of Huntington’s documentary heritage. As chairman and later as secretary of the Huntington Historic Preservation Commission, he identified and inventoried some 1,200 structures, 400 of which have been placed under protective zoning by the town. When he could not obtain funds for a project that needed attention he would resort to alternative and clever

means. His "Adopt-a-Cemetery" program has spread across the country.

He is survived by brothers Paul and Robert Langhans, who established a Rufus B. Langhans Memorial fund at the Huntington Historical Society. He will long be remembered.



*Rufus B. Langhans  
Photograph, 1989, courtesy of the  
Huntington Historical Society*

# Long Island Confronts the Vietnam War: The Review of the Antiwar Movement, *Part One*

By Charles F. Howlett

*Author's Note: I dedicate this article to the late Professor Hugh Gregg Cleland of USB, whose courage and convictions in the search for truth remain a source of inspiration.*

Few events in the nation's history have exerted the dramatic and lasting impact of the war in Vietnam. For close to ten years the American people were torn between allegiance to the flag and opposition to this conflict. Neither the conduct of the war nor the rationale for fighting it engendered a groundswell of popular support. Night after night the TV news carried pictures of our armed forces burning villages, bombing forests, and generally wreaking havoc on people not perceived as "the enemy." Passions heated, disagreement ran deep, remaining neutral became more difficult each passing year that our troops remained. Large numbers of soldiers, myself among them, thought they had gone to Vietnam to stop the spread of Communism but became disillusioned during their tours of duty. Once discharged, they encountered disdain, neglect, or indifference at home; some joined antiwar groups such as Vietnam Veterans Against the War. In September 1970, while a passenger on a commercial airliner wearing my Marine uniform, I experienced first-hand the growing tendency among civilians to extend opposition to the war to contempt for those who fought it. A flight attendant explained her lack of attention to me by saying, "Marines are nothing but killers and I hate the war in Vietnam." Morale was further eroded as many draft-age civilians evaded service by means of college or occupational exemptions, feigned or induced ailments, or flight to Canada; a minority risked going to jail by openly refusing to comply with governmental regulations. This two-part series, a prime example of the premise "Long Island as America," reviews local antiwar protest in the context of the national movement.<sup>1</sup>

In *Vietnam: The War at Home*, the first popular account of the antiwar movement, the journalist Thomas Powers notes that the war and the opposition movement took place simultaneously with a host of such other unsettling events as: "sharp and sudden changes between the races; the "passage of progressive legislation... pending since the New Deal," followed by a "frustrating failure to put it into effect"; "a new readiness to question the

most accepted institutions and principles”; a “spontaneous movement among the young to change” the American way of life, and then to “reject it outright”; “a heightening of passions on all sides to the point where charges of treason and genocide were not only casually made but widely believed”; a developing “atmosphere of violence culminating in urban riots” as in Detroit, Watts, and Newark; such virtual “street battles between police and protestors” as the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago; the murders of Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert F. Kennedy; and, finally, a cascading distrust of the federal government after the Watergate scandal. All these, comments Powers, “played a part in public attitudes toward the war and in varying degrees, were even consequences of the war.” A history of the period “must be a history of the passions it aroused and the manner in which they finally forced a deeply reluctant nation to recognize the fact of the war, to face the doubts it had raised, and finally to reject it.”<sup>2</sup>

### **Analysis of the movement**

Critics found it difficult, often impossible, to agree on tactics. One reason for this dissention within dissention was that the war was of secondary importance to many trying to end it. Civil rights organizations were concerned as much with injustice at home as with war abroad. Student groups worried about the draft, and were prone to “bruising ideological struggles on points of purely theoretical interest.” Traditional peace organizations, like the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), the War Resisters League (WRL), the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), and the Woman’s International League for Peace and Freedom, “were obsessed with being ‘responsible,’ which generally meant trying to come up with an alternative Viet Nam policy which might conceivably be accepted by those in power.” Old-line pacifist aggregations were joined by new groups such as the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) and the Committee for Nonviolent Action (CNVA), both of which originated early in the Cold War to protest nuclear testing. SANE (eventually led by Dr. Benjamin Spock, the nationally-known pediatrician) assumed a leadership role in the main-stream movement, which, in the early 1960s, received an additional boost from the formation of Women Strike for Peace. In addition, a small but vocal assortment of socialist revolutionaries made no secret of their desire to bring down capitalism—in spite of their willingness to follow nonviolent strategies during many antiwar demonstrations. Although all these groups could be coaxed into tenuous and temporary agreement on a single slogan or course of action, they usually pulled in their own directions.<sup>3</sup>

The inevitable struggle over purpose and strategy was never resolved. Despite uneasy and temporary alliances during peace parades in Washington and nationwide Moratoriums, many factions attacked each other as fiercely as they attacked the war. Constant friction existed between the Old and New Left for control, a contest addressed in Fred Halstead’s insider account, *Out Now!: A Participant’s Account of the American Movement Against the*



*Vietnam War*. The Old Left, led by the waning but not yet moribund Communist party and its sympathizers (with some competition from its arch-rivals, the Trotskyites) sought to rebuild a mass movement around the issue of the war. The New Left, exemplified by the militant Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), founded in 1962, favored creation of “a broad radical movement which would emphasize other issues along with the war.” Though they tended to follow the Moscow line, Old Leftists “proved to be the most tireless opponents of the war.” Many now-mature “red diaper” babies, nurtured on their parents’ ideology, exercised considerable influence within the New Left in general and SDS in particular, which eventually declared itself Marxist-Leninist until its demise in 1969. The dozen or so minor socialist and revolutionary groups made no secret of their desire to bring down capitalism—this in spite of their willingness to follow nonviolent strategies during the many antiwar parades and demonstrations.<sup>4</sup>

For all its diversity the movement survived, its image harmonious on the surface while confusion and disagreement reigned beneath. Its most significant characteristic was its ability to coalesce when confronted with varying situations. Opposition was based on a tenuous alliance among liberals critical of Lyndon B. Johnson and Richard M. Nixon’s Vietnam policies, radical pacifists like A. J. Muste, the brothers Daniel and Philip Berrigan, and David McReynolds, and leftists such as Tom Hayden, Fred Halstead, Michael Harrington, and Sidney Lens, who perceived a connection between the war in Indo-China and domestic injustice and racial poverty.

In the view of Roger Wunderlich, an active wartime member of SANE in Nassau County, the movement cut across generational, political, economic, and often intrafamily lines: it was a composite of ad hoc protestors against “an illegal, immoral, undeclared war,” in tandem with agenda-following Old and New Leftists. But wherever they stood ideologically, whether conservative, liberal, radical, or pacifist, the vast majority of demonstrators demanded an end to the fighting and a negotiated settlement. Moderates saw the presence of radical activists, Communists, and anarchists as a tactical handicap, yet regarded the cause of ending the war as worth the association. A minority, in step with the theme of black nationalism, maintained that liberation was as important as peace; American troops should withdraw from Indochina and let the revolutionaries triumph.<sup>5</sup>

The deeds of the millions of protestors who publicly expressed opposition deserve recounting, for they “succeeded through their efforts in affecting both the conduct of U.S. war policies and the national self-image itself.” These people held an “abiding belief...that victory on Washington’s terms...would be worse for the United States and world peace than any foreseeable alternative.” The *Nation* expressed their position as early as 1965: “Victory in a war such as the United States is waging in Vietnam would demean our country more than defeat. This is the crux of the opposition.”<sup>6</sup>

The historians Charles Chatfield and the late Charles DeBenedetti have examined the difference from previous peace movements, especially in their

collaborative *An American Ordeal: The Antiwar Movement of the Vietnam Era*, as well as by Joseph Conlin, the editor of *American Anti-War Moments*. First, forcible resistance represented both the movement's loss of faith in the public's electoral wisdom, and its increasing radicalization. Although most demonstrations were peaceable, some attempts to disrupt the war machinery were accompanied by violence. However, the most surprising feature "was not the erratic actions of a few, but that after years of frustration, the movement was still vital." Few American mass movements of such intensity have such a history.<sup>7</sup>

Second, the movement was unique in the number of its activists. Conlin notes that while comparable numbers of citizens opposed the War of 1812 (the near-secession of New England at the Hartford Convention of 1814-1815), the Mexican War (abolitionists, Free-Soilers, and independent anarchists like Henry David Thoreau), and World War 1 (Socialists), never had hundred of thousands taken to the streets so urgently. Compared to preceding decade, the 1960s and early 1970s were years of political turmoil, with the antiwar movement at the center, together with civil rights protests.<sup>8</sup>

Third, the movement was distinct in its comprehensive nature, its protestors as heterogeneous as American society. Small town demonstrations were likely to include housewives, business men, doctors, dentists, ministers, and even blue-collar workers. City demonstrations in New York, Chicago, San Francisco, and, Washington, DC, added students, professors, bohemians, more clergy, school teachers, veterans in uniform, including those who served in Vietnam, and show-business celebrities. A number of retired generals spoke out against the war, as did a growing list of U.S. senators and representatives.<sup>9</sup>

To capture the dynamics of the anti-Vietnam War movement is no easy chore. Chatfield argues that there were many antiwar movements. Notably, there was no one directing organization, leadership, or ideology. Tensions resulted from the variety of intramovement assessments of American society and foreign policy. The movement was more assembled than organized. Constituent organizations were national, regional, and local, with only loose connections among the levels of the groups involved. In spite of ideological differences between its mainstream core and radical fringe, the movement gathered millions of Americans no longer willing to accept the devastating and indiscriminate violence meted out by the nation's armed forces in Southeast Asia.<sup>10</sup>

### **Early stages of protest on Long Island**

The movement on Long Island reflected the national movement, but lacked its divisive acrimony among the many groups involved. Most actions were local, with large protests marked by the sharing of resources and personnel. As the war dragged on, more and more community-based groups formed coalitions questioning its moral legitimacy, and allying themselves with those who believed that the United States should withdraw because

victory was no longer a viable option.

The deployment of U.S. Marines to Da Nang in March 1965 signaled the nation's full-scale military commitment. At home, the event was met with a modicum of skepticism. Since the end of World War Two, Americans had accepted the containment theory as part of cold war ideology, but as rising numbers of G.I.'s were killed in combat, whether in rice paddies in the south or jungles and mountains in the west, sentiment began to change. College campuses on Long Island took significant initiatives and soon became the centers of antiwar activity. An early form of protest were the "teach-ins," gatherings at which informed professors and outside speakers conducted informal discussions and study sessions designed to enlighten students about the war, the Saigon government, and the civil strife between North and South Vietnam.<sup>11</sup>

The first teach-in on the Island took place at Adelphi University on 10 May 1965. For six and one-half hours, reported *Newsday*, the pros and cons of U.S. policy "were debated, cheered and laughed at...in a setting of basketball hoops and orange drinks." Some eight hundred people filled Woodruff Hall Gymnasium as "seven speakers thrashed away at the Vietnam issue from 7:15 pm until 1:45 am." Proponents of government policy received polite applause, while "lustly cheers" were raised for anti-administration speakers who said the U.S. should get out of Vietnam." Turner Shelton, a special assistant to the assistant secretary of state for public affairs, maintained that the U.S. was "responding to the request of hard-pressed South Vietnam for aid in resisting aggression planned, directed and supplied from Communist North Vietnam, which, in turn, is backed by Communist China." The audience laughed in derision when he began one sentence: "In self-defense we are bombing bridges, roads and ammunition dumps."<sup>12</sup>

In response to Turner's plea that "you should believe your government," Stanley Millett, the new chair of Adelphi's Political Science Department, stated: "The government has lied, misrepresented, distorted and sought to keep news about Vietnam from reaching us." Millett, who recently had returned from visiting South Vietnam, believed that it was a civil war in which the Communists "will gain power eventually regardless of what the U.S. does, and that this would not lead to the fall of all Southeast Asia."<sup>13</sup>

The symposium, sponsored by the Adelphi University and Hofstra University Student and Faculty Committee on Vietnam, was conducted in an orderly fashion. In addition to Shelton, defenders of U.S. policy were Christopher Emmett of the American Friends of Vietnam, Kieran O'Doherty, a Conservative party candidate for Congress in 1964, and Earl Phillips, an assistant professor at Fordham Law School. Critics, along with Millett, were Clark Kissinger of SDS and professors Donald Koster of Adelphi's English Department and John Ullman, chair of Hofstra's Marketing and Management Department. Students and others attending were exposed to a wide range of opinions. An Adelphi graduate student in social work, Natalie Budner, remarked that "I came because its very important to hear both sides of the Vietnamese question, especially the anti-administration point of view, which

is usually stifled.” Shelton’s remarks had a negative impact on Marjorie Linn, a freshman undecided until the meeting, who now thought the United States should withdraw: “He [Shelton] is using propaganda, he hasn’t backed up a thing he said.” However, a senior, Gregory Anderson, claimed that “while there has been much criticism of the administration, many people who support it haven’t spoken out.”<sup>14</sup>

Shortly after this teach-in, the State University of New York at Stony Brook (USB) held its own meeting. Recently relocated from Oyster Bay, and situated not far from Brookhaven National Laboratory, USB sought to become one of the country’s foremost centers of scientific research. It represented the new state university research model, catering to suburban, middle-class students with high academic potential. According to Hugh G. Cleland, then a USB professor of history:

Students entering universities at this time entered into an enormous expansion of education. After World War Two there was a general questioning of American values. The very things fought against in the war were all around us here.

Such issues, Cleland stated, were the struggle for integration in the South, the rebellion against the traditional roles of women sparked by Betty Freidan’s *The Feminine Mystique*, and the awareness of environmental disasters inspired by Rachel Carson’s *Silent Spring*. Inexpensive, state-sponsored, higher education together with the Island’s strong economy gave USB the boost it needed. As Cleland observed, “Because of the economic upswing and the availability of jobs there was no fear on the part of students.” They were free to tackle the pressing social and political issues of their day, and, in particular, the Vietnam War.<sup>15</sup>

The war turned into a major issue at Stony Brook. At a teach-in on 20 May 1965, four professors outlined their “views in a forum discussion before about 300 persons” that lasted more than five hours. The “majority of the twenty-one speakers, both faculty members and students, had only criticism for the government’s policy.” One of the most outspoken critics was Cleland, the acting Department of History chair. Fearing Armageddon, he warned: “We are flirting with World War 3. Let us instead flirt with the holy war on poverty, disease, and ignorance.” Students, faculty, and others who poured into the Chemistry Building lecture hall were treated to a lively debate. Martin Fleisher, a professor of political science at Brooklyn College, sided with Cleland against two professors from C. W. Post—Theodore Noss, chair and director of social science, and Arthur Waterman, a political scientist.<sup>16</sup>

Before floor discussion began, each professor spoke for ten minutes. As reported by *Newsday*, Cleland argued that “The [U.S.] government should immediately offer to negotiate with the Viet Cong leadership...It may be as much of a government with as much popular support as the government in Saigon.” Noss took exception, asking “Shall we back down and go with our umbrellas to Munich for peace in our time? All we got out of Korea was the

label 'paper tiger'." Noss's colleague Waterman insisted that Vietnam was a key to the United States's strategic position in the Far East, and maintained "This is not a civil war." At this point, Fleisher retorted that "The continued fighting is damaging America's image in the eyes of the free world." By the time the teach-in ended, the forty remaining listeners "appeared...evenly divided in their opinions."<sup>17</sup>

The fascination with teach-ins spread beyond the campus, as many more than college students joined the ranks of the disillusioned. A marathon discussion of U.S. foreign policy was conducted on 30 May 1965, when five Long Island ministers staged a twelve-hour Memorial Day "preach-in." The five consisted of the Reverend K. Stephen Parmelee of the Roosevelt Presbyterian Church, the Reverend Charles A. Kellogg of the Brookhaven-South Haven Church, the Reverend Frank Lanou, the Protestant chaplain at C. W. Post, the Reverend William B. MacCready, retired associate pastor of the Mineola Presbyterian Church, and the Reverend Richard E. Ploth of the Yapanck Presbyterian Church. Calling themselves the December 25th Movement, named after the birth of Jesus, their aim was "to form within the Christian Church an abiding fellowship which would witness aggressively to Christ's imperative for peace and justice." The preach-in attracted both laity and clergy, involving them in "a discussion of the ethics, rather than the mechanics, of U.S. policies in Vietnam." Parmelee endorsed it in words that Randolph Bourne, a critic of World War 1, would have approved: "We believe that the health of the state requires the criticism of the church, and that in a vital respect the church betrays its mission when it refuses, through a timid prudence, to question the actions of the state." This first religious anti-Vietnam War organization on Long Island was accompanied by a session of prayer, sermons, and discussion, patterned after the teach-ins, at the Farmingdale Methodist Church, which started at three o'clock in the afternoon of Memorial Day and ended at three the following morning.(N.18)

The movement from campus to church reflected a growing nationwide trend against the war. Student participation, however, provided the backbone of the movement during the conflict's initial stages. A 1965 *Newsday* editorial captured the essence of the early teach-ins:

All over the country, the older generation, reacting to black headlines about campus demonstrations and "teach-ins," appears shocked about this lack of conformity, about this refusal to accept existing situations. Yet we want our college graduates to be educated men and women with the ability to improve their world...An unconscious—or even conscious—desire for conformity on college campuses can never be equated with our happy hopes for the next generation. The meek may inherit the earth, but they may not survive on it.

Teach-ins were catalysts for this growing awareness, as noted by DeBenedetti and Chatfield:

The 1965 teach-ins were significant, in fact, more because of their very

organization than for their novelty or the extent of student protest. They legitimized dissent at the outset of the war...[and] served to identify a coterie of academic experts who challenged national policy, helped to make connections among them, and established them as an alternative source of information and understanding.<sup>19</sup>

The 17 April 1965 March on Washington provided added momentum to the antiwar movement on Long Island. Between fifteen and twenty thousand people,

mostly young and casually dressed, pressed into Washington on Easter Saturday...in the largest single antiwar demonstration yet organized in America. The crowd encircled the White House with a picket line and then moved to the Washington Monument.

The folksingers Judy Collins, Joan Baez, and Phil Ochs sang between speeches by the journalist I. F. Stone, the civil rights leader Robert Parris Moses, and the Yale professor of history, Staughton Lynd.<sup>20</sup>

A number of Long Island college students participated in the march, including twenty-five members of the Hofstra University Student Peace Union (SPU), founded late in the 1950s to challenge the nation's cold war policies and nuclear testing. The SPU's president, Howard Schneider, described the march as a three-stage process: the morning-long picketing of the White House; the song and speech rally near the Washington Monument; and the two-mile march to the Capitol steps, where leaders of the march "nailed a demand to the doors seeking an end to the war." Schneider summed up the event in portentous terms in the Hofstra Chronicle: "Easter weekend has been traditionally the time for peace rallies and demonstrations. But this year, unlike others, all attention was focused on that troubled area in Southeast Asia." Schneider reinforced the march's importance in a second article, quoting one of his professors, William Dobriner: "The longer we stay in Vietnam and the further we escalate this war that we cannot win, the greater is the danger that China will take a more active role as well." Schneider concluded that

An honest effort on the part of all participants, including the South Vietnamese and the American government to enforce the 1954 accords, including the provision for free elections, would result in an acceptable political solution to an urgent political problem.<sup>21</sup>

As American troop commitments rose as the fighting in Vietnam escalated in fall 1965 and spring 1966, the urgency and focus of the protest movement sharpened. Much of the sense of crisis can be attributed to the draft. St. John's University, in Jamaica, the nation's largest Catholic university, noted that on 31 August 1965, President Johnson signed a bill that made it illegal to burn or destroy one's draft card. A student, William Grant, cautioned that:

The Selective Service System has no intention of abandoning

deferment for students in colleges and universities but, under the tighter policy, draft boards will be picking up some deferred students who are not attending school full time or who are not making satisfactory progress in their classes.

Not everyone at St. Johns endorsed the prowar rally sponsored by the campus Young Republican Club from 8 through 11 November 1965 (Armistice/Veterans Day), in which more than one thousand students demonstrated their patriotism by "wearing either their draft card or the small replica of the American flag." As many students began to question the war from a moral perspective, the draft was considered an unfortunate consequence. An article in the campus paper, *The Torch*, declared that:

We can inform our fellow citizen, our government and the diplomats of the United Nations that we as individuals refuse to support even by silence the foolish and frightening activities of the American government in Southeast Asia. We can, and ought to, involve ourselves in the current peace demonstrations. As Christians we must halt a war against God and man.<sup>22</sup>

Antiwar opinions were shared at other campuses. The SUNY Agricultural and Technical College at Farmingdale, then a two-year program with many veterans enrolled, encountered sharply divided views. A 9 December student rally supported Johnson's policy, as did a petition sponsored by the National Student Council in Defense of Vietnam. However, during the rally one professor spoke out against the war. "We have used power in the past, we have resorted to war," he bellowed, "but our explanation, acceptable to the American public generally, has been that we resort to violence only at the end of the use of violence." War supporters muttered in disagreement as the professor concluded: "People are disturbed and anxious about sending troops to Vietnam to support a diplomatic position. What is it that the United States really wants in Vietnam"? Over a chorus of denunciation, the professor argued that the United States should "bring both North and South Vietnam, Red China and the USSR to the United Nations to iron out all disagreements."<sup>23</sup>

As peace demonstrators prepared for what became an annual event, the Spring Fifth Avenue Peace Parade in New York City, conceived and organized by A. J. Muste and others from the WRL, FOR, and CNVA, college protests mounted early in 1966. On 18 January, at a Farmingdale campus debate attended by two hundred people, a student council resolution proposed that "the United States should withdraw military support from South Vietnam." Speaking for the resolution, a student, Robert Rohde, contended that "the United States had no legal right for involvement in the war." Challenging this view, another student, Ron Bucelli, argued that "We must stop Communism," and that "South Vietnam asked for aid." As the lengthy debate raised more questions than answers, it was left to the students

to decide for themselves the merits of the resolution.<sup>24</sup>

Following on the heels of the Farmingdale debate was an open clash at St. John's regarding the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC), created by the National Defense Act of 1920 to provide college-educated officers. The university's Liberal Students Coalition held a demonstration that was countered by "several hundred conservatives" from the Young Republicans Club. Chair-throwing and physical confrontation ensued, as reported in *The Torch*:

In the wake of the LSC demonstration...opinions voiced by student leaders and college authorities ran the gamut of enthusiastic approval to hearty condemnation. The 'Pro' contingent stressed students' freedom to protest R.O.T.C. and the Vietnam War, and their right to full protection while so engaged, and urged condemnation of those who confronted them with authorized permission. The anti group defended R.O.T.C., [and] denounced anti-war activities as treasonous."<sup>25</sup>

One of the most interesting battles fought about ROTC took place at Hofstra University. In 1951, in the patriotic aftermath of World War Two and the cold war that ensued, Hofstra established a mandatory ROTC program. According to Dean M. C. Old, "All non-veteran freshmen and sophomores will be required to enroll in the basic course of the Army Reserve Officer Training Program," taking courses in military science, leadership drill, exercise of command, and ordnance technique. Those in the program were automatically excluded from the draft, by law.<sup>26</sup>

The program continued undisturbed until the escalation in Vietnam, when the war and ROTC suddenly became major issues, transforming this tranquil commuter campus into a hotbed of student dissent. "Throughout the nation, from Berkeley to St. John's," lamented the *Hofstra Chronicle*,

the current 'in' thing to do, besides sex and drinking, is to rise up in indignation and riot against administrative evils. Perhaps Hofstra students are too apathetic to riot, too sophisticated to protest, or too burdened by academic expenditures.

Not altogether true. The Student Peace Union quickly pressed for revocation of the mandatory program, and circulated a petition calling for the abolishment of ROTC, "an infringement on the academic freedom of the student." A number of SPU meetings dealt with the issue. At one, the Hofstra comptroller, Anthony Procelli, challenged the peace group. Procelli noted that the ROTC program received no government funds, with uniforms and some instructional material paid for by the university. His main concern was that enrollment would drop with if ROTC were abolished. A ROTC platoon leader, Bruce Harris, pleaded that

even though there were many "schleps" in the Advanced Corps, the program was still valuable and the Military Science Department as well as the Administration should have no serious objections to replacing the current mandatory program with a voluntary one.



Harris's compromise did not deter Howard Schneider, who responded: "If we can show them [the Dean's Council] that there is a large cross-section of the Hofstra community that favors the elimination of enforced ROTC, then I think we've got a chance." SPU held a series of mini-rallies, at one of which they were challenged by ROTC defenders. Richard Cooper, a senior who belonged to the Advanced Corps, saw little difference between ROTC and the mandatory language requirement: "Military training is simply another course and part of one's education." An SPU student, Karen Penner, retorted, "ROTC is an anti-intellectual experience and is useless as far as being an aspect of education," to which Cooper shot back: "Well then sitting in a class and listening to a bad teacher or going to the language lab to learn a language you'll never use is useless too." Unmoved, Schneider declared that "If the Administration does not change the ruling, we're going to try to get the support of all organized groups on campus before the new fall semester begins."<sup>28</sup>

The battle raged throughout 1965 and 1966. The beginning of the 1965-1966 academic year was greeted with a decision from the dean's council and board of trustees that did not please SPU. Dr. Clifford Lord, Hofstra's president, announced that the program would continue as part of the total university setting:

(T)he Dean's Council expresses its conviction that in a society and economy in which so large a sector is now military, it is of the utmost importance that the education of future military leadership should continue to take place in the atmosphere of the liberal arts college.

Patriotism and money were the key factors, yet the program's detractors would not be silenced, especially in light of the war's continuation. Professor E. R. Stabler, SPU's adviser, wrote in the "Faculty Forum" section of the student paper that "underlying the...decision to continue compulsory ROTC at Hofstra, there appears to be an implicit assumption...that the current military thrust in our national policy should be cooperated with as a fact of life." Sadly, students "have grown up in a climate in which some sort of military involvement is taken for granted and in which conscientious objection tends to be frowned upon." A climate is needed that permits students "to use the available intellectual and moral resources of the institution to help them reach their own decision." Stabler concluded by arguing that "I do not see how such a climate is possible on a campus with compulsory ROTC, even if the prescribed military curriculum is...made more palatable." A philosophy student, Anthony Ian, agreed:

My greatest hope for society is that there will someday be a world of social systems which exist in mutual trust...How is it possible to ever realize this end if we morally justify large standing armies?...The problem is not...whether ROTC should be compulsory, but...whether or not our present means will ever realize our ends.<sup>29</sup>

SPU's petition criticized ROTC as "a violation of academic freedom

creating an overbearing military presence on campus,” but the program maintained a core of supporters, including Fermin Guerre, a junior, who maintained that it

ensured the quality of leaders in our armed forces. In a time when men like you and me are dying far away, who are we to turn our heads and deny that we have a role to play...The average male is molded into a competent citizen. I heartily recommend that all students avail themselves of this most beneficial program.

Nonetheless, in December 1966 the faculty senate had a change of heart and established a new committee to investigate compulsory ROTC. In March 1967, the committee, headed by the political science chair, Herbert Rosenbaum, recommended that Hofstra

change the two year introductory course from its present compulsory status to a voluntary one...We also recommend that the Senate Curriculum Committee be asked to examine the desirability of establishing alternative requirements to ROTC, such as physical education.

That fall the program was placed on a voluntary basis.<sup>30</sup>

But, against the backdrop of Vietnam, opponents remained unsatisfied. SDS, which had gained strength on campus, now demanded its abolition. The SDS leader, Art Schneider, stated bluntly that the “goal would be to stamp out military recruitment of all kinds on campus.” Moreover, in 1969 the Coalition for Student Justice, an SDS offshoot, demanded the termination of academic credit for ROTC. When the faculty senate refused to comply, the coalition staged a nonviolent sit-in on 29 April 1969, in the basement of the administration building. One protestor, Steve Marcus, justified his stance by stating: “The Committees have failed to act [and] we’re tired of this whole system. We want change and we want it now.” The coalition’s impatience was met by equally stern resistance on the administration’s part, bolstered by a petition signed by 1,721 students that stated: “We respectfully ask that you vote to maintain academic credit for those students of Hofstra, present and future, who would desire to take voluntary ROTC.”<sup>31</sup>

The petition saved the program, albeit in a limited format. Disillusionment over the war led to more anti-ROTC meetings and newspaper editorials, such as one by Fred Cohl: “Just as physical education develops the body, rather than the mind, ROTC is like applied physical education. Learning how to kill and destroy doesn’t develop your mind. It blows it!” By spring 1971, fewer than one hundred students enrolled in the ROTC, as acknowledged by its commander, Saul Jackson: “The war in Vietnam, and the social and political climate generated by the conflict, have seriously injured the respectability of ROTC programs all over the country.”<sup>32</sup> Hofstra’s became just another casualty despite its apparent survival.

The ROTC struggle at Hofstra symbolized the public’s growing

disenchantment with the war. Public opinion on Long Island in 1966 showed a gradual shift against further escalation, and a poll of some Long Island congressmen showed that

the mail was running five-to-one against the Administration's policies in the districts of Representatives Lester L. Wolff (D-Kensington) and John W. Wydler (R-Garden City); two-to-one in favor in the East End district of Representative Otis Pike (D-Riverhead), and was split 50-50 in the district of James R. Grover Jr. (R-Babylon).<sup>33</sup>

Protest and counter-protest reached a crescendo in April 1966. A dozen demonstrators marched outside the offices of Congressmen Wolff, Wydler, and Herbert Tenzer (D-Lawrence), and, at Great Neck North Junior High School, Julian Bond and a Vietnam veteran, Donald Duncan, spoke in favor of the increasingly popular position of immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops, while outside the building forty members of the East Rockaway Veterans of Foreign Wars Post 3350 and the Great Neck American Legion Post 160 picketed the "peaceniks." Some hundred fifty members of ten Long Island peace groups gathered on Fulton Avenue, Hempstead, on a Saturday afternoon. According to *Newsday*,

They began marching outside the U.S. post office and were joined shortly...by about 75 counter-demonstrators. Across the street, Army veteran Stanley Phillips of...Roosevelt was making a "Support Our Men in Vietnam" poster when three young teenagers started heckling him...[Police] said a 13-year-old boy swung at Phillips and missed. Phillips then connected with the boy's nose, and the boy's teenage girl companion jumped on the man's back, kicking. Police took Phillips and the two youths to headquarters and later released them, with no charges filed.<sup>34</sup>

Later that month, forty youths heckled James Peck, the WRL director while he spoke at a Five Towns Peninsula SANE meeting. When Peck attempted to explain his refusal to pay federal taxes "because so large a portion...was going to support the Vietnam war," he was greeted with cries of "Pay your taxes and shut up...Heil Hitler...Communist...[and] Peck must go." The meeting quickly broke up. One picket, Robert Prokop of Inwood, defended the action: "We are taxpayers. We came here as individuals. This was not organized. If the man paid his taxes, we would have listened to him."<sup>35</sup>

In a celebrated confrontation, the East Meadow School Board refused to allow the antiwar folk singer Pete Seeger to perform in the high school auditorium, for fear of a possible demonstration. In the opinion of board member Joseph Greenberg, "this man (Seeger), being controversial, had no right to use the school." While Greenberg defended the board's right to deny public access if it imperiled proper functioning of the school, critics attacked the ban as "an improper limitation of freedom of speech." When the issue went to the state court of appeals, John Borrie, counsel for the board, stated

that W. Tresper Clark High School would have been “an arena for the discontent when it was learned that Seeger reportedly [had] sung songs in Russia opposing U.S. policies in Vietnam.” Submitted as evidence was the song “King Henry,” performed by Seeger the previous December and considered to be “a rather somber elegy for an American serviceman killed overseas.” Samuel Millman, attorney for the East Meadow Concert Association, challenged the argument: “The only passions aroused were the school board’s, and the protests and damage were mere conjectures of the board.” In May, the Appellate Division of the New York State Supreme Court ruled that the board’s action was unconstitutional, but refused to order the board to allow Seeger to perform:

The revocation of the permit by the defendant board on the ground that the performer was a controversial figure was an unlawful restriction of the constitutional right of free speech...However [it added], the time for the scheduled performance [12 March] has passed...therefore the controversy is moot.

The equivocal decision did not satisfy First Amendment supporters. Rabbi Charles Kroloff, of the Westbury Community Reform Temple, criticized the East Meadow school board. “If Pete Seeger is too controversial for East Meadow,” he said during a sabbath service, “then so was Isaiah...and so is Jesus...If Jesus and Isaiah were alive today, they would probably try to preach in Moscow and Hanoi and their utterances might resemble Seeger’s.”<sup>36</sup>

As summer and fall 1966 witnessed growing public displeasure with the war, peace groups began to sponsor candidates for political office. In the First Congressional District, Professor Stanley Millett, of Adelphi, entered the Democratic primary against Lester Wolff, who won handily. Peace candidates ran in three districts, but did not draw large numbers of votes. In the Second, Fourth, and Fifth districts, John A. Brush, Bernard Kagel, and the Reverend Carleton M. Fisher tallied 1,444, 2,014, and 2,552 votes, respectively. However, as *Newsday* later pointed out, the “peace vote” may have changed the Fifth District’s outcome, with Carleton’s total exceeding Tenzer’s 2,516-vote margin of victory.<sup>37</sup>

College students also endorsed peace candidates as part of the call for widespread political change. The *Adelphian*, the Adelphi student newspaper, published “The American Dream—R.I.P.,” an article that, like many that followed in campus papers throughout the Island, charged that the “illegal” Vietnam War not only “violated the 1954 Geneva Accords” but worked against President Johnson’s Great Society initiatives.<sup>38</sup>

As 1967 approached, revision of the Selective Service Law provided additional power to the antiwar movement. An article in *Newsday*, “Oct. Draft Is 46,200,” recorded that:

The growth and the cost of war was reflected yesterday in a draft call for 46,200 men in October and an announcement that 4,569 Americans were killed in Vietnam from January 1, 1961, through the end of last

month...The draft call is the highest monthly quota since the Korean War.<sup>39</sup>

### **Opposition to the draft, public protests, and high schools**

Opposition was also reflected in increasing numbers of young men fleeing the draft. "Hundreds of young American draft dodgers are believed to have fled to Canada," *Newsday* reported, "where they are working and marrying Canadian girls and where some are seeking Canadian citizenship."<sup>40</sup> The Resistance, a radical movement to end the war, was energized by the draft issue, as was the SDS. When President Johnson revised the draft in 1967, despite his announcement not to seek reelection, more and more young people expressed their outrage at the war and the sudden prospects of being drafted. The elimination of deferments for graduate students, including those in medical, dental and divinity schools, came in response to bitter complaints that poor blacks and other minorities shouldered a disproportionate amount of the fighting. The change in the draft law aroused the ire of college males.

Throughout 1967 and 1968, editorials critical of the draft appeared regularly in the collegiate press. A February 1967 poll by *The Adelpian* showed that while most students accepted the premise of a draft, more than three-fifths of those questioned preferred some form of alternative service: an overwhelming 96 percent of respondents

supported the government's right to draft its citizens into military service; 69 percent thought it was "probably necessary" when no national crisis threatened the nation; and 61 percent preferred alternative service such as the Peace Corps, VISTA, or Teacher Corps.

When the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee scheduled its third annual march in April, *The Torch* cautiously urged its readers to participate, "not as epithet-shouting, unreasonable revolutionaries merely letting off steam, but as rational young men and women expressing their sincere doubts that the waste in American lives should not continue." In March 1968, the *Hofstra Chronicle* noted that the draft was the main topic of conversation on campus. One student expressed the opinion of many by arguing matter-of-factly that "direct involvement in Vietnam was costing many young men their lives and futures."<sup>41</sup>

In September 1968, Dowling College (formerly Adelphi Suffolk) established a service, by now common on many campuses, providing information on draft board procedures, legal rights, deferments, and conscientious objection. Two USB graduate students—Frank Eisenberg and Thomas Alston—hinted that they might question the government's power to draft them, a reaction to changes in the draft law that may have typified the sentiments of a majority of college males. Eisenberg, a twenty-two-year-old graduate student in mathematics, indicated that he would "probably...go to Canada, joining an estimated 10,000 young U.S. expatriated who have fled

the draft. But I will try to stay in school as long as I can.” Alston, an engineering student, commented: “I don’t feel that graduate students should be drafted anyway.” Mitchell B. Cohen, a nineteen-year-old USB mathematics major, took the bold step of turning in his draft card and was reclassified both delinquent and 1-A. “I am the victim of a law,” Cohen stated, “that subjects me to a \$10,000 fine and five years in prison (the penalty for refusing induction) for not wanting the opportunity of killing people.”<sup>42</sup>

Resistance to the draft was now more frequent on Long Island. Donald Baty, a pacifist from Huntington, defiantly picketed his draft board and refused to leave for induction in March 1968. About sixty demonstrators supported his refusal “to join 53 other inductees as they boarded a bus [from Bay Shore] for the Army Induction Center at Fort Hamilton, Brooklyn.” According to *Newsday*,

Baty paraded outside Local Draft Board No. 2 offices at 21 Fourth St. [*sic* -Ave.] with the other demonstrators, who carried picket signs that said: “They Are Our Brothers Whom We Kill...Not With My Life You Don’t...[and] The Rich Make Wars—the Poor Fight Them.” Baty stated, “I’m going to triple my efforts for peace until I’m taken away arrested as a draft law violator.”

Inductee reaction at the bus was mixed. One said of Baty: “Personally, more power to him if he can do it.” Far less tolerant was twenty-year-old Bruce Hill, of Huntington Station, who told the press: “To heck with them [demonstrators] if they don’t want to serve, they’re chicken.”<sup>43</sup>

On 12 February 1967, twenty-five protestors conducted a vigil for peace at the Lynbrook post office. Composed of fifteen high school students and ten adults, the group planned to demonstrate every Sunday. A counter-demonstration by fifty Veterans of Foreign Wars and American Legion members resulted in no violent confrontation, but ten days later fifty members of Huntington Students for Peace bearing signs and chanting slogans were challenged by egg-throwing hecklers. Several scuffles broke out, but no arrests were made. One egg-thrower, sixteen-year-old Michael Sause, said: “They deserve it. Somebody has to take a stand.” In April, a group calling itself the Long Island Student Mobilization to End the War demonstrated in Hempstead. Led by a Port Washington High School junior, Michael Stamm, one hundred demonstrators carried antiwar and antidraft signs and shouted the standard couplet,

Hey, hey, LBJ,  
How many kids did you kill today?<sup>44</sup>

Politicians were not immune from the wrath of antiwar protestors, as evidenced by the pickets who marched outside Herbert Tenzer’s home and presented him with two open letters protesting the war. On the other hand, the East Meadow Democratic zone leader, Milton J. Gerstman, resigned in opposition to the war, and the New Frontier Democratic Club, to which he

belonged, passed a resolution against Johnson's re-election. Loyalty Day, 30 April, witnessed numerous pro- and antiwar demonstrations. As thousands throughout the Island marched in support of "flag, country and government," many carrying signs reading "USA—Love It or Leave It" and "We Support President Johnson and Our Troops in Vietnam," they were countered by comparable numbers of antiwar demonstrators bearing signs such as "Peace is Patriotism." At the tense ceremony in Huntington, "A group of 10 [antiwar] high school students and John Brush, former United for Peace Party congressional candidate, marching with the student unit, were splattered with eggs thrown by hecklers."<sup>45</sup>

In summer 1967, a group called United for Peace announced it would field a slate of candidates for the Nassau County and town of Hempstead elections. Apart from this, the 1967 highlight of peace activity took place in August, when a concert sponsored by the Roslyn Vietnam Summer Project coincided with the twenty-second anniversary of the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima. During the concert, a World War Two veteran walked to the stage, carrying a large American flag, and demanded that the rock bands perform "'God Bless America' or something worth playing." Seizing the microphone, he branded the crowd of 450 as a "bunch of Communists and LSDers." The incident showed that the so-called "silent majority" was not afraid to speak out even when the message fell on deaf ears.<sup>46</sup>

By 1968, the draft had solidified college-age opposition, while mounting American body counts diminished support of the war among large segments of the general population. As in 1967, the year witnessed increasing numbers of demonstrations against the war. In March, twenty-five Adelphi University students conducted a five-day fast to protest the "needless slaughter of men" in Vietnam. The organizer, Irwin Stein, observed that the demonstration was to "protest the present government's war policy, the mass genocide of the Vietnamese and the needless slaughter of men fighting on both sides." Many antiwar voters backed the presidential candidacy of Senator Eugene McCarthy, of Minnesota. Alex Easton, of Bayport, coordinator for the Islip Chapter of Concerned Democrats, proclaimed: "Our main goal is to stop the war as soon as possible. If a suitable peace candidate comes out of this, we will support that candidate." He was backed by William Burke, of Southampton, the leader of an East End group, Concerned Democrats. According to Burke, "The more people that will join this concern, the better."<sup>47</sup>

The presidential election year witnessed the largest antiwar rally "ever held on Long Island," when an estimated fourteen hundred people attended a rally at the Garden City Hotel sponsored by the Long Island Peace Council. The keynote speakers were the outspoken television commentator on foreign affairs, David Schoenbrun, and the Reverend Andrew Young, the FOR activist, civil rights leader, future Ambassador to the United Nations, and mayor of Atlanta. Schoenbrun told the audience that the U.S. should pull out now and let the South Vietnamese "bear the burden of fighting." Young, then

associated with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, “criticized the administration for spending more money on the war than on national antipoverty programs.”<sup>48</sup>

In addition, the fourth weekend of March 1968 is memorable for an innovative peace initiative, the campaign by four housewives to sell their views to shoppers. Led by Esther Siegel, of Wantagh, chair of the Community Committee for Peace, the women in their “peacemobile...fanned out Saturday around the Mays department store on Hempstead Turnpike, Levittown, offering shoppers peace literature and asking their opinions about the war.” Decked in red, white, and blue, the converted bookmobile,

marked outside with doves and the legend “Peace on Wheels,” was stocked with free coffee and cookies, buttons saying “Lets Get Out of Vietnam Now,” and pamphlets including “The Draft Law and Your Choices” and “Dr. Spock Didn’t Help Us Raise Our Children to Die in Vietnam.”

One of the four, Betty Groden, warily commented: “I don’t think we’re changing people’s opinions but we’re probably reinforcing those people who are turning against the war and can use the assurance that others are with them.”<sup>49</sup>

During the same period, USB students stepped up their own brand of activism. While such universities as Columbia and Berkeley captured headlines with spectacular building takeovers and free speech movements, Stony Brook students vented their outrage at army and corporate recruiters. Professor Gerald B. Nelson recalls a sense of hope among students and younger faculty to bring about change for a better society. He remembers the polarization of the faculty between the

“old guard,” who held to traditional academic and social values, and the progressives sympathetic to student ideals and their generation’s commitment to change, which included an insistence that higher education be relevant to the social and political pressures of the day.<sup>50</sup>

Protestors conducted a relentless attack against corporate recruiters on campus. In March 1968, a Dow Chemical recruiter “spent more than two hours locked alone in a [USB] windowless interviewing room.” More than one hundred students

repeatedly rapped on the door, locked from the outside with the consent of the recruiter, Art Shaw, and chanted, “Dow shalt not kill.” The objection was the company’s production of napalm [and] was the first disruption of the Dow recruitment program on Long Island.<sup>51</sup>

The confrontation continued into 1969. One student, George Sundstrom, maintained that “Schools are not employment agencies; the aims of education and the aims of the military-industrial complex are not congruent.” The *No Pasaran*, an SDS publication on campus, noted with alarm:



By maintaining control of Third World economies, paying workers subsistence wages, and supporting military dictatorships, U.S. capitalists effectively stagnate economic development while reaping large profits.

The publication also printed a "hit list" consisting of Union Carbide, IBM, Westinghouse, Dow, Mobil, and even LILCO, among others. In March, some two hundred students confronted army personnel, and demanded an end to on-campus recruitment. However, by a vote of fifty-four to forty-eight, the faculty senate defeated a motion for the abolition of all military recruitment on campus: "University policy will never be changed as a result of the threat of force."<sup>52</sup>

Perhaps prophetically, the USB student paper, *Statesman*, printed a call to arms:

It is almost certain that sometime this year Stony Brook will reach a point where it is rotten ripe for revolution...Many students have been "radicalized"...Activist students are working nearly full-time to challenge Administrations in the Courts, in the press, in their own committees, and in face-to-face confrontations.

No Columbia-type revolution erupted, but the USB students' rallies and endless petition drives convinced the government not to pursue a projected defense contract with the university; despite USB president John Toll's support for the program, the Pentagon decided against funding Project THEMIS, its designation for diversified research grants. One rally was so acrimonious that sixty-five students had to face the Polity (student government) Judiciary for violating university rules and refusing to respond to university officials. At a trial in the Earth and Space Sciences lecture hall, they were found "guilty as charged," but, to avoid further repercussions, were granted amnesty because "justice is above the law."<sup>53</sup>

*Part Two of this article will appear in our Fall 1995 issue.*

## NOTES

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# General Nathaniel Woodhull and the Battle of Long Island

*By Michael Hayes*

Nathaniel Woodhull, president of the New York Provincial Congress and brigadier general of Long Island militia, died of the wound he suffered when captured on 28 August 1776, one day after the Battle of Long Island. In his history of Long Island, published in 1828, Silas Wood described General Woodhull as a man with “a zeal for the rights of his country,” whose untimely death “deprived the country of the talents, the experience and counsels of one of the ablest and most patriotic of her citizens.” Yet a modern historian, William W. H. Sabine, calls Woodhull a man who “abandoned the Patriot cause, and submitted again to the crown.”<sup>1</sup> One can scarcely believe these historians were writing about the same person. This article examines the origin and significance of the controversy concerning Woodhull.

Nathaniel was a great-grandson of Richard Woodhull, a founder of the town of Brookhaven and a trustee of the patent issued by Governor Richard Nicolls in 1666, confirming the title to all lands from Stony Brook to Wading River then or afterwards bought from the Setalcott Indians. On 16 November 1675, the Setalcotts confirmed all former grants to the patentees and conveyed to Woodhull, the town surveyor, all unsold land within the patent as far south as the middle of the Island, a title he transferred one week later to the inhabitants of the town. The prolific Woodhull family acquired considerable holdings in Setauket and other North Shore hamlets within the original patents, as well as on Mastic Neck, where the future general was born to Nathaniel and Sarah (Smith) Woodhull on 30 December 1722.<sup>2</sup>

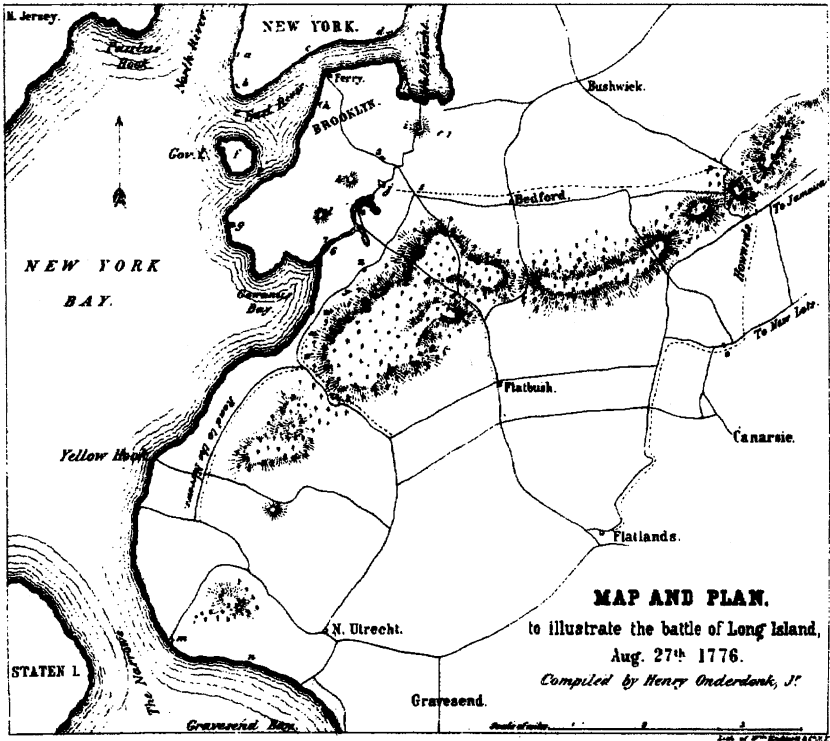
As the son and heir of a well-to-do landowner, young Woodhull “was educated with a view of making him a competent administrator and a leader in the agricultural community by which he was surrounded.” He worked on the family farm until 1758, when he joined the New York provincial forces in the French and Indian War with the rank of major. In his first year, Woodhull took part in the storming of Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga) that ended in disaster when the French repulsed the assault, and he served gallantly in the reduction of Fort Frontenac (Kingston, Ontario). In 1760, now a colonel of the Third Regiment of New York troops, he marched to victory at Montreal with General Lord Jeffrey Amherst, after which the provincial troops were released and Woodhull returned to Long Island to resume “the duties and employment of a private citizen.”<sup>3</sup>

One year later he married Ruth Floyd, a young woman from a neighboring farm in Mastic. Like the Woodhulls, the Floyds were wealthy and prominent, with at least a dozen slaves and an estate of more than four thousand acres. General William Floyd, Ruth's brother, was a member of the Continental Congress and a signer of the Declaration of Independence.<sup>4</sup>

In 1769, as the spirit of resistance to British policy gathered momentum in New York, Woodhull entered public life as one of Suffolk's two representatives (the other was William Nicoll, of Islip) in the Assembly of New York, with instructions from "the people of Suffolk" to strive "to preserve their freedom and the command over their own purses." In April 1775 the voters of his county chose him as one of their representatives in the convention which met in New York to choose delegates to the Continental Congress. That August he was elected president of New York's extra-legal Provincial Congress, which also appointed him brigadier general of the newly combined militia of Queens and Suffolk Counties. Characteristically, Woodhull accepted this dangerous and important responsibility, further placing at risk his life and property. As tension mounted, Governor William Tryon dissolved the Assembly, conservative as it was, in April 1776. In late June, having been forced to evacuate Boston, the British sailed into New York harbor with more than thirty thousand men. Convened on 9 July in White Plains, with Woodhull presiding, the reorganized Provincial Congress endorsed the Declaration of Independence; on the following day it transformed itself into the Convention of Representatives of the State of New York, assigning itself the task of drafting a state constitution. Woodhull continued as president until 10 August, when he took leave to attend to personal business, "probably under an impression that his services would shortly be required in the field."<sup>5</sup>

On 22 August, fifteen thousand British and Tory troops, with forty cannon, soon augmented by five thousand Hessians, crossed the Narrows from Staten Island to Gravesend Bay and prepared to attack the ten thousand Continentals entrenched on the Heights of Guian, the densely wooded ridge that is often referred to as Brooklyn Heights. Among the invading force was a battalion of Loyalists commanded by the wealthy New York Tory, Colonel Oliver De Lancey, which included his sons, Stephen and Oliver Jr., a captain in the 17th Light Dragoons. Two days later, having learned of the invasion, the convention "ordered out the militia of Queens, the two troops of horse, of Kings and Queens, and one half of the western regiment of Suffolk, with five days provisions, to march into western Queens to keep provisions, horses, and cattle from falling into British hands by removing or destroying them."<sup>6</sup>

Woodhull arrived in Jamaica on 25 August, faced with the task, unpopular under the best of circumstances, of taking livestock from mainly Loyalist owners, leaving but one head per family. Except for the patriot North Shore communities of Great Neck, Manhasset, and Roslyn (which had seceded from Hempstead in 1775 to form the town of North Hempstead), Queens County was overwhelmingly Loyalist. Twenty seven percent of the male



Frontespiece, Henry Onderdonk Jr., *Revolutionary Incidents of Suffolk and Kings Counties* (1849; reprint, Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1970).

population was declared Loyalist, 60 percent attempted to remain neutral, and only 12 percent would publicly renounce allegiance to the Crown.<sup>7</sup>

During the night and early morning of 26-27 August, the British commander, General William Howe, choosing not to attack head-on and risk the casualties suffered at Bunker Hill, led a large contingent northward from the Flatbush-Flatlands-New Utrecht plain in a brilliant turning movement. Ten thousand men, hauling fourteen field pieces, poured through Jamaica Pass, the one unprotected road of the four approaches to the wooded heights. The column passed only half a mile from the Pennsylvania riflemen whose colonel, Samuel Miles, suspected enemy use of the pass but failed to detect the maneuver. Woodhull, two miles to the east, was cut off by thousands of enemy troops from patriot forces defending the Heights.<sup>8</sup>

Many of the fewer than two hundred militia under Woodhull's command deserted, concerned for their farms and families. Had Woodhull known of the advancing army and fired on it through the darkness, particularly as it crossed the narrow Schoonmaker's Bridge (about one mile east of present Kings

Highway on New Lots Avenue), he might have slowed the enemy's progress and alerted the Continental left flank to the army about to circle to its rear.

Howe's masterful breakthrough was cunning enough to fool Generals Sullivan, Putnam, and Washington himself—he had left his Manhattan headquarters on the morning of the 27th to assume command in Brooklyn—none of whom anticipated the British end run. Only one patrol was assigned to guard duty at the Jamaica pass, and when its five men were captured there was no other guard between them and the Continental defenders.

As the redcoats swarmed through Jamaica Pass to outflank and engulf the defenders, other British and Hessians units smashed the patriot right and center commanded by Major-General John Sullivan and Brigadier-General William Alexander (who called himself Lord Stirling). Some American units tried in vain to hold their positions, while others retreated in disorder. Nearly a thousand patriots were killed or wounded, and as many were captured. Washington rallied his men at fortifications on the East River, where, to his amazement and relief, the British suddenly halted their onslaught, the cautious Howe preferring to dig in and slowly wear down the foe. Late on 29 August, under cover of darkness and fog, Washington took advantage of the lull to organize a retreat to Manhattan, thereby narrowly saving the army to fight another day.<sup>9</sup>

Meanwhile, Woodhull, now stationed two miles east of Jamaica, had collected some 1,700 cattle; 1,100 were sent under guard to the Hempstead Plains on 26 August, and 300 more the next morning, with another 300 collected from Newtown and ready to go should he receive the needed reinforcements. Water was short, his few remaining men were exhausted. Washington had promised the convention that he would send Woodhull the Long Island militia regiments of Colonels Josiah Smith of Suffolk and Jeromus Remsen of Queens, both of which were in the lines at Brooklyn; as the losing battle raged on, he realized that he could spare no one. Woodhull, to whom the convention had written that he would be reinforced, waited in vain for the extra men he needed to fulfill his mission.<sup>10</sup>

In a letter to the convention on 27 August, Woodhull described his situation now that he had been informed of the position of the enemy. Without Smith and Remsen's regiments, or other immediate help,

I shall not be able [to execute the convention's orders] for all the people [civilians] are moving east, and I cannot get any assistance from them...I shall continue here as long as I can, in hopes of reinforcement, but if none comes soon I shall retreat, and drive the stock before me into the woods. Colonels Smith and Remsen, I think, cannot join me...I fear I shall be obliged to quit this place. I hope soon to hear from you.<sup>11</sup>

When the convention again asked Washington to reinforce Woodhull, he declined. On the following day, 28 August, Woodhull summed up his desperate situation in his last letter to the convention. He was about two miles further east than the day before, and down to about ninety men, "daily



growing less in number”:

If you cannot send me an immediate reinforcement, I am afraid I shall have no men with me by tomorrow night, for they consider themselves in an enemy's country...I beg you would immediately send at least two members, as a Committee, that I may have their advice, for unless you do, I must quit, for I hope the Convention does not expect me to make bricks without straw.<sup>12</sup>

In Hollis, on the road to Hempstead, Woodhull stopped at an inn kept by Lieutenant Increase Carpenter, the Queens County militia quartermaster. Thunderstorms marred the afternoon; almost all Woodhull's men had deserted; the Continental troops were overwhelmed and in retreat; there was no hope of reinforcements. Within hours, Woodhull was captured when a patrol of the 17th Light Dragoons surrounded the inn.

What happened next is unclear, because of two different versions that soon emerged. The first is attributed to William Warne, of Jamaica, a Tory sympathizer cross-examined by the Committee of Safety, in Fishkill, New York, on 9 September 1776. Warne swore that a British soldier told him he entered the barn of Carpenter's inn, with saber drawn, and spied the shadowy figure of Woodhull, perhaps made even darker by the inclement weather. When the general did not respond to the call to surrender, the soldier slashed at and wounded him. Other statements of Warne's were accurate, such as the size of the enemy's forces and the movement of supply wagons to General Howe.<sup>13</sup> Further reports support the contention that there were wounds on Woodhull's arms and a wound on his head; however, these might have been inflicted with a single blow had the general attempted to protect his head by crossing his arms above it.

Although there are elements of truth to Warne's testimony, one must consider the overall conclusion of the committee's investigation:

William Warne has been guilty of propagating diverse false reports calculated to injure the American cause and hath also confessed to certain persons that he was a Tory, and that in his opinion it was best for the country to submit to its enemies.<sup>14</sup>

Was Warne sent to “propagate false reports” because Woodhull was taken into custody in an uncivilized and brutal manner by none other than Loyalist Captain Oliver De Lancey Jr.?

The testimony of Robert Troup, an American prisoner of war, before Gouverneur Morris in January 1777 (but not made public until 1842), put the Woodhull capture in an entirely different light. Troup swore he met Woodhull on a prison ship in a “shocking mangled condition,” slashed by Oliver De Lancey Jr. to whom he had surrendered his sword on assurance that he would be treated as a gentleman. According to Troup, other men began to “cruelly cut and hack him” in imitation of De Lancey.<sup>15</sup>

Although not proof of Troup's credibility, similar atrocities were reported

during the Revolution. Furthermore, in one of his 1865 additions to Silas Wood's history of Long Island, Alden J. Spooner described Troup as "a graduate of Columbia College, by profession a lawyer, a man of sterling piety, and of most respectable standing in society."<sup>16</sup>

However, the early-twentieth-century Long Island historian Peter Ross observed that although Troup probably believed he was telling the truth, because Woodhull was

wounded, fever stricken and despondent, it might be regarded as the ravings of a man unconscious of his utterances owing to his physical pains. It certainly seems unlikely that De Lancey would so treat one who was his kinsman.

And William Sabine wonders that,

If the Dragoons were such fiends...as to want to join their officer in hacking an already stricken man who had surrendered his sword, how came it that trained swordsmen...failed to kill the defenseless victim on the spot?<sup>17</sup>

The novelist James Fenimore Cooper, who married a De Lancey, recalled his father-in-law's remarking that, "They endeavored to put the death of Gen. Woodhull on my cousin, General De Lancey, but *Oliver always denied the same*."<sup>18</sup>

The preceding two versions of Woodhull's capture appear to be the most authentic. In Ross's view, "The true story seems to be that Woodhull was captured sword in hand and that he was struck down by one or more of the dragoons when trying to effect his escape."<sup>19</sup>

The many other versions have typically glorified the scene beyond the realm of history into that of legend or myth. Much of this began with the 1779 memoir by the patriot hero, Ethan Allen, who, as a prisoner of the British Navy from September 1775 until May 1778, observed at first hand

the doleful scene of inhumanity exercised by...Howe, and the army under his command, towards the prisoners taken on Long Island, on the 27th day of August, 1776, sundry of which were in an inhuman and barbarous manner, murdered after they had surrendered their arms, particularly a Gen. Odel (or Woodhul) of the militia.

Allen, no stranger to exaggeration, provided no source for his description of the general's being "hacked to pieces with cutlasses (when alive) by the light horsemen."<sup>20</sup> Allen's tale of multiple attackers must have been the source for the ensuing deluge of multiple-attacker stories, because Troup's testimony was not made public until 1842.

On 28 February 1821, a New York newspaper, the *National Advocate*, ran an anonymous ballad purporting to recount the events at Carpenter's Inn by an eye witness believed to be an aged innkeeper's wife, presumably Mrs.

Carpenter. The ballad states that many British horsemen brought their swords down on Woodhull's saber as he tried desperately to defend himself. Finally realizing he was overwhelmed, he attempted to surrender but his enemy replied he would be killed unless he said "God save the King," to which Woodhull responded, "God save us all." At the end, the ballad parts from historical truth by having Woodhull killed on the spot.<sup>21</sup>

Apparently influenced by the ballad—there is no extant source for its fabrication—Silas Wood included the "God save the King" episode in the 1828 edition of his history of Long Island. However, Ross classified it as

one of the wonder tales with which the details of the incidents of every war are embellished by the ignorant narrators who, in the spirit of natural poetry which is part and parcel of every intelligent peasantry, seek to bring such details into prominent relief by the introduction of matter which lightens the glory of the successful party.<sup>22</sup>

Following publication of the ballad, the story of the capture was retold in many different ways, including Woodhull's being stabbed many times by swords and bayonets, or being shot to death. He is described as having tried to escape by climbing a fence, and, refusing to surrender his arms, being set upon by enemy soldiers.<sup>23</sup> He is also reported to have said "God save us all and the Continental Army," as well as other variations on the "God save us all" theme.

With the passage of time, the legend was refined and the blame for the wounding and subsequent death of the general was assigned, according to Wood, to a "ruffian...(said to be a Major Baird, of the 71st [Fraser's Scottish Highlanders])," who was supposed to have mercilessly slashed the general after he "gave up his sword in token of surrender." According to this legend, Baird would have hacked Woodhull to death with his broad sword if not for the "interference of an officer of more honor and humanity (said to be Major De Lancey of the dragoons)," the same Oliver De Lancey Jr. who, according to Troup, Woodhull said had stabbed him.<sup>24</sup>

The defeated, attainted De Lanceys—Oliver Jr., his father, and his brother—finally crushed by their rivals for power in New York, the Livingstons, returned to England after the war and were partially compensated for losses. The De Lancey family, however, continued to be influential long after the Revolution, and the mythmakers may have thought it wise to dispel any rumor that a member of this family was involved in a brutal and unprovoked attack. Therefore, Major (Captain?) Baird was granted the dubious distinction of being the crazed slasher.

Legend aside, the wounded general and five other men captured with him were held overnight in a nearby church. It is not clear if Woodhull's wounds were treated, but at some point during his captivity one of his arms became severely infected at the elbow joint. Within a few days, the men were taken to one prison ship, the *Pacific*, and then to another, the *Snow Mentor*, anchored in Gravesend Bay, where Woodhull remained for several days.

Conditions on the *Snow Mentor*, as on other British prison ships, were horrible. The historian Henry Onderdonk wrote that “American prisoners have suffered death by inhuman, cruel, savage and barbarous usage on board the filthy and malignant British prison ship.” In the same affidavit that Troup described his conversation with Woodhull on board the *Snow Mentor* he described the treatment of prisoners on this ship that had been used to transport cattle from England:

They were...obliged to lay upon the dung and filth of the cattle without any bedding or blanket...they were much afflicted with lice and other vermin...the prisoners applied for soap and fresh water to wash their clothes but were refused.<sup>25</sup>

Under such circumstances, it is no wonder that Woodhull’s arm became horribly infected.

On the afternoon of 6 September, Woodhull was ordered on shore to a prison hospital improvised in the New Utrecht Dutch Reformed Church, and then next door to a private residence known as the Nicasius De Sille house. There his neglected and fatally infected arm was amputated by a New York doctor and Loyalist, Richard Bayley.<sup>26</sup>

Meanwhile, the convention began taking steps to secure the release of its president through a prisoner exchange. On 18 September, having pledged “to exert themselves in restoring so valuable a person [Woodhull] to that liberty which he himself lost in endeavoring to secure to others that inestimable blessing,” the members resolved that a list of enemy prisoners held by the state be brought to General Washington, and that John Sloss Hobart, of Northport, be sent “with the earnest request of this Convention, that he will be pleased to give his assistance and advice in negotiating his exchange.”<sup>27</sup>

Hobart wrote to the convention on 25 September that he had shown the resolve to Washington, and wanted to know specifically whom to exchange. Hobart had expressed hope that Washington could offer a suggestion, but the commander in chief was not helpful in either of their two meetings. This failure to act for Woodhull’s release troubled Hobart, who, according to William Sabine, seemed to think that “behind Washington’s aloofness...lay an implacable something against which he could not contend. Washington did not offer to renew the subject when they met...but of Woodhull the commander did not care to speak.”<sup>28</sup>

Conversely, Washington arranged the speedy exchange of two generals captured in the Battle of Long Island, John Sullivan and William Alexander (the self-styled Lord Stirling). This may have been, suggested Onderdonk, because these officers “were of the Regular or Continental army, while Woodhull, though President of the N.Y. Convention, was but a general of militia.”<sup>29</sup>

Hobart, disappointed by Washington’s refusal to comply with the convention’s request, continued his effort to help his colleague and fellow Long Islander gain his release. He wrote to the convention, “that I may leave

no stone unturned for the relief of our worthy President [Woodhull], I shall consult Mr. [Francis] Lewis, who is one of the Committee of Congress, and, if possible, draw from the General an offer of one of these men."<sup>30</sup> Lewis went to Congress to see if he could have them direct Washington to make an exchange for Woodhull.

According to Silas Wood, Woodhull sent for his wife as soon as he knew that his arm must be amputated, requesting her to bring all the money and provisions

in her possession, and all that she could procure, which was complied with, and he had it distributed among the American prisoners, to alleviate their sufferings, thus furnishing a lesson of humanity to his enemies, and closing a useful life by an act of charity.<sup>31</sup>

Following the amputation, the general died on 20 September, at the age of fifty-four, after which his wife brought his body to Mastic for burial in the family graveyard.

That is not the end of the Woodhull saga. On 27 September, the *Connecticut Gazette*, not yet informed of Woodhull's death, printed a document dated 1 September stating that General Howe accepted the application of General Woodhull, who indicated to him that the inhabitants of Suffolk County wanted to lay down their arms and regain their status as loyal and obedient subjects, "respectively making and causing the Men through the County...[to] take the Oath of Allegiance, Orders of Congress and Committees...and to obey the legal Authority of Government."<sup>32</sup>

It is possible to make a case that Woodhull attempted to surrender Suffolk. One might point to Washington's failure to work for Woodhull's release; did he have information that Woodhull had planned, if necessary, to make the best of a terrible situation and attempt to salvage his considerable estate and wealth by cooperating with the enemy?<sup>33</sup>

Furthermore, after the letter also appeared in a Pennsylvania newspaper, members of Congress including Francis Lewis, Philip Livingston, and William Floyd (all unaware of Woodhull's death), who had been petitioned by John Sloss Hobart to work for Woodhull's release, wrote on 7 October:

We were going to move Congress, that they would direct Genl. Washington to propose to...Howe the exchange of ...Woodhull for Genl. McDonald, when a Pennsylvania newspaper of same date was handed to us, by which it would appear that...Woodhull had taken such a part as would put it out of our power to move for his exchange.<sup>34</sup>

The congressmen went on to say they would like to know if there were any truth to the conjecture that Woodhull had turned. That these distinguished gentlemen, among them Woodhull's brother-in-law, would ask this question instead of pursuing the general's release, suggests less than complete trust in Woodhull.

On the other hand, the letter in the *Gazette* was by the arch-Tory, General

Oliver De Lancey, and therefore must be taken with a sizeable grain of salt. De Lancey easily could have made up the story for propaganda purposes. The treacherous act in the article would be inconsistent with Woodhull's staunch adherence to the cause of American independence. Even if he reaffirmed allegiance to the Crown, he would have done so when not in a clear state of mind, because of his critical condition following his ordeal on the prison ship. Furthermore, there are no known witnesses to Woodhull's alleged acquiescence. Finally, the British must have known that Woodhull not only lacked the authority to surrender any or all of Suffolk, but, as a prisoner in custody, close to death, could not have accomplished it had he so desired.

The occupation of Long Island for nearly seven years by British, Hessian, and Tory forces was harsh. They treated the conquered Island as fair game for plunder of cattle, sheep, crops, timber, private houses, and even churches, including that in which the dying Woodhull was temporarily held, the New Utrecht Dutch Reformed Church.

In November 1783, the British ended the occupation of New York that had followed the Battle of Long Island. About four months later, on 5 April 1784, in a fire of unknown origin, Woodhull's house and much of his private papers and possessions were burned, adding to the mysterious air that shrouds his memory.

Given Woodhull's military experience, he could have played a valuable role as a field commander in the largest battle yet fought in North America, for all of the importance of securing cattle and fodder from enemy seizure. There is cause to wonder if Washington had some personnel animosity towards Woodhull and the New York Convention, or if his neglect and misuse of Woodhull was simply an error in judgement like so many others made on the road to defeat in the Battle of Long Island.

Peter Ross lamented Woodhull's minor role in the battle:

It is one of the mysteries of the war...that a man who by the training of long service and study was every inch a soldier should, when the crisis came, be found in an obscure position, mainly that of a driver of cattle in face of the enemy, while men like Putnam and Sullivan and Greene, who had no real knowledge of warfare...were invested with high commands.

Of the generals mentioned by Ross, only Nathaniel Greene, the original commander, knew his way around Brooklyn; neither Sullivan, put in charge when Green took sick on 20 August, nor Israel Putnam, who supplanted Sullivan four days later, was familiar with the terrain. In Ross's opinion, "had Woodhull been in command...the British would not have found...so easy a flanking point." Instead, Woodhull tragically found himself "when the crisis came, away from the scene of action, but obeying orders like a true soldier, and doing the best service he could with less than 100 men under his command."<sup>75</sup>

Greene's illness, followed by errors of judgment by his successors Sullivan and Putnam, contributed to American defeat. However, the historian

Christopher Ward attributes the bulk of the responsibility for the mismanagement of affairs in Long Island [to]...the commander in chief, George Washington. Such has been the verdict of the later and more judicious historians of the war.

The “fundamental fault,” even deeper than tactical judgments, was Congress and Washington’s “attempt to hold New York.” This depended on holding Brooklyn Heights, which, in turn, required diverting troops from Manhattan to Brooklyn, thus “dividing an army far too weak, even as a whole, successfully to oppose the British.” With a British armada controlling the sea lanes, even victory at Brooklyn Heights “could easily have been a fatal trap for the American army, since it had only one readily available exit to the mainland: Kingsbridge.”<sup>36</sup>

Ward cites Claude H. Van Tyne’s appraisal of Washington: rather than military genius, it was “courage, noble character, the gift of inspiring confidence, and the ability to learn by experience” that were to place him “in the forefront among the leaders of men...Even in the midst of his worst errors, his greatness and magnanimity surmounts everything.” And the cool and skillful retreat from Long Island, abetted by General Howe’s failure to take full advantage of victory, is an achievement for which Washington deserves enormous credit.<sup>37</sup>

Because Woodhull was assigned primarily to save vitally needed produce and cattle from falling into British hands, the Battle of Long Island was not his to win or lose. He remains a tragic figure, standing nearly alone and surrounded by the enemy on that foreboding August afternoon when he was captured and mortally wounded.

#### NOTES

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11. Force 1:1540-43.

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13. *Ibid.*, 35.

14. Peter Ross, *A History of Long Island; from its Earliest Settlement to the Present Time*, 3 vols. (New York: Lewis Publishing Company, 1902) 1:240.

15. William W. H. Sabine, *Murder, 1776 and Washington's Policy of Silence* (New York: Theo. Gaus' Sons, 1973), 179.

16. John Ferling, *The World Turned Upside Down; The American Victory in the War of Independence* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), 45; Alden J. Spooner, "The Murder of General Woodhull," in Wood, 191 (Alden Spooner, Alden J. Spooner's father, published Wood's 1824 (66 pp.), 1826 (112 pp.), and 1828 (183 pp. including the lengthy appendix, "Of General Woodhull,") editions; in 1865, the younger Spooner edited a revised version with a biographical memoir and "additions by the editor," of which "The Murder of General Woodhull," 191-92, was one).

17. Ross 1:240 (Woodhull's relationship to De Lancey was on his wife; wife's side); Sabine, *Suppressed History*, 119.

18. Spooner, "Murder of Woodhull," 192.

19. Ross 1:240.

20. Ethan Allen, *A Narrative of Col. Ethan Allen's Captivity...*(1779; reprint, New York: Corinth Books, 1961), 78.

21. *National Advocate*, 28 February 1821.

22. Wood, 132; Ross 1:240.

23. Sabine, *Suppressed History*, 192-201.

24. Wood, 132; according to Onderdonk, "In 1776 there was a Capt. (not Major) Sir Jas. Baird of the 71st Reg."(Onderdonk, 37).

25. Onderdonk, 245; Sabine, *Suppressed History*, 117.

26. Anne Fremantle, *Woman's Way to God* (New York: Saint Martin's Press, 1977), 146; Bayley was the father of Elizabeth Ann Seton, known as "Mother Seton," who converted to Catholicism in 1803 and became the first native-born American to be canonized.

27. Onderdonk, 41; Force 2:701

28. Sabine, *Suppressed History*, 90.

29. Alan Valentine, *Lord Stirling* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1969), 190; Onderdonk, 39.

30. Force 2:503.

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32. *Connecticut Gazette*, 27 September 1776, 3, Collection of New-York Historical Society.

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35. Ross 1:242.

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37. *Ibid.*, 236.



# “By the Rude Storms of Faction Blown”: Thomas Jones , a Long Island Loyalist

By Patrick J. McNamara

In her influential study, *On Revolution*, Hannah Arendt contends that the American Revolution was not a “true” revolution in the same sense as those which followed in France and Russia. Arendt bases her argument on her perception that present-day understanding of the term *revolution* bears the connotation of class warfare, and the violent eradication of aristocratic persons and groups which dominated the pre-revolutionary regime. The aftermath of the Treaty of Paris, of 1783, saw no widespread violence directed against the wealthy and landed classes in America. Former officeholders under the Crown were not executed in large numbers. In fact, they were not executed in any numbers at all. The treatment of American Loyalists by patriots was occasionally severe, but rarely lethal. At worst, some were treated harshly in their persons, had their property confiscated, or were banished from American soil. It was this aspect of the American revolutionary experience on which Arendt based her thesis that “no revolution has ever taken place in America.”<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, in his recent Pulitzer Prize winning book *The Radicalism of the American Revolution*, Gordon S. Wood contends that the American Revolution was as radical as any which preceded or followed. While class violence did not characterize the movement for independence, if measured in terms of social change the Revolution signified a startling shift in the way Americans saw themselves in relation to one another, and how they interacted with one another. Whereas people were previously considered to be inherently unequal, the most important result of the revolution was the widespread acceptance of the notion of social equality and democratic freedom. “Once invoked,” Wood writes, “the idea of equality could not be stopped, and it tore through American society and culture with awesome power.”<sup>2</sup>

The tide in American revolutionary society was in favor of the patriots, who espoused what Thomas Paine called the “rights of man.”<sup>3</sup> Americans themselves would decide who their leaders and what their laws would be, not a distant monarch and parliament across the sea. Yet during this time a smaller group of Americans made themselves prominent in opposition to such ideas. These persons, known as Tories, or Loyalists, accepted the incongruity of hereditary office and status in a democratizing society. Contrary to Paine, they accepted the notion of an island’s ruling a continent,

and of monarchy over republicanism when the historical odds were against them. Their motives were for monarchical rule and a sentimental attachment to Britain, along with a crass desire by some to maintain their privileged status as colonial officeholders and landowners of estates which were parceled out by royal governors.

This article focuses on one prominent Long Island Loyalist, Thomas Jones, of the town of Oyster Bay.<sup>4</sup> Jones identified himself as one of the pro-British landowners and officeholders, owing their privileged status to their acquiescence to British colonialism. The article examines his view of the causes, major events, and consequences of the American Revolution, and how his wartime hardships affected his conclusions.

Along with many other Loyalists, he encountered abuse and ill treatment from both sides. As his friend Dr. Benjamin Moore wrote, he was “by the rude storms of faction blown,”<sup>5</sup> and ultimately, like many other Loyalists, exiled from his native land. That is to say, Jones considered himself an American, albeit an American loyal to British rule. Edward De Lancey, a descendent of Jones, later stated that Jones’s two-volume *History of New York During the American Revolution* constituted a “Loyalist history of the subject...not an English account.” The Loyalists, it will be shown, found themselves in an anomalous and often unpleasant position.<sup>6</sup>

Born in 1731, Thomas Jones was the oldest son of David Jones, a prominent member of New York society who in 1758 became a judge of the supreme court of the province of New York. David Jones was also one of the wealthiest land owners on Long Island, keeping the family seat at Tryon Hall on his Fort Neck estate (in present-day Massapequa). The first of the Jones family on Long Island, Major Thomas Jones, arrived in America in 1692 and eventually, through marriage and additional purchases, acquired an estate of about six thousand acres, establishing the family seat at Oyster Bay in 1695. By the time Thomas came to represent the third generation of Joneses in America, the family had gained a firm footing in New York politics and society.<sup>7</sup>

Jones graduated from Yale in 1750, but his experiences there did not make a favorable impression on him. The young Jones attended the predominantly Congregationalist college in the aftermath of the Great Awakening, a period during which the old order of things came to be openly and widely questioned. In later years he referred to the college as being “then, and still, a nursery of sedition, of faction, and of republicanism.” After graduation he took up legal studies, first under his father’s tutelage and then as a clerk in the law office of Joseph Murray, a member of New York’s Provincial Council. Once licensed as an attorney on 4 April 1755, Jones built a flourishing practice. His clients included the corporation of the city of New York, and the board of governors (of which he was a member during the 1760s) of King’s College, recently established under the auspices of the Anglican Church.<sup>8</sup>

In addition to his legal activity, Jones became a prominent public servant of the Crown, beginning with his appointment in 1758 as clerk of the court of

common pleas in his native county of Queens. His administration of this office for the next eleven years apparently pleased his superiors, for in 1769 Thomas received a judicial appointment as recorder of the city of New York. When David Jones resigned his seat in 1773, Governor William Tryon named his son to fill the vacancy on the bench.

In 1762, Thomas Jones married Anne De Lancey, daughter of James De Lancey, who had served both as chief justice and lieutenant governor of New York. By marrying into one of the most influential families in the colony, Jones not only enhanced his already high social status but also increased his land holdings, and when David Jones died in 1775, Thomas inherited Tryon Hall, 7,240 acres of Long Island land, and two thousand more in Tryon (now Ulster) County. As the Revolution gathered momentum, this wealthy landowner had a great deal to lose in the event of a major social and political upheaval.<sup>9</sup>

Although the revolution was in full swing by 1776, Jones clung to his judicial post in the tenuous political climate of New York. As the last magistrate under the Crown to hold court in Tryon and Westchester Counties, his decisions were, in the main, accepted by patriot soldiers as well as civilians. In April 1776, at White Plains, Jones released several prisoners arrested by the Westchester Committee of Safety for espousing Loyalist opinions, an action that earned him the enmity and distrust of the patriot faction. With his position in New York now insecure, he never again was able to exercise his judicial prerogatives.<sup>10</sup>

On 27 June 1776, a committee of the patriot New York Provincial Congress ordered Jones's arrest on charges of refusing to appear before the committee on 25 June, and brought him to New York City to show why he "should be considered a friend of the American cause." However, Gouverneur Morris interceded on his behalf and secured his return home, where he was placed on parole upon his promise to appear before the committee promptly, if requested.<sup>11</sup>

The former judge again was seized and brought to New York on 11 August and informed that the New York Provincial Congress had nullified his parole. Along with a number of prominent New York Loyalists, he was sent as a prisoner of war to Connecticut; the reason was that General Washington wanted such persons kept out of New York until the impending battle of Long Island was decided, which it was on 27 August 1776. When paroled on 9 December 1776, Jones was forced to sign a resolution promising not to correspond or collaborate with the British.<sup>12</sup>

During the British occupation of Long Island, which was at first received favorably by the large Tory population in Queens, Jones seems to have led a fairly quiet existence. However, the occupation, which lasted from the American defeat in the Battle of Long Island until the end of the war in 1783, did not turn out to be what most Loyalists expected. Disillusionment with the British increased because of the army's plundering, mistreatment, and abuse of patriots and Tories alike. As the Loyalist Leonard Cutting, an Anglican minister in Hempstead, wrote, "The army has done more injury to the King's

cause than the utmost of his enemies.” This perception was an essential theme of Jones’s later history of the war.<sup>13</sup>

Long Island suffered greatly under British occupation. Tories such as Thomas Jones found patriot raids from New England a major cause of distress. On 6 November 1779, a party of “whaleboat raiders” broke into his house and brought him back to Connecticut as a prisoner. His captors intended to exchange him for General Gold Selleck Silliman, a classmate at Yale, now a British-held prisoner of war on Long Island.<sup>14</sup>

Just before the judge’s third abduction, on 22 October 1779, the New York Assembly passed a bill that would have a dramatic effect on the subsequent years of his life. The Act of Attainder declared fifty-nine Loyalists, including Thomas Jones, to be guilty of felony. Jones believed that the reason for his inclusion was his freeing of the Tories at White Plains in 1776. The property of those named in the act was to be confiscated, and they were to be executed if they again set foot in New York.

These confiscations had two legitimate goals: to punish the Loyalists and finance the war effort. However, the historian Alexander C. Flick observed a certain degree of spite. The Act of Attainder had no effect in southern New York, where Tories remained under British rule until 1783. Therefore, while Jones’s estate on Long Island was safe for the time being, the rest of his property fell within reach of the confiscators.<sup>15</sup>

In March 1781 he sold all his cattle and farm stock at auction. Adverse treatment by Continental and British troops alike, along with stress induced by the confiscation of much of his property, had a negative affect on his health. In June 1781, he sailed for England with his wife and his niece, Elizabeth Floyd, leaving servants in charge of the house. One reason was to visit the hot springs of Bath, which he hoped would ease his rheumatism. Second, he wanted to get away from America until the war ended and a peace treaty favorable to Loyalists could be concluded, in which case he intended to return to his “native land.”<sup>16</sup>

Any possibility of his so doing vanished with American victory and the signing of the Treaty of Paris on 3 September 1783. Although the treaty stipulated that Tories should not be punished for their wartime stance, the Act of Attainder remained in force in New York. The act, however, did not apply to all Loyalists, but had been directed against a select number of prominent officeholders under the Crown, among them the former judge. Jones stayed in England the rest of his life. He could not return home upon pain of death.

The end of the war left Thomas Jones, at the age of fifty-two, deprived of the bulk of his more than 8,576 acres and unable to collect rent, debts, mortgages, or bills of credit owed to him. However, James De Lancey, his agent in New York and himself a former Loyalist, continued to pursue the payment of these debts for Mrs. Jones as late as 1806. Many, though not all, of Jones’s debtors took advantage of his absence. American and British plunderers had done a great deal of damage to his real property during the course of the war. In addition, he had been forced to pay his own expenses

during the 1776 imprisonment.<sup>17</sup>

Many American Loyalists fled to England and Canada during the course of the war. During the postwar years, 5,072 of them submitted compensation claims to the British government for losses incurred between 1775 and 1783. Thomas Jones was one of these. His first claim stated a net loss of £44,000 (approximately \$220,000 in modern American currency) in land, personal property, debts, and personal expenses, but a second claim, submitted after consulting with his New York agent, scaled his loss down to £14,334 (about \$71,760). Most claims filed during this period were not prone to meticulous accuracy, given the fact that many Loyalists refugees did not have the available records on hand. Therefore, it is not known if the miscalculation on Jones's part was accidental or a willful attempt to inflate the numbers.<sup>18</sup>

No Loyalists received the full amount claimed, and few were paid more than £10,000. Jones's compensation from the British government came to only £5,447, plus an annual pension of £150. His book cited the complaints of those loyalists who felt they were "by the Ministry left to starve with their wives and children on pittances of from £50 to £200 a year."<sup>19</sup>

The estate in the town of Oyster Bay, however, remained with Jones's extended family. David Jones's will stipulated that the first-born son of any of his children should be heir to the Fort Neck estate. Having no children, Thomas urged his nephew David Floyd to lay claim to the estate to keep it within the family, which he did, in 1788. Because the will required his taking the surname Jones, from then on he was known as David Floyd-Jones, of Fort Neck, Long Island.<sup>20</sup>

The judge and his wife settled down in Hoddesdon, a town about thirty miles north of London, but he never felt completely at home in England. As he wrote to his sister in 1782: "I had rather spend one year in Fort Neck than three here in the anxious state all we poor refugees are in." He never abandoned hope that the Act of Attainder might be repealed and he might return to America. A few months before his death on 25 July 1792, he expressed this aspiration in a letter to another relative. Nonetheless, his tombstone bore the inscription "By Strangers Honoured and by Strangers Mourned."<sup>21</sup>

In England, Jones had much time to reflect upon his wartime experiences. Between 1783 and 1788, he compiled his thoughts on the revolution in a two-volume *History of New York During the Revolutionary War and of the Leading Events in Other Colonies at that Period*. Along with Peter Oliver's *Origin and Progress of the American Rebellion*, Jones's book is the lengthiest contemporary treatment of the American Revolution from a Loyalist viewpoint. Although highly subjective and occasionally unreliable, it is an important Tory view of the hardships the Loyalists encountered from both sides during the war.<sup>22</sup>

In her recent study of Loyalist ideology in New York and Massachusetts, Janice Potter shows that both the brief and extended Tory accounts of the Revolution had much in common. There is, first, an emphasis on the material

benefits of the colonies under British rule, and the general happiness of the people ensuing from that prosperity. At the same time, the authors cite the machinations of a small group of self-interested men aiming to gain power. To oust those in power, they promote factional politics among the people who, although well-meaning, are gullible and easily led astray by demagogues who convince them of the evils of British rule. A common theme in Loyalist histories is the conspiracy of a few unprincipled power-seekers to lead the masses away from their loyalty to the monarchy.<sup>23</sup>

In 1752, Jones contended, New York was happy and peaceful, enjoying full membership in the empire. Prosperity abounded and the people were generally content. However, he cited the founding of the Whig Club, in that year, as the start of the downfall of colonial New York; prominent members of this club, including "the Triumvirate" of William Smith Jr., John Morin Scott, and William Livingston, all of them Presbyterian, presumably met to plan the destruction of the established church and government and substitute anarchy in its place. On the other hand, to this trio of Calvinist leaders, the Anglican Church embodied a near-Roman ritual along with the bishops and pro-British attitude that it wished to impose on the colonies. A case in point was the controversy surrounding the charter of King's College (the future Columbia University), founded in New York in 1754. The charter stipulated that the president of the college be of the Anglican faith. The Whig triumvirate lobbied for revocation of the charter, citing the Anglican requirement as evidence of impending religious oppression.

Throughout his history, Jones draws a consistent connection between Presbyterianism, republicanism, and rebellion. In contrast, the author characterizes Anglicans as "friends of order, and good government." Although the King's College charter was not revoked, the incident confirmed Jones's association of Presbyterianism with rebellion, and at times he seems almost to equate the two. This is an overstatement. A large number of Calvinists rallied to the British cause, while no small number of Anglicans joined the patriot ranks; indeed, they constituted the largest percentage of signers of the Declaration of Independence. The historian Wallace Brown holds that religion was not usually the key to a person's political convictions. Nonetheless, the charter controversy of 1754 convinced Jones of the opportunistic nature of the future patriots.<sup>24</sup>

Once again, in the 1760s and 1770s, Jones depicts the Whig triumvirate and its followers as taking advantage of the taxation controversies to advance their own interests. By 1770, these men were said to have attained "great influence among the rabble" by exhorting them to revolt against the established authorities, who were represented as conspiring to destroy the liberty of the people. However, the Whigs had no such lofty motives as they publicly espoused. The author comments that they "would no doubt have rejoiced at seeing the citizens and inhabitants engaged in cutting one another's throats, if their own interests would have been advanced by such means."<sup>25</sup>

Jones provided no exact statistics concerning political loyalties of New

Yorkers, but he believed that Loyalists outnumbered patriots four to one, at the start of the war. Alexander Flick contended that half of all New Yorkers remained loyal to the Crown. However, a recent historian, Philip Ranlet, places the proportion at about 15 percent Loyalist, 75 percent patriot, and 10 percent undecided, in 1775. By 1783, Ranlet estimates, only about 8 percent of the state's population was Loyalist. It seems that the first historian of the New York Loyalists would disagree with his current successor.<sup>26</sup>

There are no reliable figures for the number of Loyalists in New York State, but, in his recent study of Loyalist claims in the years after the Revolution, Wallace Brown concludes that the Tory population was larger upstate than in the metropolitan area. However, the Loyalists in such counties as New York, Kings, and Jones's native Queens, represented a sizeable majority, a phenomenon explained by the nineteenth-century Long Island historian Henry Onderdonk Jr.:

Here [Queens] the Royal Governors and other Crown officers had occasionally resided, and exerted an overshadowing influence. They were often connected with other wealthy and aristocratic families in the county, who also had their dependents.<sup>27</sup>

The questions then arise: why did the patriots make such strong advances in popular support, and how? Jones's answer is that the patriots bloated their numbers and were more vociferous in their appeals to the populace. Implicit in such a contention is an understanding of the masses as stupid and easily susceptible to libertarian rhetoric. A small group of oratorically skilled demagogues is credited with starting the American Revolution. The idea of the Revolution as a popular movement gains no credence in Jones's historical presentation.

Not only the masses were led astray. Jones states that the five New York delegates to the Continental Congress in September 1774 intended to promote further harmony between Great Britain and the colonies, but soon fell prey to delusionary patriotic rhetoric and came home "converted in to fixed republicans." Jones states that Loyalists were afterwards deliberately excluded from attending future sessions of the Congress. Again, Jones shows a tendency to twist historical facts: Queens voted overwhelmingly *not* to send delegates to the 2d Cont. Congress.<sup>28</sup>

What emerged to Jones after Bunker Hill was no surge of liberty and freedom for all, but rather a burst of mob rule and hypocritically brutal treatment of those who remained loyal to the Crown. The book abounds with examples of Loyalists tarred and feathered, imprisoned, forced to "ride the rail," and subjected to other forms of harassment. The author sardonically comments: "And yet these were the people who during the whole war boasted of their humane, generous behavior, and taxed the British and Loyalists as butchers, cut-throats, and barbarians."<sup>29</sup>

If the judge was apprehensive about the imposition of mob rule, he soon became even more disgusted by the way the war was conducted by the British military. In particular, Generals Sir William Howe and Sir Henry

Clinton were singled out for their mismanagement. Jones's assessment of both these men (with some justice) is particularly harsh. For example, he maintains that Howe could have wiped out Washington's army after the Battle of Long Island but instead chose to let him escape.<sup>30</sup>

To Jones, Howe was more concerned with enriching himself and his favorites by plundering both patriot and Tory, and by excessive, unnecessary expenditures forced on the local population. Jones implies that Howe consistently let Washington's army slip away during 1776 and 1777, until his own pocket was sufficiently lined, concluding: "Had there been as much pains taken to put an end to the rebellion as...to plunder and rob the treasury two years would have finished the war, saved the honour of the nation, and the Empire still been in status quo."<sup>31</sup>

Clinton emerged even less favorably, his assignment attributed to his being "the partisan of a faction" in London. Like Howe, he was accused of going out of his way to avoid victory. A more specific complaint was that he gave little protection or aid to the Loyalists. The author cited an incident in New Jersey, in August 1780, when three Loyalists were hung by the patriots. He complains that Clinton did nothing to prevent this, and took no retaliatory measures whatsoever. "What could be expected," the judge comments, "from a Commander-in-Chief sent to America to quell a serious rebellion, possessed of so little resolution, such indecision, and such rank timidity?" In this case, the historical consensus is in Jones's favor. William Willcox, Clinton's biographer, writes that the general's worst fault was inaction, especially when most necessary.<sup>32</sup>

Remaining on Long Island when he was not imprisoned, Thomas Jones spent most of the American Revolution under the British occupation. The return of British rule in 1776 turned into a source of distress to Loyalists even greater than the actions of patriots. The island was kept under martial law for the rest of the war, and both Tory and patriot were plundered by British troops. Without civil law, there was no recourse to higher authority, and security from the whaleboat raiders was never completely assured. Summarizing the situation that had developed by summer 1780, Jones writes:

Those who encamped upon Long Island robbed and plundered the inhabitants, for at least ten miles round, of their apples, Indian corn, buckwheat, and garden stuff of all kinds; pulled down and burnt their fences; and if any person had the resolution to complain, he was damned for a rebel, and threatened with the prevost.<sup>33</sup>

The biggest problem in Long Island, and other occupied areas, was that the British neglected to reestablish the civil law in effect before the war began. Jones saw two less than positive results accruing from this negligence. First, the imposition of martial law encouraged the patriots in their rebellious stance because it increasingly led them to doubt the good will of the British. Second, martial law was deemed, even by this pro-British narrator, as "arbitrary, despotic, illegal, cruel, and oppressive."<sup>34</sup>



Long Island Loyalists, more than willing to aid hi majesty's troops, readily met requisitions for hay, food supplies, wood, and other necessities. However, compensation became less forthcoming as the war progressed. Barrack-masters, commissaries, and quarter-masters were not engaged in supplying the troops, Jones reported, but rather in getting rich by exploiting the local population. They achieved this mainly through grandiose and unnecessary requisitions, compensated insufficiently or not at all. No higher authority could be petitioned, nor any sympathetic one. The courts of police, established by General Howe in 1777, were hardly reliable in that respect.<sup>35</sup>

In summer 1777, for instance, three soldiers in a contingent of 17th Light Dragoons encamped near Hempstead village went foraging in the house of a resident. The owner caught them red-handed and chased them away, killing one of them as he did so. When the case came before a military police court, the two remaining dragoons were acquitted but their deceased companion was found guilty, and "sentenced to be hanged in chains." No compensation was granted the owner of the house, the killing of a soldier being the main factor in the court's decision.<sup>36</sup>

Unfortunately, pilfering was not counterbalanced by a higher degree of military protection afforded to Long Islanders. By 1778, argues Jones, military protection had been reduced to the point where Long Island "to the eastward of Jamaica" was abandoned by the British. Of the three battalions of Tory militia raised by Oliver De Lancey for the defense of the Island, two were soon ordered to Westchester. Yet, if Loyalists complained of the lack of protection, "the answer was always the same, `defend yourselves, you have a militia.'" Here again, Jones's contentions ran contrary to historical truth. British military aid may not have been totally satisfactory, but neither was it entirely absent in any section of the Island during the long years of occupation.<sup>37</sup>

The danger from whaleboat raiders never entirely disappeared. Jones believed that British guard ships allowed the raiders to plunder Long Island in exchange for bribes. In May 1781, four crews from New Rochelle presented gifts to the British guard ship near Whitestone, proceeded to rob the home of Thomas Hicks of several hundred pounds-worth of cash and personal property, and sailed back to New Rochelle. "As they passed the guard ship upon their return, they gave her three cheers, which the ship cordially returned."<sup>38</sup>

If Jones berated the British military for negligence and incompetence, he attributed an even larger share of the blame for the loss of the war to the ministry in England. The accession of Lord Shelburne's administration, in 1782, virtually assured the outcome. Jones condemned Shelburne as an "irresolute, timid nobleman," and his new ministry as "formed out of that faction which had constantly opposed the American war, clogged the wheels of government, corresponded with Congress on all occasions." Two special complaints against the ministry emerge in Jones's history. One is conceding to a peace treaty which "dismembered the empire, disgraced the nation, and made Britain the laughing stock, the ridicule, the jest of all Europe." The

other is that the ministry left the Loyalists hung out to dry. According to Jones, the British did little to enforce the fifth article of the Treaty of Paris, which stipulated that no discrimination should be practiced against American Tories after the war. He also charged that Loyalist refugees in England were inadequately provided for, as in his own case.<sup>39</sup>

To summarize, Judge Jones saw the Revolutionary War as an unnecessary conflict, provoked by the machinations of a few ambitious demagogues, who conjured up “the bugbear of slavery to usher in the demon of sedition.” Unfortunately, the British mounted a less than adequate response. The incompetent leadership of Howe and Clinton constantly allowed victory to slip away, enabling the Continental army to build its strength and popular support. Another problem involved the widespread corruption of British military rule, oppressive to patriots and Tories alike. The lack of any attempt to reestablish civil law, at least on Long Island, further reduced popular support for the British. The ministry’s weakness in prosecuting the war and its acceptance of a dishonorable peace delivered the *coup de grâce* to the British war effort. The war resulted both in the establishment of popular tyranny in America and the dismemberment of the British Empire.<sup>40</sup>

Jones’s work is a biased, opinionated memoir by a displaced, embittered Tory. Therein lie its strength and weakness. When finally published in 1879, the reviewer for *The Nation* called it a valuable contribution to Loyalist history. However, he noted that it lacked “method, gravity, reflection, candor—almost all the qualities of a history.” In 1880, Herbert Johnston also saw enough flaws in the two volumes to inspire him to write a refutation, *Observations of Judge Jones’s Loyalist History of the American Revolution: How Far Is It an Authority?*<sup>41</sup>

Johnston contended that the work was not an objective account, but subjective and riddled with inaccuracies. For example, Jones claimed that no sooner did the British evacuate Charleston, South Carolina, in 1782, than a patriot rampage slaughtered all the Tories left in the city, twenty-four of them hung in full sight of the retiring British fleet. Johnston found no substantiation for this in accounts by original participants; moreover, he observed, Jones was in England at the time. In conclusion, Johnston asserted that Jones readily accepted slander against those whom he despised, albeit to the detriment of historical truth.<sup>42</sup>

Nor were Johnston and *The Nation* alone in their observations on the biased nature of Jones’s historical presentation. The historian of the family, John H. Jones, commented that the judge’s connection with upper echelons of New York colonial society greatly influenced his conservative outlook, along with his marriage to Anne De Lancey, whose views were even more reactionary than her husband’s: “Anne De Lancey’s eyes determined his politics, and he was, therefore, a Tory of a savage sort.”<sup>43</sup>

Two final difficulties emerge in Jones’s work. First, he blames the loss of the war almost solely on Shelburne’s ministry, as if neither the king nor Parliament were in any way at fault. Second, the narration skips back and

forth between events in New York and the other colonies, leaving many important events (which he did not consider to be so) almost unattended, with the result that the book lacks coherence.

In spite of its many faults, however, this study remains a significant historical document. It clearly expresses the sense of Anglo-American identity held by people like Jones, who, unlike the patriots, did not think of themselves solely as American. American Tories saw themselves as British subjects on American soil, rather than as citizens of a fledgling republic, of which they wanted no part. To Jones and others, continued membership in the empire was a good to be cherished and preserved, for there lay the best hope for American prosperity and happiness.

*History of New York During the Revolutionary War* shows the anomalous position of American Tories. Harassed by the patriots and either robbed or neglected by the British, they retained their political convictions in the face of adversity. Some, like Jones, were deprived of their privileged status and wealth. However, Loyalism was not an exclusive function of class. Some Crown adherents of modest means also lost their homes and personal property. Although many of these upholders of royal authority in a time of rising republicanism received land and monetary compensation after the war, most felt it was not enough: they tended to rig their claims on the high side, knowing that settlement would be for less. In addition, those who fled to Canada or England were deprived of the opportunity to spend their last years in their native land. For many like Thomas Jones who had benefitted under British rule, defeat meant an end to an aristocratically dominated society and the privileges accruing therefrom. Gradually, during a forty-to-fifty year period, the majority of Americans accepted the "radical" ideas of political independence, social equality, and popular participation in a democratic republic, because these ideas made sense to them. Once these concepts spread among the colonists, the old order was no longer relevant, partly because it no longer was enforceable.<sup>44</sup>

Thomas Jones and his fellow Tories, therefore, were going against the political tide in revolutionary America. His story is a vivid and poignant example of the isolation so often felt by the American Loyalist, exiled and execrated by those Americans who welcomed independence, no longer willing to let an island rule a continent.<sup>45</sup>

#### NOTES

1. Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution* (1963; reprint, New York: Penguin Books, 1979), 25.
2. Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 232.
3. Thomas Paine, *The Rights of Man* (1791-2; reprint, New York: Everyman's Library, 1958), 3.
4. Paucity of primary or secondary sources prevents extended treatment of Jones's (some of his correspondence is preserved in "Jones Papers," Box 153, Museum of the City of New York); the most thorough biographical study is Edward De Lancey, introduction to Thomas Jones, *A History of New York During the Revolutionary War and of the Leading Events in the Other Colonies in that Period* (hereafter cited as *HNY*), 2 vols. (1879; reprint, New York: Arno Press,

- 1968): 1:xi-xv, xlix-lxxvii; for an account by another descendant see John H. Jones, *The Jones Family of Long Island: Descendants of Major Thomas Jones (1665-1726) and Other Allied Families* (New York: Tobias A. Wright, 1907), 92-94; see also *Dictionary of American Biography* (DAB), s.v. "Jones, Thomas," and Gregory Palmer, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution* (Westport, CT: Meckler Publishing, 1986), 446.
5. Jones, *HNY*, 1:ix.
  6. Jones, *HNY*, lxvi; for a current work on American Tories, see Philip Ranlet, *The New York Loyalists* (Knoxville: Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1986), 162.
  7. Martha Bockée Flint, *Early Long Island: A Colonial Study* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1896), 195-96; see also Peter Ross, *A History of Long Island from its Earliest Settlement to the Present Time*, 3 vols. (New York: Lewis Publishing, 1902) 1:90-94.
  8. Jones, *HNY*, 1:5, lviii-lix; DAB, s.v., "Jones, Thomas; see also Michael Kammen, *Colonial New York: A History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975), 252.
  9. *American Loyalists: Transcript of the Manuscript Books and Papers of the Commission of Enquiry into the Losses and Services of the American Loyalists; Volume 65, Examinations in London: Memorials, Schedules of Losses, and Evidences, New York Claimants* (Transcribed for the New York Public Library, 1900), 351,367 (hereafter cited as *Loyalist Transcripts*); these give an account of Jones's holdings before the Revolution. For the De Lanceys, see Leopold S. Launitz-Saurer Jr., "Whig-Loyalists: The De Lanceys of New York," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 56 (July 1972): 179-98.
  10. Jones, *HNY* 2:135, 282-83.
  11. *Ibid.* 1:lxii-lxiii; 2:295-96.
  12. Flint, 383-4; Jones, *HNY* 2:297-98.
  13. Ranlet, 86-87; see also Alexander C. Flick, *Loyalism in New York During the American Revolution* (New York: AMS Press, 1970), 188; for Jones's version of British troops' abuse of Loyalists, see *HNY* 1:114-15, 271, 288, 94-295, 347-48, 360-63, and 2:19, 27, 37, 44, 73-74, 89, 135.
  14. Ross 1:221-24; see also Henry Onderdonk Jr., *Revolutionary Incidents of Suffolk and Kings Counties* (1849; reprint, Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1970), 3-8; Jones, *HNY* 2:301-4.
  15. For the Act of Attainder, see Flick, 146-48; Ranlet, 167; John Thomas Reilly, "The Confiscation of the Loyalists Estates and Its Effect upon the Democratization of Landholding in New York State, 1779-1800" (Ph.D. Diss., Fordham Univ., 1974), 17; for a case similar to Jones's, see Dwight Holbrook, ed. *The Wickham Claim: Being an Inquiry in to the Attainder of Parker Wickham* (Riverhead: Suffolk County Historical Society, 1986), 87-91.
  16. Jones, *HNY* 1:lxv; Thomas Jones to Mrs. Arabella Floyd, 5 May 1782, Letter 42.315.355, Jones Papers.
  17. *Loyalist Transcripts*, 361, 353.
  18. *Ibid.*, 351-54. Flick does not account for the second claim listing the lower number, as he looked only at the first draft (Flick, 156).
  19. John H. Jones, 92; Flick, 213; Thomas Jones, *HNY* 1:267.
  20. Thomas Jones to Arabella Floyd, 2 December 1783, Letter 315.360, Jones Papers; see also Holbrook, 91-93.
  21. Thomas Jones to Arabella Floyd, 5 May 1782, Letter 315.355, Jones Papers; Thomas Jones to J. P. De Lancey, 3 February 1792, Letter 42.315.461, Jones Papers; Jones, *HNY* 1:xxvi.
  22. Jones, *HNY* 1:xi, li.
  23. Janice Potter, *The Liberty We Seek: Loyalist Ideology in Colonial New York and Massachusetts* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1983), 17-24.
  24. Jones, *HNY* 1:10-17; Kammen, 252; for a refutation of the Anglican-Tory connection as absolute, see Ranlet, 184; Wallace Brown, *The King's Friends: The Composition and Motives of*

- the American Loyalist Claimants* (Providence, RI: Brown Univ. Press, 1965), 267-68; for the charter controversy, see David C. Humphrey, *From King's College to Columbia, 1746-1800* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1976), 18-78.
25. Jones, *HNY* 1:27-28.
26. Jones, *HNY*, 38,43; Flick, 182; Ranlet, 8, 182, 186-88.
27. Onderdonk, 5.
28. Jones, *HNY* 1:39-40; for the vote in Queens, see Alexander C. Flick in *Whig and Tory*, vol. 3 of Alexander C. Flick, ed., *History of the State of New York* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1933), 264; see also James E. Bunce and Richard P. Harmond, eds., *Long Island As America: A Documentary History* (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1977), 70-72; Benjamin F. Thompson, *A History of Long Island from its Discovery and Settlement to the Present Time*, 3 vols., second ed. (New York: Robert H. Dodd, 1918), 1:293-301.
29. Jones, *HNY* 1:77; for alleged patriot abuse of Tories, see *ibid.*, 40-43, 57, 59-60, 81.
30. *Ibid.*, 54, 128; for General Sir William Howe and Admiral Lord Richard Howe, see also Ira D. Gruber, *The Howe Brothers and the American Revolution* (New York: Atheneum, 1972), 113-15; for the Battle of Long Island, see Michael Hayes, current issue of *LIHJ*.
31. Jones, *HNY* 1:177; for Howe's defense of his actions see Troyer Steele Anderson, *The Command of the Howe Brothers During the American Revolution* (New York: Octagon Books, 1972), 236-37.
32. Jones, *HNY* 1:381; see also 240, 252,364-65; for Clinton, see William B. Willcox, *Portrait of a General: Sir Henry Clinton in the War for Independence* (New York: Knopf, 1964), 518-19.
33. Jones, *HNY* 1:360; see also Flint, 415-16.
34. Jones, *HNY* 1:163-64; see also Flint, 419-20.
35. For military corruption, see Jones, *HNY* 1:278-79, 335-39, 346-50; 2:33,168; see also Thompson 1:319-20.
36. Jones, *HNY* 2:73-74.
37. *Ibid.* 1:264-67, 271; see also Flick, *Whig and Tory*, 347-48; Flint, 430-31.
38. Jones, *HNY* 1:304; for whaleboat raiders see also Ross 1: 927-31.
39. Jones, *HNY* 2:259; 1:299, 252.
40. *Ibid.*, 1:85,111; 2:259; see also Flint, 457-60.
41. Pamphlet by an unknown Loyalist, quoted in Potter, 24; *The Nation* 729 (19 June 1879), 420; Henry P. Johnston, *Observations on Judge Jones' Loyalist History of the American Revolution: How Far Is It an Authority?* (New York: D. Appleton, 1880); for more of Jones's accounts of supposed patriot atrocities, see *HNY* 2:236.
42. Johnston, 5-9, 47-55, 86.
43. John H. Jones, 94.
44. See Edmond Wright, "The New York Loyalists: A Cross Section of Colonial Society," in Robert A. East and Jacob Judd, eds., *The Loyalist Americans: A Focus on Greater New York* (Tarrytown, NY: Sleepy Hollow Restorations, 1975), 77; between 1782 and 1790, British commissioners examined 5,072 claims totalling £10,358,413, of which £3,033,091 was awarded (*ibid.*).
45. See Thomas Paine, *Common Sense* (1776; reprint, Garden City: Doubleday, 1960), 35.

# An Inspired Hoax: The Antebellum Reconstruction of an Eighteenth-Century Long Island Diary

By Sarah Buck

*Personal Recollections of the American Revolution*, published in 1859, is a letter-journal purportedly written by Mary, a patriot soldier's wife. Mary's life is characterized by conflict and personal confusion as she struggles to understand the unfolding drama around her. Her story, although presented as a first-hand view of the Revolution, reflects many of the assumptions and themes of antebellum America, the period of the journal's editor, Lydia Minturn Post. From her nineteenth-century vantage point, using Mary as her spokesperson, Lydia glorifies the Revolution as a legendary moment in American history.

Some recent scholars have tended to misinterpret this document as an accurate representation of a woman living during the Revolution. Joyce Goodfriend and Cheryl Cline, two compilers of reference sources, have each cited and listed *Personal Recollections* as an eighteenth-century document written by Lydia Minturn Post during the Revolutionary War. Two historians, Mary Beth Norton and Sara Evans, both use the journal as a testimony of eighteenth-century experience. According to Norton,

The Journal of Lydia Mintern [*sic*] Post, a Patriotic Long Island housewife, also reveals the disruptive impact of quartering. Along with many of her rebel neighbors, she was forced to house Hessian troops after the redcoats had taken New York City. The soldiers... 'take the fence rails to burn, so that the fields are all left open, and the cattle stray away and are often lost; burn fires all night on the ground, and to replenish them, go into the woods and cut down all the young saplings, thereby destroying the growth of ages.' The Hessians lived in her kitchen (with the door to the rest of the house nailed shut), and when they received their monthly ration of rum... 'we have... fighting brawls, drumming and fifing, and dancing the night long; card and dice playing.' Most threatening... was the relationship of the homesick Hessians and her children. 'The children are fond of them... but I fear lest they should contract evil.' Her words detailed her dilemma: she was powerless to prevent her children from being attracted to an alien way of life promulgated by persons who were enemies to her country, for they were residents of her own home.

Evans, after explaining that “Lydia Mintern [*sic*] Post described how she was forced to quarter Hessian soldiers” on Long Island during the Revolution, goes on to quote some of the passages cited by Norton.<sup>1</sup>

Both Norton and Evans assume that *Personal Recollections* is an authentic eighteenth-century source, although Norton warns that the diary “appears to have been altered by its nineteenth-century editor and so should be used with great care.” Norton skepticism is prudent, as the “alteration” to which she refers is of considerable magnitude.<sup>2</sup>

The full title of the diary reads, *Personal Recollections of the American Revolution, A Private Journal. Prepared from Authentic Domestic Records by Lydia Minturn Post. Edited by Sidney Barclay*. The logical assumption is that Sidney Barclay compiled the reflections of Lydia Minturn Post on her experience in the Revolution. The editor’s note reinforces this interpretation:

The writer of these Letters, and this Diary, was the wife of an officer of the Revolution...The journal was written during a long period of separation from her husband. It presents a true picture of her life, and commences with an extract from one of his letters to her...The old manuscript has been faithfully adhered to, the writer of this preface being confident that its authenticity will not be doubted by those who, taking truth and nature for their guide, can relish a plain tale plainly told.<sup>3</sup>

A closer look challenges this “authenticity” and reveals a different kind of document.

I began to question the journal’s validity while trying to ascertain where its alleged author lived. After scanning in vain, I realized that although many names of people and descriptions of events and geography were specific, Mary’s place of residence never was stated. This led me to wonder to what extent the editor, Sidney Barclay, had tampered with a text to which he so “faithfully adhered.” In searching for information on Barclay, I made an important discovery. Sydney Barclay was Lydia Minturn Post’s pseudonym.<sup>4</sup> Rather than a writer who lived at the time of the Revolution, Lydia was the nineteenth-century author/editor of two books. The first was *Personal Recollections*, published in 1859, which lists Lydia as the author and Barclay as the editor. This book was reissued eight years later as *Grace Barclay’s Diary*, with Sydney Barclay as the editor and no mention of Post. The second work, *Soldier’s Letters from Camp, Battle Field and Prison*, published in 1865, names Lydia Minturn Post as the editor.<sup>5</sup>

*Personal Recollections*, therefore, cannot be considered the eighteenth-century diary written by Lydia. Initially, I reinterpreted the subtitle, *Prepared from Authentic Domestic Records by Lydia Minturn Post*, to mean that Lydia had published an eighteenth-century diary written by someone else. This new perspective helped to clarify the first page of the journal, a plea by the purported diarist’s husband to “write from thy heart, Mary” (not Lydia). Then, who was Mary? Was she an eighteenth-century woman whose journal Lydia published, or was she the product of Lydia’s imagination? To answer

these questions, I searched for an eighteenth-century diary, family papers, or other basis for the nineteenth-century document. Failure to find such material convinced me that *Personal Recollections* is an embellished, if not a completely fictionalized, diary of life in the Revolution reconstructed from an antebellum perspective.

### The Story

*Personal Recollections* is presented as the story of Mary's life on Long Island during the Revolution with her father, her three children, Charles, Marcia, and Grace, and some servants. Her perspective is that of a white, educated, and presumably well-off woman. Her father, an Anglican clergyman, is caught between loyalty to his new American home and his native England, a dilemma that induces him to take a neutral stance. Mary is torn between love for him and for her husband Edward, a Continental Army officer serving far from home, for whom she writes the journal and letters. Two other perspectives profoundly affect her. She spends much of her time caring for Major Musgrave, a wounded British soldier quartered in her house. Through him, she comes to understand the British point of view. The homestead closest to Mary's is owned by the Pattisons, a family of Quaker pacifists. Their protest of the war intrigues her. The thrust of *Personal Recollections* is Mary's attempt to reconcile the conflicting perspectives of the people she loves.

*Personal Recollections* is also Lydia's story. Lydia Minturn Post, born in the early 1800s, was the daughter of Henry Post (1774-1847) and Mary Minturn. Her paternal grandparents were Henry Post (1733-1816) and Mary Titus, Quakers who lived in Westbury and were members of Westbury Meeting. According to the *Post Family Genealogy*, Henry Pattison (Mary's neighbor) is a personal representation of Henry Post, Lydia's grandfather.<sup>6</sup>

From this information, I realized that *Personal Recollections* is a fictitious version of life in the town of North Hempstead during the Revolution. Geography, names, lifestyles, and places all fit within the context. North Hempstead, led by its Madnan's Neck (Great Neck), Cow Neck (Manhasset) and Hempstead Harbor (Roslyn) patriots, seceded from its Loyalist parent, the town of Hempstead, in September 1775, a separation confirmed by the legislature in 1784. However, the southern edge of North Hempstead, along the Jericho Turnpike, was settled mainly by Quakers who remained neutral during the Revolution. These fledgling communities, which evolved into the villages of Westbury and East Williston, provided the principal setting for *Personal Recollections*.<sup>7</sup>

Throughout the diary, Mary refers to certain families whose names appear in North Hempstead histories and genealogies, like the Posts (or Pattisons) of Westbury and East Williston. In addition, she mentions the Willises, Willettses, Albertsons, and Searings, self-sufficient, Quaker, farm families closely associated with the Posts.<sup>8</sup> The Society of Friends was the first denomination to be gathered in North Hempstead, meeting in private homes



as early as 1671. The first meeting house, opened in Westbury in 1702, was the town's first house of worship.<sup>9</sup> The Quakers had always believed they were part of a holy experiment to create a new society that would achieve world peace. Because of their renunciation of violence, they refused to take sides or bear arms in the Revolution. However, while respecting their civic duty, they believed in loyalty to established government, in this case Britain's. Quakers refused to pay taxes to the revolutionary government, use Continental currency, or accept military positions, a policy often equated with sympathy for the Crown.<sup>10</sup>

*Personal Recollections* dramatizes the Quaker dilemma during the Revolution in a conversation between Henry Pattison's daughter Edith and a British soldier. The soldier says, "The members of your Society are generally supposed to be on the side of the Mother Country," to which Edith responds,

It is true...they are called Tories, but unjustly, as they espouse neither cause. From their great principle, "Resist not evil," and submission to the powers that be, they are opposed to the rising of the people against the Mother Country.

Quaker pacifism emerges as more than neutrality or inaction, but rather as an active repudiation of violence accompanied by acceptance of British authority over the former thirteen colonies. However, this is not the way many contemporaries of the Revolution viewed Quaker pacifism. Embattled patriots perceived a double standard in the Quaker position, which opposed American independence but not its suppression by its former "Mother." For Britain, Quaker pacifism became a source of aid and comfort.<sup>11</sup>

During the Revolution, pacifism was espoused by many religious sects, including the Quakers and the German-speaking Amish, Kunkers, Swenkfelders, and Moravians. Of these, the Society of Friends was the most visible and best-known "historic peace church" and pacifist group. One historian, Sydney James, argues that their "idealism—the pacifism, humanitarianism, and public spirit which emerged from their eighteenth-century trials—remained an example of what Americans can achieve, and to some degree pervaded the estimates of what the nation best exemplifies."<sup>12</sup> Because of its historic peace role, the Society of Friends provided a model for some antebellum reformists to emulate. For this reason, the story of the Quakers on Long Island during the Revolution was important for Lydia, a nineteenth-century historian.

Strangely, Mary is not portrayed as a Quaker. She appears to be an Anglican living with her father, an Anglican clergyman, and her children, in an Anglican parsonage. The only Anglican church and parsonage in the Hempsteads during the Revolution was St. George's parish, constructed in 1704 in the Loyalist village of Hempstead. St. George's served as town hall, meeting house, and stronghold. The modern rectory, on the site of the revolutionary parsonage, is a low-roofed, Dutch style house identical to the building Mary described as her home.<sup>13</sup>

The minister occupying St. George's rectory during the Revolution was the Reverend Leonard Cutting, who served from 1766 to 1784. Like Mary's father, he was a native of England who endured many hardships during the Revolution. He was harassed by invading British soldiers and saw his church damaged. Mary is cast as the daughter of this man (or a character based on him). "There are two homesteads besides our own which border the pond," she observes. "Henry Pattison, the nearest neighbor...owns a valuable farm."<sup>14</sup> However, as the Posts lived in North Hempstead and the rectory was in Hempstead, these people could not have been neighbors. This is an obvious clue to Lydia's fictionalized reconstruction: by contrasting Mary's Anglican family with the Quaker Pattisons, Lydia provided a powerful example of strife and conflict in the revolutionary era.

By caring for her father, husband, and Major Musgrave, Mary has a personal tie to each faction involved in the war—the American Loyalist, the American patriot, and the British soldier. Also, through observation of her Quaker neighbors, she recognizes a pacifist alternative. She struggles with the contradictions inherent in her position, acknowledging both her support of the patriot cause and her disgust for the violence and hardship wrought by the war. As an interactive force between conflicting ideas and attitudes, Mary demonstrates the complexity of the Revolution on a personal level.

*Personal Recollections* provided a fit backdrop for a romantic reconstruction, using revolutionary Long Island as a microcosm of a national dilemma. Tensions between Tories and patriots, Anglicans and Calvinists, merchants and farmers, were manifested in the September 1775 secession of North Hempstead from Hempstead, after the latter refused to participate in the Second Provincial Congress. North Hempstead, except for its Quaker minority, was primarily patriot and Calvinist, while Hempstead was mainly Anglican and Tory.<sup>15</sup>

After the British routed Continental troops in the Battle of Long Island (27 August 1776), Hempstead, like the entire Island, was occupied and exploited by British troops and their Loyalist and Hessian auxiliaries. As John O'Shea comments, "Occupying armies are seldom popular, and on Long Island there were special causes for complaint." The Tory regiments in the area included large numbers of criminals who enlisted for the money they would earn. Most of the occupying troops were quartered in the homes of local residents, who soon found their crops, firewood, and personal belongings in danger of being destroyed or stolen. "In this quiet nook where we had hoped to find peace and safety," observes Mary, "we shall have disturbance, fear and danger; since the enemy have possession of the island, there can be no doubt of it."<sup>16</sup>

British soldiers, Hessians, Robbers, Cow-Boys, Runners, and Ruffians bring fear to Mary's community. During the seven years of the journal, Mary describes five murders, fourteen instances of families and individuals robbed of belongings and money from their houses, and other cases of harassment, including soldiers' demands that women cook for them, the "borrowing" of residents' horses, and the impressment of civilians to help the soldiers load

wagons, carry wood, and do other chores. Other crimes went unrecorded; “House-breaking, horse-stealing, and depredation are so common, that I am weary of noting them down, and have pretty much ceased to do so.” Attacks were frequent and frightening:

The depredations, robberies, and not seldom murders, committed by the Cow-Boys and Runners, are alarming, and exasperating the people in the extreme. The farmers suffer dreadfully from the levying, taxing, and quartering upon them of the Hessians and British soldiers... impressments of men, horses, and wagons to carry provender, hay, and soldiers about the country, are unceasingly going on...men...make every effort to get out of the way and to hide their horses and wagons.<sup>17</sup>

Patriots were especially prone to attack, but violence and victimization also afflicted Tories, Quakers and Anglicans, farmers and merchants. Mary’s story reveals the differences between her characters, while also showing the universality of the experience. Lydia sets this story in a Romantic context to highlight certain antebellum themes, the concern of the rest of this essay.

### **The Rhetoric of Nathan Hale: *Personal Recollections* as a Patriotic History**

Mary’s story emphasizes the shaping of a national identity, an important goal of the nineteenth-century Romantic era, when many engaged in creating a unique, American Republic. An obvious example of nineteenth-century theories and rhetoric in *Personal Recollections* is Mary’s description of the execution of Nathan Hale on 22 September 1776:

Dear, dear husband! was there ever anything so sorrowful, so dreadful, as young Nathan Hale’s fate?...I cannot write this without weeping. It was a noble testimony, but a bitter necessity. So likely, so young, so brave...‘I only regret,’ he said, just before he ascended to the gibbet, ‘that I have but one life to lose for my country.’<sup>18</sup>

Besides the sentimental tone of this entry, the words attributed to Hale date this as a nineteenth-century statement. According to F. K. Donnelly, the earliest version of Hale’s statement appeared in the Boston *Independent* on 17 May 1781. It read “‘I am so satisfied with the cause in which I have engaged, that my only regret is, that I have not more lives than one to offer in its service.’”<sup>19</sup> However, William Hull, a fellow officer of Hale’s, claimed in his testimony that Hale “‘only lamented that he had but one life to lose for his country.’”

These words were popularized in Hannah Adams, *A Summary History of New England* (1799). Around the same time, a historian, Abiel Holmes, changed Hull’s statement to a first-person sentence: “‘I only lament, that I have but one life to lose for my country.’” The words continued to change. In 1848, in a biography of General Hull by his daughter, they became the version accepted thereafter—“‘I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country.’” These words, not the eighteenth-century version, appear in

*Personal Recollections*, proof positive both that Mary could not have written them and that Lydia altered or created this portion of the text.<sup>20</sup>

The evolution of Nathan Hale's last words suggests that the diary combined certain "facts" of the Revolution with a nineteenth-century patriotic interpretation. The diary reads,

In the performance of this [Hale's] duty, the flower of the army has fallen a victim to British wrath and brutality...They tore up the letter he wrote to his family, saying, the rebels should never know they had a man in their army who could die with such firmness.

This statement typifies the rhetoric of the early nineteenth-century, when, according to Russel Blaine Nye, the United States had not developed a full set of national heroes, songs, legends, flags, and monuments. The new republic looked to Greece and Rome for symbols (like the Roman eagle), but especially to the Revolution for heroes such as Nathan Hale.<sup>21</sup>

Hale is only one of many patriot heroes exalted in *Personal Recollections*, including George Washington, Nathaniel Woodhull, Benjamin Franklin, Nathaniel Greene, and Richard Montgomery. Washington, in particular, is represented as a heroic example of what America stood for and sought to become. *The Life of Washington*, Mason Weems's glorified biography, contributed to the perception of Washington as a national symbol and example for emulation. In anecdotes and outright myths like that of young George and the cherry tree, which he inserted in his 1806 edition, Weems presented the father of his country as a peerless leader of unblemished character, pious, benevolent, reasonable, diligent, sober, and even-tempered.<sup>22</sup>

The image of Washington in *Personal Recollections* strongly resembles the one created by Weems. In a September 1776 entry, Mary refers to Washington's masterful retreat after crushing defeat in the Battle of Long Island:

Today received intelligence of the unfortunate affair of Brooklyn. What a skillful movement was that of General Washington...It is a new proof of his cool forethought and judgment. The heavy fog seemed to fall providentially. May we not accept it as an omen that our leader is the favored of Heaven?

In November, she confesses to "a womanly admiration of a noble exterior. Washington's influence and authority must be enhanced by his gallant bearing and commanding figure, as he sits his proud steed."<sup>23</sup> These excerpts mirror Parson Weems's adulation of a leader destined providentially to lead America and the world.

Developing a sense of mission was a central goal for Americans in forging a national consciousness. As Russel Blaine Nye observes, "Almost from the beginnings of settlement, the colonists conceived of themselves as a special people, providentially chosen for a particular mission in history." In a similar vein, Ernest Tuveson contends that nineteenth-century America was dominated by the "idea of inevitable progress," a sense that this country was

the “redeemer nation,” made up of chosen people who were to lead the world in achieving a “millennial-utopian destiny for mankind [in] a continuing war between good (progress) and evil (reaction).” This providential myth, so instrumental in unifying the people during and after the Revolution, became instilled in the national consciousness. Much of antebellum historical literature builds on such myths.<sup>24</sup>

Both *Personal Recollections* and Weems’s *Life of Washington* demonstrate this developing consciousness and mythology. To Weems,

We, like favoured Israel, have been sitting under our vine and fig-tree, none daring to make us afraid: we have been advancing in riches and strength, with a rapidity unequalled in the history of man; we have been progressing in arts, manufactures, and commerce to an extent and success that has astonished the most enlightened Europeans.

A few pages later, he rhapsodically exhorts:

Then rouse! my generous countrymen, rouse! and, filled with the awfulness of our situation, with the glorious spirit of ’76, rally around the sacred standard of your country...As good children give her all your support...she shall shed on the cause of freedom, a dignity and lustre which it never enjoyed before...which cannot fail to have a favourable influence on the rights of man. Other nations, finding from your example, that men are capable of governing themselves, will aspire to the same honour and felicity.<sup>25</sup>

In *Personal Recollections*, Mary trumpets her conviction that the American cause is righteous and will achieve victory with divine guidance. The following passages show her faith in America’s destiny, while expressing concern that some people may have deserted the national cause:

It is indeed a gloomy hour! But we must triumph. The descendants of those who sought here a peaceful asylum from oppression—Huguenots, Puritans, Covenantors—will not submit to oppression here...It is God’s decree that this people shall be free. The broad lands of this new continent are destined to all time to be the asylum of the Persecuted, the Poor, the Suffering!

The last sentence parallels Thomas Paine’s stirring plea, “O ye that love mankind...prepare in time an asylum for mankind,” in the soon-to-be formed United States.<sup>26</sup>

The appearance of such rhetoric in *Personal Recollections* suggests that the book can be interpreted, in part, as antebellum nationalist commentary. The events of Mary’s life are often shaded with the kind of providential, pacifist, reform-movement rhetoric belonging more to the pre-Civil War era than to the period of the Revolution. Using the Revolution as a vehicle for promoting such important antebellum themes was a powerful way to legitimize them as formative to American identity, placing them in the

context of nationalistic historical experience.

*Personal Recollections* makes heavy use of a sense of providence. The nineteenth-century belief in American destiny is closely related to the antebellum climate of social reform and idealism. Nye argues that Romantic, antebellum America “energized every area of interest and endeavor. It experimented with religion and philosophy, with social systems, and with social change.” The reform movement focused on many issues, including woman’s rights, the plight of the poor, the treatment of the mentally ill, prison reform, temperance, and the abolition of slavery, the cause that ultimately took precedence over all others. Significantly, these diverse issues were linked through a Protestant, missionary, evangelical thrust that was motivated by a belief in America’s millennialist destiny.<sup>27</sup>

Lydia was a product of this millennial, reformist world view, and Mary’s perception of the Revolution reflects Lydia’s paradigm. In her eighteenth-century context, Mary struggles with the complex social issues and paradoxes of Lydia’s antebellum world. Mary is caught in a contradictory belief system as she expresses a strong concern with the violence of the war, while she defends the Revolution as necessary for America to win its freedom and fulfill its millennial destiny.

Mary’s disgust with bloodshed and conflict, combined with her admiration of her Quaker neighbors, leads her to question the war and become intrigued with pacifism, as illustrated by her perceptions of three situations. The first is “an incident...which illustrates and proves the power of the Law of Love,” when raiders crossed from the mainland to attack the house of Stephen Willetts, a Quaker preacher. After making “a mental ejaculation of prayer to God for grace, to do and say the thing that was right,” Willetts threw the door open, saying, “Walk in friends, and warm yourselves, it is chilly this evening.” After he threw wood on the fire, gave the would-be robbers dinner, and offered them beds for the night, “They were now completely overcome; their hearts melted, making them as unable to begin the work of plunder as though bound in chains of iron!” Politely refusing to stay, they left without inflicting violence. In another incident, “Faith in an overruling Providence was nobly exemplified in a case which occurred in one of the Jerseys [where] a Friend was pinioned in his own barn.” A British soldier drew his sword to the man’s breast, but he simply stood calm and still. Frustrated, the soldier raised the sword to the man’s throat, at which point “The aged man looked in his enemy’s eye and spoke: ‘Thou canst do no more than thou art permitted to do.’” The soldier immediately dropped his sword and galloped away on his horse. In a third event, which took place opposite Mary’s house, a man was being beaten for his intoxication the night before:

I could no longer refrain from running out of the house, and begging them to desist...The rattan struck his cheek, perhaps by accident, cut it open, and it bled terribly! I screamed out “murder!” They were startled, and stopped. The appealing look of gratitude I received from the poor maimed soldier was sweet reward. Mary Pattison...took the poor

creature in...dressed his wounds...and like the good Samaritan, poured in the oil of consolation. The principles of this peace-loving Society are destined one day to cover the earth as the waters cover the sea. They are the same which our blessed Redeemer came to reveal, and sealed with his blood.<sup>28</sup>

As Mary's rising faith in pacifism confuses and challenges her, she wonders how to resolve her divided allegiance to her neutral father, her patriot husband, and her British friend, Major Musgrave:

Can I, a woman, wife, and mother, delight in warfare, or desire the destruction of the children of a common origin? No! May God of his merciful goodness grant a speedy termination of the war! This be my prevailing, fervent prayer.<sup>29</sup>

In this passage, Mary acknowledges that her social role is gender-specific, associating her belief in pacifism with what she sees as her duty as mother, wife, and woman.

Lydia employs Mary's story to glorify nineteenth-century womanhood in an eighteenth-century context. In antebellum reformist America, women often turned to spirituality to validate their view that possession of a soul gave females and slaves the right to equality with white men. Religion was also used to empower women in colonial times in a different way from that in the nineteenth century. According to the historian Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, religion enabled eighteenth-century women to become "'handmaids of the Lord,' capable of sharing in the defense of the land...without leaving the domestic sphere." Women could make use of religion in the home to influence their husbands and children, and "contribute to the public good without leaving the domestic sphere." Religious rhetoric and ideology were instruments for women to influence society. In the nineteenth century, they took this power and made it their own, by including pious behavior in their definition of womanhood. Religion, rather than a means of allowing women a place within society, became integral to their identity; being a woman carried with it a role in society.<sup>30</sup>

The idea of moral and spiritual equality was shared as a central tenet of the nineteenth-century women's and abolitionist movements. According to Margaret Fuller, a contemporary of Lydia's,

If the negro be a soul, if the woman be a soul, appared in flesh, to one master only are they accountable. There is but one law for souls, and if there is to be an interpreter of it, he must come not as man, or son of man, but as son of God.

Mary demonstrates this concept of spiritual worth by stating that her slave Nero has the same worth as a white man. Referring to his reaction to Musgrave, she notes that

Old Nero would have done anything to serve him. I have seen tears

coursing down his dark face when the Major...would stand in his dressing-gown leaning against the garden gate, looking so woeful and so pale! No wonder Nero's heart was touched; he has as warm a one as ever beat beneath a white man's breast.<sup>31</sup>

Paradoxically, while advocating equality for slaves, Mary infuses her writing with millennial, reformist rhetoric, suggesting that the Protestant, English-speaking Americans had been chosen to lead the world forward. Her emphasis on the destruction wrought by Hessian more than British soldiers reflects her bias. Major Musgrave remarks that "The very idea...[of] shooting down men who speak the same language and own a common origin is monstrous. My share in it hath pierced me with sorrow."<sup>32</sup>

When viewed through an antebellum lens, Englishman fighting Englishman during the Revolutionary War corresponds with the coming tragedy of American fighting American during the Civil War. Lydia focuses on elements of Mary's story that strike a chord with the problems of her own time. She compares and contrasts the divisions and alliances of the Revolution with the sectional and personal tensions of antebellum America.

Mary weaves contradictory rhetoric and ideas, exposing Lydia's confusion with the social agenda of reformist, antebellum America. Abolitionists and feminists contended that slavery and the inferior status of women contradicted the American goal of achieving an egalitarian society, and pacifists held that war was contradictory to the creation of the "peaceable kingdom" America could become. Yet abolitionists, feminists, and pacifists all fought for their convictions behind a shield of Christian, millennial, Anglo-Saxonist ideology.

Mary's attempts to reconcile the conflicting views of her loved ones reflect Lydia's struggle to understand the paradoxes of nineteenth-century America. Ultimately, Mary reaches a resolution that may also work for Lydia; she engages in religious rhetoric to simultaneously praise and condemn the war:

In reading my Bible to-day I came to that beautiful passage: "And nation shall not lift up sword against nation, nor learn war any more. The sword shall be turned into the ploughshare, and the spear into the pruning-hook." It appears to indicate that the peaceful pursuits of agriculture will prevail over the earth, and war and devastation cease. May God hasten the day! Yet the resistance of the Colonies against oppression is righteous and just. This land is destined to be the Home of the Free...The piety and self-denial of the Puritans; the enthusiastic faith and devotion of the Covenantors, the Huguenots...all here came, the chosen of God, to a place prepared for them in wisdom and mercy—the Canaan to the Israelites! Over these broad lands and fertile fields a race is to spread...Here liberty, peace and plenty shall prevail beneath the benignant smile of the Lord.<sup>33</sup>



Mary supports the ideals of the Revolution, while criticizing the fighting that she felt to be unnatural. Lydia, through Mary, combines pacifist ideals, the rhetoric of Manifest Destiny, a feminist agenda, and abolitionist arguments bound within an image of America as the redeemer nation. Mary's acceptance of the Republic, a millennial, providential experiment that recognizes the quest for peace, allows Mary and Lydia to speak together—Mary as an eighteenth-century woman loyal to her disparate loved ones, Lydia as a nineteenth-century woman seeking to be both an active social reformer and a historian.

### Conclusion

*Personal Recollections* presents many challenges to the modern scholar. Contrary to previous misconceptions, this book is not an eighteenth-century relic but a reconstruction of the Revolution told by a nineteenth-century author. The story of Mary, the fictitious alter ego of Lydia Minturn Post, can be interpreted simultaneously as a recreation of revolutionary Long Island; a contribution to American patriotic folklore; and a sentimental antebellum novel. The reader learns of a brave patriot soldier, a caring Tory Anglican minister, a wounded British soldier, and a harassed Quaker family. These characters interact in a divided Long Island community, severely affected by the harsh British occupation.

In addition, Mary is Lydia's spokesperson for a developing American identity, symbolized in the mythology and folklore developed during the first half of the nineteenth century. Lydia praises heroes like George Washington and Nathan Hale. She portrays a United States destined to build a Protestant-based, progressive, constitutional democracy on the foundation carried from England by freedom-loving pioneers.

Lydia tells Mary's story to exalt the life and heritage of her ancestors, as well as to understand her own world. She explores the Revolution through the prism of folklore that did not exist in Mary's time. By trying to interpret the past, Lydia learns to interpret the present. Thus, *Personal Recollections*, an inspired hoax, reflects elements of Lydia Minturn Post's life in antebellum America as clearly as it ostensibly deals with the eighteenth-century life of Mary.

### NOTES

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2. Norton, 307.
3. Lydia Minturn Post, *Personal Recollections of the American Revolution, A Private Journal. Prepared from Authentic Domestic Records by Lydia Minturn Post. Edited by Sidney Barclay.* (1859; reprint, Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1970), 13-14.
4. Cline, 118; William Cushing, *Initials and Pseudonyms: A Dictionary of Literary Disguises*

- (Waltham, MA: Mark Press, 1963), 526; Jennifer Mossman, *Pseudonyms and Nicknames Dictionary*, 3d ed., 2 vols. (Detroit: Gale Research, 1987) 1:145, 2:1,627.
5. For Lydia Minturn Post, see the *National Union Catalog, Pre-1956 Imprints* 5:467; Joseph Sabin, *A Dictionary of Books Relating to America from Its Discovery to the Present Time* (New York: the author, 1885), entries 64460, 64462, 97068.
6. Marie Caroline de Trobriand Post (Mrs. Charles Alfred Post), *Post Family Genealogy* (New York: Sterling Potter, 1905), 85-90, chart C—appendix G.
7. Marie Post, 88; for the secession of North Hempstead, see Nicholas A. Meyer, *East Williston History, 1663-1978* (New York: Inc. Village of East Williston, 1977), 10, and Benjamin F. Thompson, *History of Long Island*, 3d. ed., 3 vols (New York: 1918; reprint, Port Washington: Ira J. Friedman, 1962) 2:552. According to Meyer, “There is reason to believe” that Henry Willis, the first Willis to settle in the area (1675), changed the name of his place from North Side (designating its location on the town of North Hempstead’s edge of the Hempstead Plains) to Westbury “for an attractive town of that name in Wiltshire, near his birthplace in England”; when its post office opened in 1879, East Williston, also called North Side during its first two hundred years, was named in honor of the prolific Willis family, with “East” added because of the previous existence of a Williston in Erie County (*ibid.*, 9, 12, 13, 39, 60n.9).
8. Benjamin Hicks, ed., *Records of the Towns of North and South Hempstead* 6 vols. (Jamaica: printed by order of the Town Board of North Hempstead, Long Island Farmer Print, 1896-1904); Meyer, 10-12; John O’Shea, *History of the Town of North Hempstead* (Manhasset: Town of North Hempstead, 1984); Bernice Schultz, *Colonial Hempstead* (New York: Review Star Press, 1937); *Springtime in Westbury*, based on Pratt painting of 1895 map, courtesy of the Historical Society of the Westburys; *The Way We Were: Old Westbury Gardens and Environs*, compiled from data of H. E. Hawkhurst and photos, courtesy of E. H. Emory and R. Gachot (map, 1938, courtesy of the Historical Society of the Westburys).
9. Peter Ross, *A History of Long Island From Its Earliest Settlement to the Present Time* (New York: Lewis Publishing Co., 1903) 2:124-5, 211; O’Shea, 14.
10. Peter Brock, *Pacifism in the United States: From the Colonial Era to the First World War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1968), 183-254, 333, 449, and *The Quaker Peace Testimony, 1660-1914* (York, England: Sessions Book Trust, 1990), 47-161; Sydney V. James, *A People Among Peoples: Quaker Benevolence in Eighteenth Century America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1963), x-xi.
11. Lydia Post, 114-115; Brock, *Quaker Peace Testimony*, 47-50.
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13. Paul Bailey, “Colonial Long Island,” *Long Island Forum* (March 1958): 54; *History of Queens County New York, with Illustrations, Portraits and Sketches of Prominent Families and Individuals* (New York: W. W. Munsell, 1882), 176-77; O’Shea, 17; Ross, 2:89.
14. Ross, 2:89-90; Lydia Post, 19, 56.
15. Ross 2:84-85.
16. O’Shea, 7; Lydia Post, 18.
17. Lydia Post, 22, 26, 28, 31, 34, 37, 39, 40, 43, 55, 59, 80, 104, 106, 109, 125, 127, 150, 153, 157, 159, 163, 164.
18. *Ibid.*, 25.
19. Reprinted in *The Remembrancer, or Impartial Repository of Public Events* (London, 1782) 1:285; see also Henry Phelps Johnston, *Nathan Hale, 1776: Biography and Memorials* (1901; Reprint, New Haven, CT 1914), 136-37; F. K. Donnelly, “A Possible Source for Nathan Hale’s Dying Words,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 42 (3, 1985):394.
20. Hannah Adams, *A Summary History of New England...* (Dedham, MA, 1799), 359, 361n, in Donnelly, 395; Abiel Holmes, *American Annals; or A Chronological History of America...*

- (London, 1808), 2:305 n., in Donnelly, 395; Maria Campbell, ed., *Revolutionary Services and Civil Life of General William Hull...* (New York, 1848), 38, in Donnelly, 395.
21. Lydia Post, 22-25; Russel Blaine Nye, *Society and Culture in America, 1830-1860* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), 4.
22. Lydia Post, 22, 28, 73-4, 86, 142-4, 146; Mason L. Weems, *The Life and Memorable Actions of George Washington* (ca. 1800; reprint, Marcus Cunliffe, ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1962), xv, 172-224; the cherry-tree episode is in the fifth ed., 1806.
23. Lydia Post, 18, 54.
24. Nye, 10; Ernest Lee Tuveson, *Redeemer Nation: The Idea of America's Millennial Role* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1968), 52, vii-viii.
25. Weems, 219, 223.
26. Lydia Post, 58; Thomas Paine, *Common Sense* (1776; reprint, Garden City: Doubleday, 1960), 42,
27. Nye, 22.
28. Lydia Post, 127-29, 159-161, 93.
29. *Ibid.*, 108-9.
30. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, "Daughters of Liberty: Religious Women in Revolutionary New England," in *Women in the Age of the American Revolution*, eds. Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert (Charlottesville, VA: Univ. Press of Virginia, 1989), 212-13.
31. Margaret Fuller Ossoli, *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (Columbia, SC: Univ. of South Carolina Press, 1980), 26; Lydia Post, 191.
32. Lydia Post, 97.
33. *Ibid.*, 147-49.

# My Grandfather Loved the Salt Marshes

*By Maxwell Corydon Wheat Jr.*

“Look at those marshes!”  
he’d call,  
rowing me in his dinghy  
among mainland and island marshes.  
“They’re a prairie in the Great South Bay.”  
And he’d push his straw hat back over  
the white hair trailing toward his shoulders.

He was always bringing out  
his old-fashioned looking book  
covered in dark green,  
*Hymns of the Marshes*,\*  
poems by the nineteenth-century poet, Sidney Lanier,  
poems about the southern marshes of Glynn.

Carefully turning the pages,  
Grandfather would read a favorite passage;  
“Ye marshes, how candid and simple  
and nothing-withholding and free  
Ye publish yourselves to the sky  
and offer yourselves to the sea!”

“Look!” Grandfather would call,  
waving his long hand over the horizon.  
“All that marsh is just two grasses;  
salt-marsh grass and cord grass.”  
He enjoyed saying those names.

“That’s the salt-marsh grass.”  
And he’d push the boat near shore.  
“It grows on the edges.  
Hardly gets up to a boy’s knees.  
In August, farmers came with scythes.  
They came haying  
and do you know why?”  
as if I hadn’t heard a hundred times.  
“The salt-marsh grass was fodder.”

“It looks all whirled around,”  
 I liked saying,  
 “like tiny tornadoes had passed over it.”  
 “That’s ‘cause the stems are easily bent.  
 And it’s soft.  
 You can lie on it.”

Rowing a creek through the marsh,  
 he’d point to thickly stalked stands.  
 “That’s the cord grass.  
 It’s taller than a growing boy.  
 Look how it spreads into the bay!  
 Look how it crowds the banks  
 above all those blue mussels!”

He’d pull out his book  
 with pages ready to fall out.  
 “Listen to this!  
 ‘The world lies east: how ample,  
 the marsh and the sea and the sky!  
 A league and a league of marsh-grass. . .  
 Stretch leisurely off, in a pleasant plain,  
 To the terminal blue of the main.’

“Yes,” Grandfather would say,  
 “The salt marshes reach out to the sea  
 from the black muck where so much grows:  
 mud snails, moon snails, marine worms, mummichugs.  
 They’re nurseries  
 for flounder, for striped bass,  
 for the snappers that come in August,  
 the baby blue fish  
 that one day will migrate the Atlantic  
 from Florida to Maine.”

In October, he really loved to point to the grasses.  
 “Now, you see what the salt marshes are.  
 They’re gold!” he’d shout  
 to people fishing from nearby boats.  
 “The salt marshes are gold!”

\*Sidney Lanier, “The Marshes of Glynn,” *Hymns of the Marshes* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1877), 55, 53.

# Robert Moses and the Making of Jones Beach State Park

## *Part Two: The Grand Design*

By R. Marc Fasanella

*Editor's note: For part one of this series, see LIHJ 7 (Fall 1994): 99-110).*

What Robert Moses envisioned as the best form of development for Jones Beach was a great improvement over the speculative plans of the Nassau County Committee and other local groups. Beyond encountering problems in the acquisition of land, Moses also had trouble finding architects and engineers willing to undertake a project of the magnitude he planned. Once he acquired the Hempstead lands, he set out to translate his vision to reality. According to Robert A. Caro, most of the experts he consulted considered his ideas too grandiose: "The men gathered around Moses included some of the biggest names in American architecture, but they didn't think big enough for him." At a meeting at the beach, on the "vast, empty expanse of sand," Moses vividly explained his plan to a gathering of "famous architects, landscape architects and engineers, and a handful of young commission staffers."

There would be a landscaped roadway running along the barrier island, two large bathhouses, a connecting boardwalk, large parking fields, and an array of recreational facilities for active outdoor sports. Though Moses lacked a strong artistic background, he developed pronounced beliefs in what constituted good design. He came of age when the concepts of Louis Sullivan and Frederick Law Olmsted had shaped the modern landscape and defined its aesthetic merits. Sullivan, who delighted in the mechanized nature of modern society, sought to develop a contemporary form of American architecture. His Chicago-style skyscrapers were imitated in New York City's new buildings during Moses' adolescent years, when he lived within walking distance of Central Park, a model of bucolic beauty in the heart of the metropolis, designed by Olmsted and Calvert Vaux. As a student, Moses traveled throughout Europe, developing an appreciation for historic architecture. He also became familiar with the work of Frank Lloyd Wright, an increasingly dominant influence. Moses and his Jones Beach staff later utilized the concept of organic architecture pioneered in Wright's "Prairie Style."

In his essay "Who Designed Jones Beach: Robert Moses or Daniel Burnham?" Michael P. McCarthy suggests that the precedent for the plan advanced by Moses and his Long Island State Park Commission (LISPC) was Burnham's 1909 plan for development of Chicago's waterfront property:



*Jones Beach, Mall Area, 6 September 1938. Photo courtesy of LISPC.*

It would have been hard for Moses not to have known of the Burnham plan since it was one of the most respected plans of the early 1900's as well as one of the most publicized...the Burnham plan...had reached even New York by the 1920's in the person of Charles Norton, who had worked with Burnham and who became a leader in the regional planning movement in New York.<sup>3</sup>

To McCarthy, the similarities were striking. Burnham proposed large, horizontal lawns stretching down to the waterfront, few piers or other structures off shore, the creation of a barrier island out in front of the central section of the shoreline, and a wide range of facilities similar to those later planned for Jones Beach. According to Burnham,

The waterway should be lined with restaurants and pleasure pavilions and with public bathhouses, swimming beaches should be constructed on their shores, which by careful designing can be made as picturesque as any inland river. Both shores should be a part of the general design and together with the lagoon itself these shores should be owned by the park authorities in order that the whole may be effectively policed.

Burnham also planned a shoreline parkway, forecasting the parkways constructed under Moses' guidance:

Imagine this supremely beautiful parkway, with its frequent stretches of fields, playgrounds, avenues, and groves extending along the shore in

closest touch with the life of the city throughout the whole waterfront.<sup>4</sup>

Though never fully implemented, Burnham's plan became a model for students of architecture and landscape architecture, and possibly a model for the LISPC.

Moses' notions of quality design were sharpened by a stint as secretary of the New York State Association, during which he advanced a state park program. He studied the work of both the Bronx River Parkway Commission, formed in 1917, and the Westchester County Park Commission, formed five years later, and forged a close association with Jay Downer, chief engineer of both. In the late 1930s, after completion of the Jones Beach project, Moses hired Gilmore Clarke, a landscape architect and co-designer (with Leon N. Gillette) of Playland, in Rye, New York, for the Westchester Commission. McCarthy emphasizes the similarities between Playland, which opened in 1928, and Jones Beach, which opened the following year. These include a limited-access parkway, large concrete parking lot, lavish landscaping, swimming pool, bathhouse with lockers and dressing rooms, and a tower overlooking a boardwalk along a natural beach. The amusement park which serves as Playland's main attraction is not replicated at Jones Beach.

By recruiting personnel from the Bronx River Parkway and Westchester County Park Commissions, as well as by hiring young professionals, Moses put together a staff of architects, designers, and engineers who shared his vision and quickly set to work. On 4 August 1929, Jones Beach State Park opened to the public, although Ocean Boulevard and the causeway, water tower, east bathhouse, parking fields, and boardwalk were only partially finished. Some plans of the primary designers—Moses and his colleagues Earle Andrews, Clarence C. Combs, and Herbert Magoon—were never completed and others were changed. After the first full year of operation, areas west of the future west bathhouse were marked for further development to allow for much higher attendance. Conversely, a projected full-size, eighteen-hole golf course west of the east bathhouse was cancelled; this area, left largely untouched, today comprises the John F. Kennedy Wildlife Sanctuary, run by the town of Hempstead.

The original concept included two bathhouses of the highest aesthetic and structural standards, each able to accommodate approximately ten thousand patrons, and endowed with huge swimming pools and a variety of food services. If plans often depicted images unable to be seen in the built environment, the overall effect of a recreational wonderland was confirmed by early visitors. Although it differs from the original vision, Andrew Saint, in his article "Unholy Moses," observed: "As it was when it opened Jones Beach State Park remains...the most lavishly planned and...best executed public beach in the world."<sup>5</sup>

Moses based his vision of a great ocean beach park on the architectural environment in which he was raised, the style of building pioneered by Sullivan and the bucolic landscape architecture developed by Olmsted and Vaux. Spurred by the Burnham Plan, the Westchester County Park



Commission, and a strong respect for history, the LISPC created an acclaimed park design. Other than Moses', the strongest aesthetic influences were those of the early LISPC's planners Herbert A. Magoon and Earl Andrews, who were architects and designers; Clarence C. Combs, a landscape architect; and Arthur Howland, the chief engineer. In many of his speeches, Moses gave his colleagues a large measure of credit for achievements attributed to him. Although there are no written records of their work at Jones Beach, their influence abounds in many plans and detail drawings.

Herbert Magoon, the primary architect of the first structures, signed or initialed most of the drawings. His style was eclectic, ranging from conservative and modest to fanciful and even garish. Though the buildings at Jones Beach are generally described as Art Deco, Magoon combined aspects of the uniquely American architecture pioneered by Louis Sullivan and the organic style introduced by Frank Lloyd Wright. Magoon influenced not only the larger architectural plans but also hundreds of detail drawings of doors, lighting fixtures, benches, signage, and other artifacts.

The initials of Clarence C. Combs appear on drawings made in 1930 for further development of the park. Combs also influenced the design of the causeway, as well as initial walkways and plantings; his trademark was the stone-faced bridge with an elliptical underpass. An authority on beach plants, he sought to capture the aesthetic qualities of the dunes through the sparse planting of indigenous shrubs interspersed throughout natural-looking dunes and lawns.

Earle Andrews, Arthur Howland, and Robert Moses signed the title sheet of every major set of drawings throughout 1929 and 1930. Many other architects, designers, draftsmen, and engineers, whose names or initials are found only on random drawings, also influenced the design.

The causeway, completed just in time for opening-day ceremonies, was the first road to link the barrier island of Jones Beach to Long Island. Called Wantagh Parkway after its widening, it resembled the other parkways the LISPC built throughout Long Island. The concrete roadway, which retains much of its original beauty, is landscaped for its entire length. The right of way, as wide as three hundred feet, is a well-maintained lawn embellished with ornamental shrubs and trees. Bridges that eliminate grade crossings appear as stone-faced antiquities rather than institutional structures. These small bridges, with elliptical underpasses, stress a horizontal appearance, seemingly built into rather than on top of the land. The use of guardrails made of rustic wood (reinforced with steel cables) and street lamps with rustic, wooden posts creates a unified, naturalistic appearance rarely found along the parkways built before the formation of the LISPC.

Connecting the Southern State Parkway to Jones Beach, the causeway bridges the gaps between the many small islands in Great South Bay. From a motorist's perspective, much of the causeway appears to be on the mainland: only at the end, when the traffic circle comes into view and the water tower looms large overhead does one realize that the bay has been crossed and

Jones Beach lies just ahead.

The entire park area was raised to fourteen feet above sea level to prevent storm waves' washing over the beach and closing or creating inlets. This was accomplished by suction dredges that, according to Chester Blakelock, pulled six million cubic yards of sand from the bay bottom and deposited it on the beach. The higher plateau formed by the fill allowed the LISPC to sculpt the sand deposited in conformity with the plan for the beach.<sup>6</sup>

Like the bell towers of ancient cities, the water tower at Jones Beach serves as a beacon and the focal point of the park's design. A huge steel tank, concealed beneath the finely crafted brick and stone facing, can hold 300,000 gallons of fresh water, pumped from 1,200 feet below sea level, to supply bath and restaurant facilities.<sup>7</sup> The large quantity of water it can store allowed for subsequent development of the park.

The four nearly identical facades of the tower show remarkable attention to detail and achieve a formally balanced sculptural grace, although Caro's suggestion that the tower was modeled after the Campanile in Venice applies only to its general form.<sup>8</sup> The tower is built primarily of Barbizon brick, which takes advantage of the inconsistencies of clay and has a variegated appearance. The bricks vary in hue, but conform to a set of harmonious colors ranging from light sand to dark earth tones. The tower is trimmed with limestone coping and capped with a steep hipped roof of copper. The Ohio sandstone base is framed by a square limestone plaza set inside a circular lawn. The corners of the plaza are embellished with four, large, identical Art-Deco sculptures, which conceal lighting fixtures used to illuminate the tower at night. The tower exhibits a modern industrial aesthetic, yet is constructed entirely of natural materials—modernity tempered by the organic.

Although speeding cars impede a close look at the water tower, its superb craftsmanship is evident. The Wantagh Parkway ends with the tower centered between its northbound and southbound lanes, forcing motorists to circle it and head east or west on Ocean Boulevard. This road, called Ocean Parkway after its widening, forms what Moses called the "backbone" of Jones Beach State Park. Running virtually down the center of the barrier island, it serves as the automotive link for the various facilities. The LISPC conceived it as an anchor to the buoyant beach sands: after the sandstorm that marred the opening showed that concrete was no substitute for beach grass, workers began to plant millions of clumps of beach grass along the south side of the parkway to fortify the sands.

Ocean Parkway harmonizes with Wantagh Parkway, with the same wooden guardrails and lampposts, though few original lampposts remain. Both have clean, well-maintained roadways and rights of way. In the original park, both employed the attractive black and white signage, often marked with the distinctive sea-horse logo of Jones Beach. Both sides of Wantagh Parkway present similar views to motorists, but Ocean Boulevard is flanked by contrasting environments. To the south lie acres of sand, the boardwalk, bathhouses, and most of the park's recreational facilities. To the north lie

acres of marsh, Zach's Bay, and parking fields.

People have gone to Jones Beach primarily for the surf and the sun bathing (despite the risk of cancer). The east bathhouse and the later central mall and west bathhouse were designed with driveways directly off the south side of Ocean Boulevard, so that drivers could drop off passengers and proceed to parking fields north of the boulevard. The sidewalks are decorated with inlaid slate mosaics with nautical and marine themes found throughout the architecture and landscaping of the park.

The parking fields are accessed by driveways at right angles to Ocean Parkway. During the first few years, attendants at Art-Deco booths in the center of these driveways collected the parking fee. The first field (today's #5), a vast area flanking Zach's Bay, is of the hardest concrete, enabling its use with little maintenance for more than half a century. The concrete, made of rounded gravel from the shore and sand dredged from the bay, created a variegated color in harmony with the sandy environment. There are no meridians or ornamental plantings in the parking fields, in which white painted lines mark off parking spaces. Originally, when attendance was high, patrons had to navigate a sea of cars to reach the walkways that led to the overpasses beneath Ocean Boulevard.

At first, automobiles were the only means of accessing Jones Beach, but after the LISPC came under attack for this policy of restricted access, bus stop facilities were added by 1931. Although it has often been contended that the overpasses on roads to Jones Beach were deliberately built too low for



*Jones Beach, Boardwalk at Central Mall, 5 August 1934. Photo courtesy LISPC.*

buses, the center of bridges on the Wantagh, Meadowbrook, and Southern State Parkways can accommodate such vehicles. The low height of the outside lanes is due to the use of elliptical underpasses, a trademark of LISPC bridges. Raising bridge levels to accommodate buses in all lanes would greatly have increased the structures' height and undermined the elegant harmony between architecture and landscape, to say nothing of increasing costs. Moreover, Moses believed in the privately owned car as the epitome of transportation, and sought to promote their use at the expense of other forms of conveyance, including mass transit.

Throughout the early years, most visitors arrived by car and used the walkways and underpasses to reach the beach. Those who preferred calmer waters could remain on the north side of Ocean Boulevard and use the beach at Zach's Bay. Not all facilities planned for Zach's Bay were completed when the park opened; the marine theater and yacht basin were added during the early 1930s. The theater, which became a major venue for Long Island, has presented many forms of popular entertainment, from the Aquacade to stage productions to rock concerts. The yacht basin has been replaced by a deep-sea fishing station at Captree State Park, while the original yacht facilities have suffered from indifferent maintenance. By opening day, the area of the bay had been reduced, shoals and sandbars removed, and a wider beach created with hydraulic fill.

The High Hill community of private cottages on the bay coexisted for many years with the park. When the town's leases to landholders expired, the LISPC moved most of the cottages to the section of the barrier beach known as West Gilgo, destroying those deemed unfit to be moved.

In the park's first year, persons dropped off for surf bathing were left at the curb on the north side of the east bathhouse, the first recreational building completed at Jones Beach. Constructed directly over the area where Zach's Inlet once divided Short Beach from Jones Beach, it was the more modest of the two bathhouses designed for the park.

The architectural elements that front the north side of the east bathhouse, now closed to the public, constitute a small but formidable Art-Deco stone structure. A row of twelve narrow stone pillars, six capped with ornamental lanterns, compose the single-storied north side of the building. Above the pillars stretches a deep, low, cedar shingle roof, which softens the effect of the hard stone and gives a rustic appearance. Two massive stone pillars, similar but with more ornamentation and capped with brickwork and ornamental limestone coping, divide the front into three proportioned sections. The small nautical flags that flew from two short flagpoles on each pillar added dashes of gaiety to the otherwise austere structure. Behind the pillars, the gates to the locker rooms and pool of the bathhouse are richly ornamented in an Art-Deco motif that showed up in every detail of the structure, in varying forms.

Much of the interior of the east bathhouse is remodeled beyond recognition, or lies in a state of disrepair. Interior elevations for the bathhouse

were not in the files of the LISPC and the specifics of the interior remain unclear; the only evidence of its appearance is in Magoon and his staff's detail drawings.

The small north front belied the expansive square footage of the east bathhouse. The architectural experience of entering the building created the compressive effect often employed by Frank Lloyd Wright. Most notable are the facade's harmony with the natural surroundings, the low profile, and the use of natural materials that blend with the environment.

Those driving directly to parking fields caught only a glimpse of the bathhouse facade, and were treated to a very different experience in approaching the beach. At either end of the fields, brick walkways led to concrete underpasses that burrow beneath Ocean Boulevard, so soundly built that they have required little maintenance since their construction in 1929. The walkways, constructed with a complex arrangement of brickwork and lined with ornamental shrubs and flowers, were built with an excellent drainage system that keeps them dry even during periods of heavy rainfall. Once through the underpass, concrete walks arc gracefully toward the south shore facade of the east bathhouse. Along the walks are small plazas, set into the surrounding dunes and framed by flower beds. The length of the walks is landscaped, with much of the east and west sides of the bathhouse concealed behind a thick growth of shrub and pine.

The south shore facade of the east bathhouse, much longer than the north facade, conceals the vast structure it fronts. Designed in what Caro terms a medieval castle style, the south side, like the north front, presents an essentially stone appearance. Caro believes Moses was responsible for the use of Ohio sandstone on the facade, choosing it for its grey, tan, and blue tones which echo those of the sand and sea. In some places, warmly toned Barbizon brick intermingles with and mutes the slightly cooler colors of the stone. The entire building appears little more than a row of low narrow pillars, similar to those on the north facade, and connected by an ornamental wooden railing at the second story floor line. Below this, and between the pillars, doors provide access to a concession stand offering snacks and light meals. When in its original condition, these meals could be eaten at umbrella-covered tables on a patio in front of the bathhouse. Above and behind the railing is an observation terrace, originally covered by a canvas awning supported by a wooden framework. The brightly striped awnings and umbrellas added interest to the architecture and landscape.<sup>9</sup>

At each end of the row of pillars are larger, monumental stone towers which rise above the second story without interrupting the horizontal stress of the bathhouse facade. At first, the towers were flanked by long, single-story, wooden additions topped with a rustic cedar-shingle roof. These wings, now replaced by brick structures, housed first-aid stations and rest rooms quickly accessed from the beach. The east bathhouse was designed as a long, low, one-story structure of a scale and proportion that echoed the lines of surrounding dunes and vegetation.

The north facade, of smaller stature than its southern counterpart, is equally suited to its more wooded surroundings. The sides of the building were largely concealed with indigenous ornamental shrubs, with the south facade echoing the long, low, horizontal appearance of the beach. In some respects, the bathhouse reflected the lines of a natural dune with its stepped-back facade and gradually sloping canvas awnings. What is most successful about the structure is the use of stone and brick. The coarseness of the stone and complexity of the brickwork evoke naturalistic harmony through the subtle gradation from stone to brick in an irregular, well-balanced patchwork.

Patrons arriving at the south shore could change and stow belongings in the lockers of the east bathhouse, or stroll on the mile-long boardwalk. The boardwalk, later extended, begins at either end of the concrete sidewalk that fronts the east bathhouse and stretches in arm-like arcs toward the shore, resembling Bernini's colonnades for the plaza in front of Saint Peter's. The planks are angled, or run parallel to the course of the walk, avoiding the tedious appearance of many boardwalks and reducing the menace of splinters to bare feet. Most of the whimsical sheet metal signs—silhouetted scenes pointing to various facilities—have been removed.

South of the boardwalk lies a long, broad expanse of the south shore beach. In the boardwalk's protective north lee are the game areas of the park. In the original park, a softball field north of the short boardwalk extended to the east of the bathhouse. Game areas created west of the boardwalk in the early 1930s, providing *bocce*, lawn tennis, shuffleboard, archery, and pitch-putt golf, were well-designed and lavishly landscaped, with a clean, orderly appearance.

Further west along the boardwalk is the central mall. During the early 1930s the mall was home to a small restaurant, later converted into a cafeteria, featuring outdoor dining on the boardwalk or atop the restaurant on a viewing deck. The restaurant facade replicated a medieval castle turret, in harmony with the east bathhouse. The turret, however, was embellished with a fortress-like porch and a crow's nest suspended from a flagpole, both of which have been removed. All that remains of the fanciful turret is a small, elaborately decorated, copper terrace that evokes images of fairy-tale heroines beckoning to their lovers. When first built, the turret and open-air dining area could be reached by a gradually inclining staircase concealed behind a decorative, diagonal band of interconnecting discs. These skillfully balanced architectural details were also removed by the LISPC, reducing the building to a simple brick structure with little of its earlier attractive, imaginative quality. Access to the restaurant and boardwalk is from a driveway in the center of the traffic circle at the water tower. The sidewalk for the central mall, more elaborate than those which led to the bathhouses, was a formal promenade from the traffic circle to the boardwalk alongside the restaurant, and led to the beach. In the center of this long, landscaped walk stands a tall flagpole with a replica of a ship's wheel at its base, designed for tying off the many small ship's flags which fly from the pole.

Nautical paraphernalia abound. On the boardwalk, the railings are the type

used on large ocean vessels; trash receptacles are hidden inside the large metal ventilators once used on ships; other trash containers are painted silver and stenciled with a black sea horse or crab; and drinking fountains, many of which remain, were originally in the form of binnacles. Other details, such as benches and bathhouse trash bins, were not designed on nautical lines but harmonized with the architecture. As Frank B. Burgart and Karen Rollet point out,

The highly refined design detailing was extended to include mundane utility structures, signs, curbs, and gutters, waste receptacles, paving, etc. The nautical theme expressed at Jones Beach in such details results in much visual delight. Mosaic tile, bronze, marble and cut limestone are materials never before associated with park design, that were used in plans influenced by Moses.<sup>10</sup>

The original plans also called for the larger and more ornate west bathhouse, not completed until 1931, its interior similar to its counterpart but its exterior an aesthetic departure. Caro speculates that its three-story turrets topped with copper, spear-pointed spires were intended by Magoon to resemble the helmets of Moorish warriors:

If the first bathhouse, despite its lack of height, resembled a medieval castle like those from which knights rode forth to join the Crusades, the second looked like one of the castles the knights saw when they reached the holy land.<sup>11</sup>

Some aspects of the second bathhouse maintain the park's organic modernism, with excellent use of stone and brickwork throughout its facades. Its Ocean Parkway front utilizes the same, scaled-down, compressive architecture found in its predecessor. Its south shore facade and sides present a more formal, ostentatious appearance, resulting in a disharmony of styles that impairs its architectural integrity. According to Cleveland Rodgers,

Moses considers the original East Bathhouse at Jones Beach, designed by Herbert Magoon, as more dignified, simpler and aesthetically satisfying than the West Bathhouse. He thinks the same architect was too gay and playful, especially in his treatment of the facade on the oceanside of the West Bathhouse, and that he should have been restrained.<sup>12</sup>

Many facilities in the original plan were constructed in the 1930s, when, as attendance rose, the style and scale of the structures built changed. The park became world-renowned for its beauty and cleanliness, receiving positive reviews in French and German architectural journals. Benito Mussolini dispatched a team of architects to study the park with the intention of developing similar projects on the Mediterranean or Adriatic Seas.<sup>13</sup> Jones Beach State Park, originally perceived as the ruination of a local resource, came to be seen by local residents as the recreational showpiece of Long Island.

It is clear from Moses' efforts as president of the LISPC that he anticipated the need for additional space. If permitted, he would have

developed the entire barrier island as a state park. However, what was originally a modest and elegant park developed into a large facility of a different character. The park of opening day 1929 was designed and built in aesthetic harmony with the natural environment, but its future expansion created an environment in which man-made structures dominated natural ones.

What would Jones Beach be like without the work of Robert Moses and the LISPC? Unquestionably, the barrier island was slated for development. By 1927, developers and politicians formed speculative plans for greater development than that envisaged by the LISPC. Opposition, including that of the Nassau County Committee, came mostly from factions seeking greater, not more restricted, development of the island. However, it must be remembered that the original plan called for turning the adjacent Kennedy Wildlife Sanctuary into an eighteen-hole golf course. Notably missing on either side was a powerful voice for conservation. Absent from Moses' vision of the park were wilderness trails and nature preserve areas, although, from his personal enjoyment of natural, undeveloped areas of the island, he might have been expected to include such facilities. Moses belonged to at least one conservationist organization, the Adirondack Mountain Club, whose 1929-1933 membership card declared:

I believe in the Out-of-Doors, the woods, streams, and hills, the wild life that lives therein; I believe that man's care for them in a state of nature consistent with conservation is his best investment for the future.

However, the plan created under Moses' supervision did not reflect such sentiments.

Viewing Jones Beach as a deserted wasteland, Moses gave his architects and engineers a free hand in altering park lands as they felt necessary. Although he showed little inclination to practice conservation during the park's creation, he was not completely indifferent to environmental concerns. Moses was one of four co-authors of a 1931 report expressing concern for pollution levels developing off the South Shore of Long Island. At the time, large amounts of waste continually washed ashore, most of which, the report suggested, resulted from ocean dumping of New York City's refuse, with the annual cost of cleaning up South Shore beaches as much as \$10,000 per mile.<sup>14</sup> Throughout his career, Moses continued to express concern with pollution and unwise development that threatened the health of Long Island's waters.

Jones Beach State Park was built, in the words of Paul Goldberger, as a "People's Palace."<sup>15</sup> The noncommercial environment accommodates and entertains without the meretricious gimmicks of Coney Island. The tasteful architecture and lavish landscaping drew thousands of visitors in the first year of operation, with attendance rising sharply in following years. The park, conceived before the Great Depression, was largely completed before the formation of the Works Progress Administration and its army of artisans. The serene atmosphere of Jones Beach afforded peaceful contemplation and appreciation of natural beauty, distinguishing it from its barrier island



predecessors.

The use of high-quality materials such as Ohio sandstone and Barbizon brick departed from the work of the Civilian Conservation Corps as well as of earlier regional park designers. The tradition of using local field stones as well as rough-hewn wood pervaded the appearance of most regional parks. In this regard, as well as others, Jones Beach was a departure from established park standards. Materials for its construction were selected for aesthetic effect and permanence of structure. Much of the later work of the LISPC became superficial, lacking the aesthetic integrity of the Jones Beach project. As the LISPC grew, its park responsibilities became an enormous undertaking, making it difficult for Moses to give matters his personal attention and forcing him to rely increasingly on consultants.

It is fast becoming more difficult to study the early work at Jones Beach first-hand. Many structures have been remodeled almost beyond recognition, or are in a state of disrepair, as noted by Laura Rosen:

Moses' earliest work has been disappearing...His first Long Island parkways now resemble expressways. At Jones Beach, the fanciful art deco food concession buildings on the mall have been replaced with bland modern ones...What we are losing is of a scale and quality so many of us are seeking to regain in our public works.<sup>16</sup>

From an art historian's perspective, the plans of the LISPC at Jones Beach succeeded because they surpassed the notion of picturesque that defined the work of an earlier generation of designers, and embraced the emerging aesthetic of organic modernism developed by Frank Lloyd Wright. Jones Beach, as a non-partisan public works project, is exemplary for its imaginative design and persistence in the face of public opposition. The scale was large enough to serve as a state attraction, yet small enough to allow efficient operation.

The comprehensive planning, orchestrated by a unified set of architects and landscape architects, established a primacy of aesthetic concerns; these, in turn, led to the creation of an outstanding environment, composed of aesthetically blended elements in harmony with their natural environment. Perhaps Robert Moses stated it best:

Here it is in a nutshell. An example of planned, imaginative, persistent, nonpolitical, public enterprise. This is conservation in a broader sense...When the critics tell you that there has been nothing but neglect of the great outdoors, take them to Jones Beach...and tell them to look around about them.<sup>17</sup>

#### NOTES

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3. Michael P. McCarthy, "Who Designed Jones Beach: Robert Moses or Daniel Burnham?" (conference paper, Hofstra Univ. Symposium on Moses, 1988, Long Island Studies Institute, Hofstra Univ.), 5, 8.
4. Daniel H. Burnham, *Plan of Chicago* (1909; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), 51.
5. Caro, 223; Andrew Saint, "Unholy Moses," *New Statesman* 31 (August 1979), 316.
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7. Blakelock (1953), 33.
8. Caro, 223.
9. *Ibid.*, 224.
10. Frank B. Burggart and Karen Rollet, "The Rustic and the Sophisticated in Park Design: The Moses Style vs. the CCC Design," in Joann P. Krieg, ed., *Robert Moses: Single Minded Genius* (Interlaken, NY: Heart of the Lakes Publishers, 1989), 196.
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16. Laura Rosen, "Robert Moses and New York: The Early Years," *Livable City* 12 (December 1988), 7.
17. Robert Moses, "The Building of Jones Beach," transcript of tape-recorded talk, Freeport Historical Society, 26 Feb. 1974, cited in Krieg, ed., 139.

# Commitment for a Lifetime: The Long Island Long-Term Marriage Survey

By *Finnegan Alford-Cooper*

The divorce rate in the United States has fluctuated considerably during the last seventy years. For example, while approximately one of every two marriages among “baby boomers” ends in divorce, the boomers’ parents—couples who married during World War Two—have a much lower rate.<sup>1</sup> The refined divorce rate (the rate per thousand women fifteen or more years of age) hovered at 7.3 in 1925 and 1930 before rising slowly from 8 in 1935 to 15 in 1945. Thus, the rate remained relatively low throughout the Depression and then increased sharply during and after World War Two. The 1950s and early 1960s witnessed a lower than normal figure, which dropped to 9.2 in 1960. From 1965 until 1979, the number rose steeply to a high of 22.8 in 1979, declined slightly, and leveled off at 20.7 in 1989. Rates for the entire period are summarized in table 1.

TABLE 1.  
REFINED DIVORCE RATE IN U.S., 1925-1989<sup>2</sup>

YEAR MARRIED	REFINED DIVORCE RATE
1925	7.3*
1930	7.3*
1935	8.0*
1940	9.0*
1945	15.0*
1950	10.3
1955	9.3
1960	9.2
1965	10.6
1970	14.9
1975	20.3
1979	22.8
1980	22.6
1989	20.7
1985	21.0
1989	20.7

\*approximate

Source: Robert Lauer and Jeanette Lauer, *The Quest for Intimacy* (Madison, WI: Brown and Benchmark, 1994), 442-43 (see n.2).

The survey of Long Island couples married fifty or more years is an attempt to understand why the patterns of divorce among couples who married in 1944 or earlier are so different from those of the baby boomers. The research focused on the following questions: how do the surveyed spouses explain the longevity of their marriages; what positive factors contributed to the success of their marriages; and what lessons about marriage and family life do these couples have to teach to younger generations?

Questionnaires were distributed to more than 1,400 couples and completed by 576, the largest survey to date of couples in the United States married fifty years or longer.<sup>3</sup> Flyers were mailed to virtually all nutrition sites and senior centers on Long Island, asking for volunteer couples and giving an 800 telephone number to call for copies of the questionnaire. The Center for Creative Retirement at the Southampton campus of Long Island University, the Suffolk County Department of Aging, the Nassau County Department of Senior Citizen Affairs, and the Long Island Council of Churches assisted in the distribution of flyers and information about the study. In addition, local newspapers and radio stations announced the launching of the survey.

Callers to the 800 line left their names, addresses, and telephone numbers on a message tape. A set of questionnaires (one for the wife and one for the husband) was mailed to each of these couples, with a self-addressed, stamped, return envelope. Couples interested in follow-up interviews wrote their names, addresses, and telephone numbers on the questionnaires they returned.

The questionnaire consisted of thirty items examining: 1) reasons for marriage; 2) attitudes toward marriage and one's spouse; 3) frequency of expression of intimacy and affection; 4) positive factors contributing to the success of marriage; 5) overall marital happiness; 6) agreement on eight basic issues (amount of time spent together, sexual activity, division of household tasks, goals in life, career choices, religion, recreation, and finances); 7) causes of problems in the marriage over the years; 8) methods of conflict resolution; and 9) changes over time in the marriage (i.e., happiest and least happy times, was divorce ever considered, and if so, when).

In constructing the questionnaire an attempt was made to replicate results of earlier studies. As Michael Sporakowski and Leland Axelson argue, one of the problems in studies of long-term marriage is lack of consistency in variables studied, so that data is not comparable.<sup>4</sup> To achieve some comparability, several of the survey questions were drawn directly from earlier studies.<sup>5</sup> In addition, each spouse was asked the year of the marriage, age at marriage, religious affiliation, education level, number of children, and current joint yearly income.

A subsample of sixty survey couples participated in follow-up, in-depth interviews, from two to three hours in length, and usually conducted in the couple's home. Forty-five of the sixty couples were interviewed together for half of the time, and then separately by same-sex interviewers (the researcher and her assistants). Fifteen couples were interviewed together for the entire interview by the researcher alone. Questions reviewed the spouses' lives

together: how they met and married; the family lives of their parents, brothers, sisters, and children; the early years together before and after the children were born; their expectations about marriage then and now; the highs and lows of their years together; day-to-day life after retirement (now); causes of conflict; and methods of conflict resolution. In essence, the interviews became oral histories of the couples' lives together, with many of the stories highly illustrative of Long Island history. The interviews were recorded on audio tape, duplicated, and archived.

About 30 percent of the couples are married exactly fifty years, 9 percent for sixty or more, and the rest somewhere between, with an average length of fifty-two years. Forty-seven percent of the spouses married between the ages of twenty-two and twenty-five. Ninety-eight percent of the couples had children; of these, 44 percent had two children, 28 percent had three. Fifteen percent of the subjects have less than a high school education; 47 percent completed high school only; 7 percent have some college experience; 18 percent are college graduates; and 13 percent have some postgraduate education. Forty-three percent of the spouses are Catholic, 29 percent are Protestant, and 23 percent are Jewish. More than 65 percent of the couples live in Nassau and western Suffolk Counties, fewer than two dozen in Queens, and the rest in eastern Suffolk. Tables 2 through 7 present the demographic characteristics of the sample population.

**TABLE 2. YEAR MARRIED**

<b>YEAR MARRIED</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE OF ALL SPOUSES</b>
1929 OR EARLIER	2.1%
1930-32	2.6%
1933-34	3.8%
1935-39	18.6%
1940	10.8%
1941	15.0%
1942	15.6%
1943	22.8%
1944	8.7%

**TABLE 3. AGE WHEN MARRIED**

<b>AGE AT WHICH SPOUSES MARRIED</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE OF ALL SPOUSES</b>
UNDER 20 YEARS	12%
20 - 21 YEARS	25%
22 - 24 YEARS	47%
25 YEARS OR OLDER	16%

**TABLE 4. NUMBER OF CHILDREN**

<b>NUMBER OF CHILDREN</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE OF ALL SPOUSES WITH CHILDREN*</b>
1 CHILD	8%
2 CHILDREN	44%
3 CHILDREN	28%
4 CHILDREN	13%
5 CHILDREN	3%
6 CHILDREN	1%
7 CHILDREN	2%
8 CHILDREN	4%
9 OR MORE CHILDREN	6%

\*2 Percent of couples have no children.

**TABLE 5. YEARLY INCOME**

<b>JOINT YEARLY INCOME</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE OF ALL SPOUSES</b>
UNDER \$20,000	18.0%
\$20,000-29,000	28.5%
\$30,000-39,000	20.5%
\$40,000-49,000	13.6%
\$50,000 OR MORE	19.4%

**TABLE 6. RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION**

<b>RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE OF ALL SPOUSES</b>
CATHOLIC	43.2%
PROTESTANT	28.8%
JEWISH	23.2%
OTHER	1.1%
NONE	3.7%

**TABLE 7. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL**

<b>EDUCATIONAL LEVEL</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE OF ALL SPOUSES</b>
EIGHTH GRADE	5%
LESS THAN HIGH SCHOOL	10%
HIGH SCHOOL	47%
SOME COLLEGE	7%
COLLEGE (BA/BS)	18%
POST-GRADUATE/ADVANCED DEGREE	13%

While the Long Island Long-Term Marriage Survey is not a random sample of couples married fifty or more years, the participants provide significant insights into the workings of their marriages. Ninety-four percent of all spouses say they married for love, only 1 percent that they did so because of duty or obligation to others. Other reasons include commitment to one's future spouse (34 percent), the time was right (27 percent), and to have children (26 percent). Fewer than 1 percent mention pregnancy or arranged marriage.

Ninety-three percent report being happy or very happy in their marriages. The positive factors most frequently mentioned as contributing to marital success and longevity are loving relationship, willingness to compromise, and trust. One wife wrote on her questionnaire: "Marriage is about loving and caring for your spouse, being together, best friends, who can confide in each other. It's about knowing you are always there for one another."

Liking one's spouse as a person and feeling understood by him or her are crucial for the quality of the relationship. A husband added to his questionnaire: "Be best friends, enjoy each other's company more than that of others, and have similar intellectual and artistic preferences." Husbands and wives who say they are happy or very happy in their marriage more often like their spouses as persons; regard them as their best friends; and feel understood by them. These happy couples more frequently confide in each other, show affection, say 'I love you,' and laugh together than do the less happy couples: the positive factor most frequently added was sense of humor.

These happier husbands and wives more often report that their spouses became more interesting over time. Ninety-five percent of the very happy spouses say this about their mates, a claim made by only 51 percent of the somewhat happy spouses. Tables 8 through 14 show summary results of questionnaire data, with table 10 reporting frequencies of spouses' responses for each positive factor,

**TABLE 8. MARITAL HAPPINESS**

OVERALL, HAS YOUR MARRIAGE BEEN:	PERCENTAGE OF ALL SPOUSES
VERY HAPPY	55.8%
HAPPY	37.0%
SOMEWHAT HAPPY	6.6%
UNHAPPY	.4%
VERY UNHAPPY	.2%

**TABLE 9. REASONS for MARRIAGE**

REASON FOR MARRIAGE	PERCENTAGE OF ALL SPOUSES
LOVE FOR FUTURE SPOUSE	94%
COMMITMENT TO FUTURE SPOUSE	34%
THE TIME WAS RIGHT TO MARRY	27%
TO HAVE CHILDREN	26%
DUTY, OBLIGATION TO OTHERS	1%

**TABLE 10. POSITIVE FACTORS**

POSITIVE FACTOR	PERCENTAGE OF ALL SPOUSES
TRUST	82%
LOVING RELATIONSHIP	80%
MUTUAL RESPECT	72%
NEED FOR EACH OTHER	70%
COMPATIBILITY	66%
CHILDREN	57%
COMMUNICATION	53%

**TABLE 11A. INTIMACY and AFFECTION**

EXPRESSION OF INTIMACY AND AFFECTION	FREQUENCY OF EXPRESSION (PERCENTAGE OF ALL SPOUSES)				
	E D A A C Y H	M D O A S Y T S	S T O I M M E E - S	R A R E L Y	N E V E R
SHOWING AFFECTION TELLING SPOUSE YOU LOVE HIM/HER	45%	38%	15%	2%	0%
LAUGHING TOGETHER WITH SPOUSE	27%	34%	29%	8%	2%
	30%	49%	19%	2%	0%



**TABLE 11B. INTIMACY and AFFECTION**

EXPRESSION OF INTIMACY AND AFFECTION	FREQUENCY OF EXPRESSION (PERCENTAGE OF ALL SPOUSES)				
	A L W A Y S	U S U A L L Y	S O M E - T I M E	R A R E L Y	N E V E R
I LIKE MY SPOUSE AS A PERSON	61.5%	35.8%	2.7%	0%	0%
MY SPOUSE UNDERSTANDS ME	23.0%	66.0%	10.0%	1%	0%
I CONFIDE IN MY SPOUSE	44.0%	47.0%	7.0%	2%	0%

**TABLE 12A. ATTITUDES TOWARD MARRIAGE and SPOUSE**

DEGREE OF AGREEMENT		ATTITUDES TOWARDS MARRIAGE (PERCENTAGE OF ALL SPOUSES)
MARRIAGE IS A LONG-TERM COMMITMENT TO ONE PERSON		MARRIAGE IS A SACRED OBLIGATION
STRONGLY AGREE	71.0%	53%
AGREE	23.0%	30%
NEUTRAL	3.5%	11%
DISAGREE	8%	4%
STRONGLY DISAGREE	1.7%	2%

**TABLE 12B. ATTITUDES TOWARD MARRIAGE and SPOUSE**

ATTITUDES TOWARDS SPOUSE AND MARRIAGE	PERCENTAGE OF ALL SPOUSES	
	YES	NO
FIDELITY IS ESSENTIAL TO A SUCCESSFUL MARRIAGE	95%	5%
MY SPOUSE IS MY BEST FRIEND	95%	5%
MY SPOUSE HAS GROWN MORE INTERESTING OVER TIME	88%	12%

Not surprisingly, the more often spouses report affection, confiding, feeling understood, laughing together, and so on, the more often they report agreement on the eight major issues of finances, recreation, religion, career choices, aims/goals in life, division of labor, sexual relations, and time spent together.

Problem areas tend to relate, creating other zones of conflict. Of these, problems dealing with sexual relations have the most far-reaching effects. Every aspect of intimate, affectionate behavior is negatively associated with problems with sexual relations. The less often spouses report feeling

understood and the less they like their spouse as a person, the more often sexual interest declines, and at an earlier point in the marriage. Spouses citing problems with sexual relations are less inclined to confide, show affection, laugh together, and say 'I love you.' Such couples less frequently report that marriage is a long-term commitment; that marriage is a sacred obligation; that fidelity is important; that the spouse is more interesting over time; or that the spouse is his or her best friend.

Infidelity is mentioned as a problem by only 2 percent of the spouses, a possible under-reporting of actual incidence. When indicated, it is negatively correlated with expressions of affection and attitudes to marriage. Such spouses agree less often that marriage is a sacred obligation, and that fidelity is important. They are less likely to say that the spouse is his or her best friend, to confide in the spouse, or to laugh with him or her. The follow-up interviews show that infidelity may have occurred more often than the questionnaire data suggest. Nevertheless, the majority of interviewed couples made a point of mentioning both their virginity at marriage and their sexual fidelity throughout the marriage.

Methods of conflict resolution vary with happiness of the marriage and types of problems faced. The happier spouses more often report using communication and compromise to resolve conflicts, which they usually or always accomplish. The less happy spouses more often rely on avoidance, the passage of time, and doing what each other wants; they tend less often to report affection, confiding, understanding, saying 'I love you,' laughing together, or claiming their spouse as their best friend.

Avoidance, compromise, and the passage of time as methods of conflict resolution tend to be associated with certain types of problems, like raising the children or sexual relations. Spouses with these problems less often report communicating openly to resolve the conflict. When infidelity is involved, the spouses most often report relying on the passage of time and counseling, and less often resolve their conflicts than do couples who do not report this problem.

The same factors that contribute to a successful marriage during working years make it happier and more satisfying after retirement. The happier the marriage after retirement, the more often spouses agree that marriage is a long-term commitment and a sacred obligation. Furthermore, those who say they are happier after retirement less often have problems with sexual relations, a spouse's annoying habits, and a husband's not working. The less one likes one's spouse or finds him or her to be less interesting over time, the more often that spouse is reported to be in the way after retirement.

The Long Island Survey supports conclusions from other research that men and women tend to define their marriage differently.<sup>6</sup> Overall, husbands have a rosier picture and more often report being very happy (61 percent v. 51.5 percent of wives). Twenty-eight percent of the husbands, as opposed to 17 percent of the wives, say their spouse always understands them.

On the other hand, more than twice as many wives say their spouse's annoying habits are problems (22.5 percent v. 11 percent), and that raising the

children was a problem (25 percent v. 18 percent). Seventy percent of wives, compared with 59 percent of husbands, report a decline in sexual interest over time. Wives report a lower level of conflict resolution, with only 38 percent reporting always resolving their conflicts compared with 49 percent of husbands. Finally, the largest difference is in always liking one's spouse, a feeling reported by 73 percent of husbands but only 50 percent of wives.

Other demographic variables also correlate with marital success, expressions of intimacy and affection, and reasons for marriage. The age at which one married is related to thinking that, at some point, the marriage would not last. Those who married between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one more often expressed this than those who married after the age of thirty.

The year in which one married is significantly related to three factors: citing commitment as at least one reason for marriage; the frequency of confiding in one's spouse; and attitudes toward child raising. Fewer than one-quarter of the spouses who married before 1930 say commitment was one their reasons, compared with 42 percent of those who married in 1941. Perhaps marrying in those earlier years did not evoke the level of commitment demanded in wartime, when many husbands were away from home for months or years at a time.

For those who married between 1930 and 1940, there is a slight but steady increase in the frequency of confiding in one's spouse, rising to 50 percent among couples who married in 1940. This percentage declines again for those who married from 1941 through 1944, with a low of 34 percent in 1943, an understandable trend in view of the separation these couples endured and the traumatic war experiences some husbands chose not to share with their wives.

Although few couples who married between 1929 and 1934 report problems raising the children, those who married from 1935 to 1944 cite this problem significantly more often, including 32 percent of the spouses who married in 1944. The war years, often marked by separation, along with the social changes that followed contributed to the increased conflict. In fact, attitudes towards children show a small, but significant shift for couples who married during the war. Thirty-seven percent of the spouses who married in 1933 and 1934 say the happiest time of their marriage was after the children were born, but this declines steadily to a low of 17 percent among those who married in 1944. This could reflect women having to raise their children alone during the war, while their husbands were away. It also might indicate a declining focus on child rearing as the central issue in their lives.

Over time, there is a small increase in the percentage of spouses who say the happiest time of the marriage was after the children left home: none of the spouses who married from 1930 through 1932 report this, compared with 8 percent of those married in 1944 who do. Many different social changes faced parents who were raising teenagers during the 1960s—for example, the sexual revolution, use of alcohol and illegal drugs, and the anti-Vietnam War movement. These social changes complicated child rearing. Interview data

indicate that these child-rearing issues increased the number and intensity of conflicts between spouses. Once the children grew up and left home, the number and intensity of conflicts typically decreased.

Educational level is related to several variables in the survey. The higher this level, the more often commitment was a reason for marriage; the less often desire for children was a reason for marriage; and the more often spouses cite respect, compromise, and compatibility as positive factors contributing to the success of their marriage. Frequency of agreement on finances, religion, and recreation decline as educational level increases, just as agreement on division of labor, career choices, aims and goals in life, and sexual activity increase.

Religion has some interesting associations with major variables. Protestants are more likely to cite commitment as a reason for marriage (44 percent v. 30 percent of Catholics and Jews). Catholic spouses are more likely to say that desire for children was a reason for marriage (31 percent v. 28 percent of Protestants and 14 percent of Jews). Jewish spouses report mutual respect as a positive factor more often than do Protestants or Catholics (81 percent v. 71 percent of Protestants and 67 percent of Catholics). On the other hand, Jewish spouses report showing affection and saying 'I love you' less often than do Protestants or Catholics.

One trend which has clearly reversed itself is in-marriage among Jewish persons. Ninety-eight percent of the Jewish spouses in this sample married members of their own faith, compared with the 86 percent of Catholics and 78 percent of Protestants who did. However, the recent rate of intermarriage among Jewish persons is closer to 50 percent, revealing a significant decline in endogamy among Jews.<sup>7</sup>

Finally, there are gender differences within each religion, as well. Among Catholics, 56 percent of husbands v. 41 percent of wives say they always confide in their mates. Protestant wives are more likely than their husbands to use the passage of time (33 percent v. 18 percent) and avoidance (10 percent v. 2 percent) as methods of conflict resolution. Overall, Protestant husbands report more frequent conflict resolution than do the wives. Perhaps when wives avoid the topic or hope time will heal the rift, husbands interpret this silence to mean that the problem is solved. The causes of conflicts and the methods of resolving them are summarized in tables 13 and 14.

**TABLE 13. CAUSES of CONFLICT**

OVER THE YEARS, WHAT ISSUES CREATED PROBLEMS FOR YOU AS A COUPLE?	PERCENTAGE OF ALL SPOUSES
FINANCES	29%
ILL HEALTH	24%
RELATIVES	24%
RAISING THE CHILDREN	21%
SPOUSE'S ANNOYING HABITS	17%
SEXUAL RELATIONS	10%
HUSBAND NOT WORKING	3%
WIFE WORKING	3%
INFIDELITY	2%

**TABLE 14. METHODS of CONFLICT RESOLUTION**

OVER THE YEARS, HOW DID YOU OVERCOME PROBLEMS AND CONFLICTS IN YOUR MARRIAGE?	PERCENTAGE OF ALL SPOUSES
COMPROMISED	69%
COMMUNICATED HONESTLY	65%
I DID WHAT MY SPOUSE WANTED	25%
PASSAGE OF TIME	23%
MY SPOUSE DID WHAT I WANTED	17%
AVOIDED DISCUSSING THE PROBLEM	9%
COUNSELING	4%
TEMPORARY SEPARATION	1%

Jewish husbands and wives have the fewest gender differences among the three major religions. For example, although Catholic and Protestant husbands have more college and postgraduate education than their wives (20 and 38 percent of husbands v. 9 and 27 percent of wives, respectively), Jewish husbands and wives show no significant difference.

Nearly 25 percent of the spouses wrote additional comments explaining the longevity and success of their marriages. Many believe that the key is willingness to give more than you receive, to think of your spouse first. Couples in the follow-up interviews have suggested the same thing. One or both partners must be willing to give more than he or she gets from the spouse, a position that may shift over time. But, in some long-term marriages, one partner continues to be willing and able to give more than he or she receives, an accepted and apparently happy arrangement, overall.

More commonly, both partners in happy long-term marriages are willing

to give more than they receive, and receive about as much as they give, over time. As Charles Cole found, “In essence, high-quality marriages facilitate both partners in getting their needs met.”<sup>8</sup> Partners in very happy marriages respect and allow each other to grow within the context of the relationship. One husband wrote:

While my wife and I feel that we “lucked out” in our choice of each other, we have over the years come to appreciate the important ingredients of a fulfilling union; they are very similar to a deep and lasting friendship—with the vital added element of lust! Throw in generous portions of mutual respect, signs of affection and giving the other person “room” to develop as an individual, and you should have a recipe for a successful marriage. Like all recipes, practice makes perfect!

The issue of getting and giving equally “over the years” is crucial because it means that many spouses experienced several years of marriage that were difficult, unhappy, and less than satisfying. At the time of their marriage, virtually all thought it would last a lifetime. Nevertheless, 21 percent of the spouses (24 percent of the wives and 18 percent of the husbands) at some point thought their marriages might fail—half the time, during the middle years. Some couples faced such serious problems as death of children, alcoholism, family violence, bankruptcy, chronic illness, and troublesome relatives. Long-term marriages are not necessarily trouble-free or happy all of the time, but most spouses say they overcame the difficulties to regain happiness and satisfaction in their lives together. Two comments by wives illustrate these points.

1) The main difference as I see it, is in our day we had no money—weren’t so independent as the girls are today. We took our vows more seriously and never entertained the thought of leaving the marriage. We therefore let time heal our differences...of course, our religion was a very strong reason—teaching us always to forgive and to love and to accept each person as they are—warts and all.

2) I believe we have both mellowed over the years, learned by experience, learned to appreciate each other without reservation—no longer wishing for changes—but able to enjoy each other totally. Perhaps (speaking for myself) being more secure in *myself*. I feel that after fifty years, our marriage has come to a full flowering.

The decision had been made to stay together for life, and, mostly, was not questioned in any serious way. A wife explained:

In my day, when you married you made a commitment both to God and your spouse. There was no thought of not working problems out or seeking a divorce (Of course in those days divorces were hard to get and very expensive anyway). You need to keep working with each

other to improve your marriage and make it work and you always need God's help to do this. It makes it all worth while when you're older.

Several spouses mention that their own parents would not have supported their divorce or let them come home had they left their marriage. However, almost half of the interviewed couples have children whom they say they supported through divorce, often letting them move back home. This represents a shift on divorce, from general non-acceptance by the parents of the survey couples to a greater acceptance by both the younger generation and the survey couples, themselves.

In some less successful and therefore less happy long-term marriages, one partner continues but does not accept giving more than he or she receives. In other cases, neither one gives to or receives much from his or her spouse, and so both are dissatisfied. These couples tend to remain in the marriage because of a sense of duty (to spouse, children, family, church, the institution of marriage), or a lack of alternatives. For women, in particular, the lack of alternatives includes not only a different husband, but a lack of income and/or skills to earn an independent income. This was especially true for wives when they had small children at home to support.

The Long Island Long-Term Marriage Survey successfully replicated many of the results of earlier studies showing that the majority of participating couples were happy. The majority of Long Island respondents' marriages are happy, intimate, affectionate, best-friend relationships central to the individuals' lives. As did William Roberts, the present study found that commitment, companionship, and caring about each other are key variables in successful long-term marriage. Survey results also correspond with those of Robert and Jeanette Lauer, who found that the keys to marital longevity and happiness include commitment both to one's spouse and the marriage; defining one's spouse as one's best friend; liking one's spouse; agreeing on goals in life; and sharing both good and difficult times together.<sup>9</sup>

Several other recent studies have found gender differences similar to those in the Long Island survey.<sup>10</sup> They report that husbands in their sample populations tend to have more positive, even "romantic" views of their marriages than do the wives. This difference may be related to the division of labor in the family. Husbands devote themselves to earning the income, and wives to the emotional care and maintenance of the marriage.

The Long Island survey confirmed the findings of Michael Sporakowski and George Hughston, and of Nick Stinnett, Linda Carter and James Montgomery, that mutual respect and trust are basic to successful marriages. In the current study, 82 percent of the spouses cite trust and 72 percent cite mutual respect as positive factors. Sporakowski and Hughston confirm the obvious, commonsensible premise that mutual trust and respect are necessary for each partner to feel free enough to express his or her most intimate thoughts and feelings.<sup>11</sup>

Both Cole's research and the present study demonstrate that partners in

very happy marriages respect and derive emotional comfort from each other.<sup>12</sup> Over time, these couples become interdependent and develop a sense of loyalty with which little else can compete. Widowhood for these long-term couples will be particularly difficult because no one else can replace the caring and emotional security created by fifty years with the same person.

The completion of the Long Island survey is the first phase of a multifaceted, longitudinal study of long-term marriage. Interviewed couples will be contacted periodically for follow-up sessions. These couples have offered complex accounts of their lives that go far beyond marital happiness and satisfaction. Analysis of this data as oral history of Long Island is just beginning. The couples can also provide insight into changes in marriage in the later years, effects of caregiving on the marital relationship, and adjustment to widowhood after long-term marriage—issues about which social scientists know very little. The current sample population of couples married fifty or more years can be increased in both number and diversity, thus adding to the reliability and validity of the present research.

With future funding, a sequential-longitudinal research project can be initiated, enabling, for example, comparative study of two cohorts of married couples, one of newlyweds and the other of couples married thirty or more years. The results of these surveys and interviews could provide much needed information on age changes over time v. generational differences in norms and values, as well as adaptation to and satisfaction in marital relationships. To date, there are no such studies.

#### NOTES

1. Ronald Stover and Christine Hope, *Marriage, Family and Intimate Relations* (Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1993), 508; Andrew Cherlin, *Marriage, Divorce, and Remarriage* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1981), 23.
2. National Center for Health Statistics, "Advance Report of Final Divorce statistics, 1984," *Monthly Vital Statistics Report* 35, Hyattsville, MD: Public Health Service, 1986:2, and U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1991:86; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstracts of the United States*, 1979 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1989):41,88, and U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1991:2-3, in Robert Lauer and Jeanette Lauer, *The Quest for Intimacy* (Madison, WI: Brown and Benchmark, 1994), 442-43.
3. For other studies of long-term married couples (many of which define fifteen or more years as "long-term"), with sample size listed in parentheses, see: Sylvia Weishaus and Dorothy Field, "A Half Century of Marriage," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 50 (1988):763-74 (seventeen couples); Michael Sporakowski and George Hughston, "Prescriptions for Happy Marriage," *The Family Coordinator* 27 (October 1978):321-27 (forty couples); Jay Mancini, "Family Relationships and Morale Among People Sixty-Five Years of Age and Older" *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 49 (April 1979): 195-203 (fifty-seven couples); Clifford Swensen and Charles Moore, "Marriages That Endure" in E. Corfman, ed., *Families Today* (Rockville, MD: National Institute of Mental Health Science Monographs 1, 1979—224 couples); William Roberts, "Significant Elements in the Relationship of Long-Married Couples," *International Journal of Aging and Human Development* 10 (1979):265-71 (fifty couples); George Rowe and William Meredith, "Quality in Marital Relationships After Twenty-Five Years," *Family Perspective* 16 (1982):149-55 (seventy-one couples); Linda Ade-Ridder and Timothy Brubaker, "The Quality of Long-Term Marriage," in Timothy Brubaker, ed. *Family Relationships in Later Life* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1983), 21-30 (234 couples); Nina Fields, "Satisfaction in



Long-Term Marriages," *Social Work* 18 (January 1983): 37-41 (145 couples); Robert Lauer and Jeanette Lauer, "Factors in Long-Term Marriages," *Journal of Family Issues* 7 (December 1986): 382-90 (351 couples married fifteen or more years).

4. Michael Sporkowski and Leland Axelson, "Long-Term Marriages: A Critical Review," *Lifestyles* 7 (Winter 1984): 76-93.

5. Some questions in the Long Island Long-Term Marriage Survey were taken from Lauer and Lauer, "Factors in Long-Term Marriages" (defining one's spouse as one's best friend; liking one's spouse; thinking that one's spouse has grown more interesting over time; defining marriage as a long-term commitment; and defining marriage as a sacred obligation); from Graham Spanier and Erik Filsinger, "The Dyadic Adjustment Scale," in Erik Filsinger, ed. *Marriage and Family Assessment* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1983):158-61 (degree of agreement: handling family finances; recreation; religion; sexual activity; aims and goals in life; amount of time spent together; career decisions; division of household tasks; how often you confide in, show affection to, and laugh with your mate); from Nick Stinnett, Linda Carter, and James Montgomery, "Older Persons' Perceptions of Their Marriages," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 34 (November 1972): 665-70 (positive factors contributing to the success of the marriage: mutual respect; trust; good communication skills; children; mutual need; compatibility; loving relationship; methods of conflict resolution—avoidance of issue, communication and compromise; and when was the happiest time of your marriage).

6. Weishaus and Field, 763-74, find that men have more positive views of their marriages, report fewer disagreements, and have happier memories of the past; Bruce Nordstrom, "Why Men Get Married: More and Less Traditional Men Compared," in Robert Lewis and Robert Salt, eds., *Men in Families* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1986):31-53; Nordstrom reports that husbands in his study had more idealized views of their wives than wives had of their husbands.

7. Norval Glenn, "Interreligious Marriage in the United States: Patterns and Recent Trends," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 44 (1982):555-66. Glenn analyzed surveys of religious affiliation in the 1970s and found that about 90 percent of Protestants married other Protestants, 75 percent of the time within their own denomination; about 81 percent of Catholics married other Catholics; and more than 80 percent of Jews married other Jews. Eleanore Judd, "Intermarriage and the Maintenance of Religio-Ethnic Identity: A Case Study: The Denver Jewish Community," *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 21 (1990):251-68, reports that before 1965 only 9 percent of Jews married non-Jews, but that between 1985 and 1990, 52 percent of American Jews married non-Jews.

8. Charles Cole, "Relationship Quality in Long-Term Marriages," in Linda Ade-Ridder and Charles Hennon, eds. *Lifestyles of the Elderly* (New York: Human Sciences Press, 1989), 61-70.

9. Mancini, 292-300; Rowe and Meredith, 665-70; Roberts, 265-71; Lauer and Lauer, "Factors in Long-Term Marriages," 382-90.

10. Weishaus and Field, 31-53.

11. Sporkowski and Hughston, 321-27; Stinnett, Carter and Montgomery, 665-70.

12. Cole, 61-70.

# The Content and Significance of the Archives of the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point

*By Michael J. Robinson*

The archives of the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point constitute a trove of heretofore unavailable knowledge about both the academy and the Merchant Marine Corps. During the summer of 1993, as a graduate student specializing in archival management, I had the opportunity, under the auspices of an independent study and in conjunction with the academy's head librarian, to survey the collection, set up record series, and provide the initial arrangement and description of some of these series. The collection consisted of some 160 cubic feet (cu. ft.) of material stored in cabinets, boxes, and shelves, a piecemeal assemblage on various subjects in chronological or alphabetical order, some in topical, others in no apparent organizational scheme. To convey the flavor of the collection, this article surveys some of the many series of related files or records, now maintained together for perusal by concerned researchers.

From the beginning of the project, the concept of usability was paramount. Usability ensures that a collection be arranged and described so that researchers easily can identify and find the materials for which they are looking. Wherever possible, I adhered to the basic archival principles of provenance (not intermingling material from one office or creator with others) and *respect-des-fonds* (maintaining the order of materials as put together by the creating office or person). Because of the disorganization of the collection, I recreated provenance and created what seemed the most logical order. No judgment was made on the evidential or informational value of materials, either because I was not familiar with every aspect of American merchant marine history, or because many records in the collection may be the only ones in existence.

After four surveys and five shiftings of the holdings, about eighty record series were identified or recreated, arranged, and described, their contents now available for study by historians and other concerned observers of the academy and the merchant marine. Preservation activity also included removal of staples, clips, and rubber bands, and utilization of acid-free paper, folders, boxes, and polypropylene and mylar sleeves. A 12-cu.-ft. section of multiple-copy publications added to the collection was removed to archival boxes. After the final resurvey, about 50 cu. ft. remain to be worked on, of which at least 25 cu. ft. can probably be incorporated into existing record

series. Such memorabilia as flags, medals, and plaques were not targeted for this project.<sup>1</sup>

### **The Collection**

Among the joys of the archivist's mission is to identify, preserve, and make available records and papers of enduring value. The archivist takes otherwise unusable or even unknown materials and, ultimately, makes them available to interested parties. However, it is not the archivist's mission to peruse collections or record series on an item basis, no matter how interesting they may be. This piqued me at times, especially when encountering especially absorbing series, but commitment to the collection insured the intellectual self-control to work only on arranging and describing.<sup>2</sup>

The collection contains materials from the late 1880s through the early 1990s, primarily related to Kings Point although some deal with the other two merchant marine academies, Pass Christian, Mississippi, and now-defunct San Mateo, California; miscellaneous merchant marine activities, people, and facilities; and the Holland Submarine Torpedo Boat record series (1885-1954).<sup>3</sup>

The Academic Advisory Board, formed in 1947 by Public Law 214 on the recommendation of the 4th Congressional District Board of Visitors, made yearly visits to the academy and advised the superintendent on the course of instruction. The Kings Point academic series contains twenty-six folders of reports, memos, minutes, board statements, and summaries of board activities from 1948 through 1979. The Congressional Board of Visitors, created by Public Law 301, provided the Merchant Marine Academy with the same sort of legislative surveillance and support given the Army, Navy, Coast Guard, and Air Force academies.<sup>4</sup> These records contain notes, reports, reception schedules, biographies of board members, schedules, memos, and other material (1943-1984, thirty-six folders). The Course Outlines/Syllabi/Manuals/Exams series is of particular interest, providing forty-four folders on the changing maritime curriculum from 1939 through 1970.

Another representative series deals with non-academic activity, particularly that of the alumni association, organized in 1943 and incorporated in 1944. Eleven folders contain information on constitutions, memos, correspondence, newsletters, Alumni Day, and other matters from 1944 through 1973.

The Association of Parents and Friends of King's Point was formed solely to insure that the Academy would be a permanent institution, as are the other federal service academies. Records in the series pertain to the organization's constitution, bylaws, meetings, finances, general correspondence, and correspondence with U.S. senators and representatives (1954-1958, twenty-one folders). The Debate Council series contains programs, clippings, and photographs of cadet debates with such universities as Oxford, Cambridge, Southampton, Georgetown, Brown, Victoria, and Glasgow, as well as in tournament competitions like the Golden Gavel Service Academy, Hearst, and Tournament of Orators (1951-1971, thirty-one folders). Public Law 485

(1948) authorized the academy to raise funds from private sources to build a chapel. The Memorial Chapel series contains informative brochures, blue prints, fund-raising activities, chapel dedication, guides, clippings, and stationary (1940-1968, twenty-two folders).

The U.S. Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point was founded in 1943, on the former Chrysler estate. In early March 1942, the mansion and twelve-acre grounds of the late Walter P. Chrysler were purchased by the federal government for \$175,000, as authorized by Congress at the end of December 1941, and approved by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on 4 March 1942. Through other purchases, the campus has grown over the years and now encompasses more than eighty-eight acres. The Histories and Foundings series contains printed histories, photographs, and information about building and facilities, dedication ceremonies, clippings, articles, and manuscripts (1940s-1980s, nineteen folders).

The archives contain the records of a number of key people in the development of the academy. The papers of Admiral McLintock, the superintendent from 1948 to 1970, include biographical information, clippings, articles, and news releases (ten folders). Those of Admiral Richard R. McNulty, a driving force in the creation of the Merchant Marine Cadet Corps and Academies who served as Cadet Corps Supervisor and Superintendent at Kings Point from 1946 to 1948, include biographies, reports, artwork by McNulty, articles, and clippings (ca. 1919 to 1970, eighteen folders). The papers of Captain Clifford W. Sandberg are unique in the archives' arrangement and description, because they were found in a box with a notation that they had been donated by Sandberg's son Christopher. Sandberg, the assistant head of engineering from 1947 to 1962, served as secretary to the 1955 Congressional Board of Visitors. His papers consist of professional reports and memos, professional and personal correspondence, faculty records, reminiscences about people and situations, faculty records, clippings, and photographs (1944-1970, twenty-six folders).

In addition to merchant marine activities and establishments, the archives hold interesting information about the other four service academies. These four series include: Military, 1945-1968 (ten folders and bound material); Navy, 1909-1982 (nineteen folders and bound material); Coast Guard, 1943-1972 (thirteen folders and printed material); and Air Force (seven folders and printed materials). Information in these series include regulations, curricular, informative brochures, annual reports, guides, histories, Congressional Board of Visitors reports, annual registers, courses of instruction, and catalogs.

Unlike the other federal service academies, the Merchant Marine Academy has had to compete with nonfederal academies throughout its existence. The archives contain information about numerous other maritime academies, such as Massachusetts Maritime Nautical School, Great Lakes, California, Maine, Pennsylvania, Texas, and SUNY, as well as on foreign maritime academies (22 folders and printed material).

The Archives contains a plethora of printed materials. These include cadet publications from the Academy at San Mateo (*Bosun's Call/Bearings*, 1944-1947), the Academy at Pass Christian (the *Pass Word*, *Cadence*, *Underway*, and *Buccaneer* (1944-1950), as well as Kings Point's *Hear This*, *Polaris*, and *Queens Pointer* (1942-1993). There are also original copies of articles about the Academy from the *Chicago Sunday Tribune*, *Great Lakes News*, *Ladies Home Journal*, *Life*, *Newsday*, *Popular Science*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *Seventeen*, *Sperryscope*, *The Long Island Woman*, and *Time* (1947-1992).

A series of exceptional interest pertains to the Holland Submarine Torpedo Boat, probably the first diesel-powered military submarine developed for the United States Navy. The series contains original photographs (ca. 1900s), blueprints, press books, correspondence, contracts, law suits, certificates of incorporation, telegrams and Marconigrams (some in code), claims, testimony, hearings, and bound journals (1885-1954, twenty-three folders).<sup>5</sup>

## Conclusion

In the course of working with these materials, I compiled recommendations to the library staff on preservation and conservation. Although archivists and historians debate the need to preserve information or actual documents, my focus is on usability. As a researcher, as well as an archivist, my major concerns in dealing with historical documents are their usability and availability. Documents that deteriorate to the point of illegibility, for whatever reasons, are rendered worthless for all intent.

The collection contains numerous editions of cadet newspapers and magazines from all three academies, dating back to the early to mid-1940s. These seem to be the only copies, and although they are now in acid-free folders to ensure their usability, they should undergo preservation microfilming to ensure future availability. The wooden filing cabinets that house a great deal of the collection should be replaced with metal cabinets, as wood emits a gas which adds to the decay of printed material. Wall shelves, made of wood and warping, should be replaced with reinforced metal shelving; windows should be coated to diminish the effects of ultra-violet rays; and a constant temperature and humidity level should be maintained to prevent further deterioration.

In addition, there are some twenty-five photograph albums (ca. 1940s) depicting people, facilities, and events at the three U.S. Merchant Marine Academies. The photographs are glued in the albums on acidic paper, captions are scotch-taped onto the photographs, and many photographs have adhered to each other. Although the process will be time-consuming and costly, these badly deteriorating photographs must be removed to archival albums to ensure their usability. Also, thousands of loose photographs need to be identified, dated, and removed to acid-free folders, at the least.

The academy's archives contains a wealth of maritime information, with their more than eighty record series created and arranged for the use of scholars. These materials provide an overview of the creation of the federal

maritime academies and the merchant marine corps, as well as insights into other federal and maritime academies, and related maritime information. To obtain access to these informative archives, apply to Marilyn Stern, Technical Services Librarian, Schuyler Otis Bland Memorial Library, U.S. Merchant Marine Academy, Kings Point, New York 11024.

**NOTES**

1. A May-through-mid-August-1993 time limitation restricted work on the collection primarily to printed materials; photographs and photograph albums, although extremely important, are still to be arranged and described.

2. *Cabinet- and Shelf-Order Listing of Record Series*

Academic Advisory Board/Advisory Board

Accreditation

Academic Board

Curriculum

Academics

Academy Memoranda

Congressional Board of Visitors

Honor Code/Concept

Faculty Handbooks

Regulations and Instructions

United States Naval Academy

United States Military Academy

United States Coast Guard Academy

United States Air Force Academy

Maritime Academies/Programs

Awards Convocations

Alumni Association

Thompson's Report

Memorial Chapel

Captain Clifford W. Sandberg's Papers

Manuals

Graduation Exercises

Register of Graduates

Course Outlines/Syllabi/Manuals/Exams

Admiral McLintock

Administrative Notebooks

McNulty Papers

Faculty Collection

Debate Council

Extra-Curricular Activities

Commander Northrup

Holland Submarine Torpedo Boat Collection  
 Association of Parents and Friends of Kings Point  
 Uniforms and Insignias  
 Officers Club  
 Self-Studies  
 Placement Bulletins  
 Press Clippings  
 Histories & Foundings  
*Polaris*  
*Polaris* (bound)  
*Queen's Pointer*  
*The Mast*  
*Bosun's Call [Bearings]*  
*Underway*  
*The Password*  
*Cadence*  
*Buccaneer*  
*Landfalls*  
*Cables*  
*Zenith*  
*Sound Off*  
*The Cadet*  
*Fore & Aft*  
*Nauticana*  
*King's Pointer*  
*King's Pointer* (bound)  
 U.S. Coast Guard Academy (bulletins/course catalogs)  
 U.S. Air Force Academy (catalogs)  
 U.S. Naval Academy (catalogs/course of instruction/ admissions regulations/annual registers)  
 U.S. Military Academy (catalogs/annual reports)  
 Maritime Academies/Programs (catalogs)  
 Massachusetts Maritime Academy  
 California Maritime Academy  
 Maine Maritime Academy  
 SUNY Maritime Academy  
 U.S. Maritime Programs/Academies  
 Foreign Programs/Academies  
 U.S. Merchant Marine Academy (catalogs)  
 Course of Instruction  
 Class Addresses  
*Midships*

*Kings Point Log*

*Midships Calendar*

Congressional Hearings/Reports/Bills

*Hear This*

Sea Logs

Sea Projects

Football Programs

Oversized Materials

Newspaper and Magazine Articles

3. The Holland Submarine Torpedo Boat series does not deal specifically with the U.S. Merchant Marine Corps or the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy, but submarine warfare and merchant shipping are obviously related subjects.

4. The Air Force Academy was authorized by Congress in 1954.

5. Material in this series, as listed in the "Finding Aid."

*Cabinet 5*

*Drawer B*

*Holland Submarine Torpedo Boat Collection*

1. Blueprints and letter, 1888
2. Stockholder letters, Submarine Boat Corp., 1922
3. Agreement, Electric Boat Co. and Holland Torpedo Boat Co. with the Fore River Ship & Engine Co., 1904
4. Agreement, Electric Boat Co. with Vickers Sons & Maxim, 1902
5. Certificate of Designation of Holland Torpedo Boat Co., 1934
6. Certificate of Incorporation, John P. Holland Torpedo Boat Co., 1891
7. Certificate of Incorporation, New London Ship & Engine Co., 1921
8. Amended Certificate of Incorporation, *ibid.*, 1913
9. Amended By-Laws, *ibid.*, 1924
10. Certificate of Organization, General Electric Launch Co., 1892
11. Photographs, Holland Torpedo Submarine Boat, n.d.
12. C.E. Creecy to E. B. Frost, October-November 1899
13. Envelopes/Blank Checks, n.d.
14. Miscellaneous Correspondence, 1890s—1900s
15. Indenture, Fore River Ship & Engine Co. & Fore River Shipbuilding Co.  
(two copies, 7 Sept. 1904, one copy, 29 Sept. 1904)
16. Agreement, Electric Boat Co. & Holland Torpedo Boat Co. with Fore River Shipbuilding Co., 1907
17. Contract, Fore River Shipbuilding Co., Electric Boat Co.  
and Holland Torpedo Boat Co., 1905
18. Agreement, Electric Boat Co. and Holland Torpedo Boat Co.  
and Fore River Shipbuilding Co., 1905
19. Certificate of Incorporation, General Electric Launch Co., 1910
20. Clippings, 1900-1950s
21. Miscellaneous correspondence, 1882-1954
22. Telegrams & Marconigrams, 1899-1913



*Printed Materials*

- Statement, Cmd. Wainwright, Commis. Naval Aff., House, 1 Dec. 1900  
 "The British M.Ls." Sutphen, Henry R., n.d.  
 The Holland Submarine Boat, Off. Rpts. & Testimony, 1901  
*Electric Boat Co. v. US*—Court Claims, 1919  
 Ibid., objection to plaintiff  
 Ibid., 1920, motion for new trial  
 Ibid., court claims, ca. 1919  
 Testimony Cmd. Kimball, Commis. Naval Aff., Senate, 30 Jan 1901  
 House Comm. on Naval Aff. Hearing, 23 Apr. 1900  
 Reply of Elec. Boat Co., House Comm. on Naval Affairs, ca. 1906  
 Rpt. of B. of Inspec. & Survey on Trial of Sub. Boats, Navy Dept.,  
 Private & Confid., 18 June 1904  
 U.S. Supreme Ct. Brief, Oct. Term, 1902, *E. W. Bliss Co. v. US*  
*NY Shipbuilding Co. v. US*, Ct. Claims, 16 Apr. 1928 (re: battleship)  
 Letter of Holland Boat Co., Chair, Comm. on Naval Aff., Senate, 28 Apr. 1900  
 Pamphlet, *The Submarine on Economic Coast Defense*, Dec. 1906  
 Printed letters, re: appropriations for subs, 1907, (2 copies)  
 Rpt. of Army Brd. to Sec. of War, "Value of Holland Subs," 28 Nov. 1902  
 House Rpt 3482 (57 Cong., 2d session, 3 Feb. 1903  
 Hearings, 60th Cong., rpt. 1727, Select Com., 9 Mar. 1908, Parts 2 and 3  
 Public Law 212  
 Tactical Value of Submarine Boats, n.a., n.p., ca. 1905

*Bound Journals*

- P. C. Mahady, 1st Off., SS Niantic (a steamer, not a submarine),  
 rec. of observ. 22 Jan. 1919  
 Calvin Frost Journals, 14 Dec. 1893-1 May 1895 and 4 May 1895-15, June 1895  
 Elihu B. Frost Journals, 1 Dec. 1891-3 Nov. 892 and 1 June 1985-27 Dec. 1895.

## ***“Lost and Found”***

# **Faith Baldwin:**

## ***America’s First Lady of Romantic Fiction***

*By Frances R. Kestler*

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

The novelist Faith Baldwin “knows this fascinating world, and she knows how to tell a story,” wrote the well-known critic Charles Hanson Towne. In his review of another of Baldwin’s 1930s’ best sellers, Towne declared that “this happy entertainment is done with an uncanny knowledge of feminine psychology.” Faith Baldwin, according to *Time*, was “an unabashed old pro who combined the surefire elements of romantic love and great wealth in scores of stories that always stopped at the bedroom door.”<sup>1</sup>

These opinions epitomize Baldwin’s work; she knew what women liked, and she understood the art of story telling. Her popularity reached a peak during the depression years, although she “made no attempt to show the hard times as some of her contemporaries did,” such as John Steinbeck and James T. Farrell. Instead of facing the stark reality, Baldwin’s canon embodied escape. It was a fantasized picture yet her audience, composed mainly of women, eagerly awaited her stories of love, honor, and hope, of which they bought more than ten million copies. In 1936, she earned more than \$315,000.<sup>2</sup>

Baldwin cannot be ranked with William Faulkner, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Thomas Wolfe or other major novelists whose scope far outranged her tales of romantic triangles, but she was one of the country’s most prolific and financially successful writers for more than half a century. As America’s first lady of romantic fiction, Baldwin turned out more than one hundred books about places and people she knew best, upper-middle class sophisticates of Long Island and Manhattan. Her popularity extended into the 1940s; according to Robert van Gelder, her “name on the cover of a fiction magazine is a guarantee of increased circulation.” Another reviewer, Ellen Lewis Buell, evaluated Baldwin’s *The Golden Shoestring*:

Light romancers, of course, have always their devoted following, but the reason for Miss Baldwin’s popularity is to be found only partially in the inevitably happy and well-contrived ending. Her books have considerably more bite than is to be found in the “whipped cream,”

fruit-salad school of fiction. She is...less sentimental even than some story writers...admired by the intelligentsia...She never pretends to be "significant," but her reportage is both so accurate and so deft that she gives us a diverting cross-section of our times.<sup>3</sup>

Her reputation continued into the 1960s. For example, a young woman in a 1961 novel by Edwin O'Connor alludes to her best friend as having matured and "now reading all the novels of Faith Baldwin." Baldwin, who never claimed to be a writer of notable depth or magnanimous thought, once observed that, "Writers, like teeth, are divided into incisors and grinders. I've never written anything I consider really sharp. I just keep grinding away. I don't know what category you would put me in. I just try to tell a story."<sup>4</sup>

A remark by Somerset Maugham was quoted by an editor-friend of Baldwin's concerning her ability. "The four greatest novelists the world has ever known, Balzac, Dickens, Tolstoy and Dostoevsky, wrote their respective languages very indifferently. It proves that you can tell stories, create a character, devise incidents, and if you have sincerity and passion, it doesn't matter how you write."<sup>5</sup>

A native New Yorker of old American stock, born in New Rochelle in 1893, Baldwin lived on Park Avenue, Manhattan, until she was three, when her father, Stephen Baldwin, a well-known trial lawyer, moved his family to Brooklyn Heights. At the time, Brooklyn prided itself on its well-constructed buildings, exquisite foliage, and carefully designed avenues. As the Champs Elysées led to the Arc de Triomphe, so Eastern Parkway ended at Grand Army Plaza, the entrance to Prospect Park, known for its sheep meadows, swan boats, and gardens lovelier than Central Park's. Linden trees lined Eastern Parkway, and forsythia bloomed in the spring around the Brooklyn Museum, the Academy of Music, and the Botanical Gardens. The tallest building was the Williamshurg Savings Bank, and the tower of the St. George Hotel stood out as did the voguish Hotel Bossert, known for its tea dances. Both of these, as well as the elite Montauk Club in Park Slope, were near elegant Brooklyn Heights, where the Brooklyn Bridge beckoned toward Manhattan. Known as the "Brooklyn Barrister," Baldwin provided his wife, Edith Hervey (Finch), and his daughters Faith and Esther, with a comfortable and exciting lifestyle, conducive to the development of the young writer's imagination.<sup>6</sup>

From the family's brownstone, Faith attended Brooklyn Heights Academy and later Mrs. Dow's academy at Briarcliff Manor, New York. Faith claimed her parents were amazed that she could read at the age of three, and that by six she had written her first drama, "The Deserted Wife" (which still exists in a copybook). She submitted a poem to the *Christian Advocate*, which was published when she was ten, followed by several others when she was eleven. Faith aspired to be an actress with a life of adventure and independence, but early on her shifted to other activities.<sup>7</sup>

In 1905, her father purchased twenty-four acres on West Neck Bay on

Shelter Island, where Faith summured every year. It took the Baldwins at least four hours to get to Greenport, perhaps stopping for lunch at Friede's, in Smithtown, or going on to Riverhead to dine at the Henry Perkins Hotel, then driving past picturesque rural hamlets to take the ferry to Shelter Island. Faith was fascinated with Shelter Island, twenty-four square miles of farms with their homes and red-roofed barns, gingerbread-trimmed houses, small stores, large estates, lovely inns, gracious waterfront hotels, and hills overlooking miles of beautiful beaches. It was a new world for her as she rode up the hill from the dock and saw the grand New Prospect Hotel, with its beach club and tennis courts. A little further stood the Chequit Inn, Smith's Drug Store, known for the ice-cream delights at its "Wisteria Gardens," Dawson's Meat Market, the Mayfair Beauty Shop, the Heights Post Office, Hallman's Hardware, and all the other shops.

The 1920s are often portrayed as the heyday of the wealthy set who, before the "Crash," owned mansions all over Long Island. Shelter Island was no different from the Nassau County gold coast in its vast class distinction between "natives" and "people from away," the monied city people. It soon became a haven for the rich. A private yacht came every week from lower Manhattan; the LIRR ran special cars to Greenport; actors, athletes, and other celebrities flocked to the newly found playground; writers and artists were also attracted to a sanctuary filled with birches and oaks, ospreys and sea gulls, swelling tides, and bright orange sunsets. It was a Never-Never Land for many, with live entertainment and dancing at the Prospect, and productions such as *Peter Pan* staged at the Turner estate on Westmoreland Farm, across from the Baldwin home.

Faith's early exposure both to Brooklyn Heights's sophistication and Shelter Island's charm and beauty explains her choice of subject matter and casual, familiar way of handling it. Although her plots usually dealt with people who either had or wanted money, there was no snobbery on her part, even though she and her family did not suffer as others did. Her keen perception of the social scene was assessed by Ellen Lewis Buell, who observed that Baldwin "knows how stuffy people can be and also how genuinely good they can be. She has, however, no illusions. If she ever loses her patience and turns satirist—heaven help her victims."<sup>8</sup>

To her readers, love was the major ingredient. As Mary Johnston wrote in her review of *Look Out For Liza*, "This Baldwinian offering serves up an answer to an eternal question—how to be happy. The way: Learn to be a good wife; shun the cold, cruel business world; marry young." Readers, enthralled with Baldwin's elements of fantasy, were satisfied.<sup>9</sup>

One of her early attempts at the romantic novel, *Proud Revelry*, was written at Shelter Island when she was nineteen, under the pseudonym of Amber Lee. She used this nom-de-plume because, according to her daughter Hervey, "Grandfather wouldn't approve of her writing." The book described Tony, a young, handsome "Rudolph Valentino"-type, whose father owned an estate on the Sound. Tony, with his convertible roadster, supply of Scotch,

and New York City manners, took Jean, the head gardener's daughter, to a summertime dance at "Peconic Lodge" and then for a stroll on Louis Beach, Shelter Island. Jean fell for Tony, but he was the typical city roué, learning the stock and bond business as well as the "love 'em and leave 'em" attitude. He played tennis at the "knobby" Shelter Island Heights courts and golf on an "Alpine sort of course" (Goat Hill, Shelter Island), and often trekked off with friends to Southampton. With settings fluctuating from New York City, Florida, and Europe to Plandome, Southampton, and Shelter Island, Tony's tale was one of growth—sexual, mental, and spiritual. As love affairs, sex, and divorce were flagrant topics in the 1920s, commonly discussed but not openly condoned, Baldwin enlisted the reader's interest with her Romeo-Juliet tale of Tony and Jean, star-crossed lovers, a timeless theme, which began her notable career of fast-moving stories.<sup>10</sup>

Another early novel, *The Woman I Am*, may also have been considered too risqué by its author, who again used the pseudonym Amber Lee. The plot involved licentious affairs for gratification, having a baby for money, and other scandalous subjects. Set at a swanky sanatorium in Port Washington, the story depicted a selfish woman whose gods were money and pleasure, a lost soul with no spirituality, who exclaims, "I belong to myself. Pleasure abides for a little while; after that...who cares?"<sup>11</sup>

From 1914 to 1916, Baldwin's adventurous spirit took her to Dresden, Germany, to live with a family friend. When the United States became involved, she returned to Long Island to do war work at Camp Upton. Her first novel, *Alimony*, written while helping to run soldier dances, was not published until 1924. *Mavis of Green Hill*, the first book published under her own name, concerned an invalid girl from a small town (Greenport) and her doctor falling in love. Yet, Baldwin later explained,

When I wrote it, a whimsical little book called *Molly Make-Believe* was a best-seller. I tried to copy the style, and the results were sickening. *Mavis* was a superb failure. The sales were very meager, under the 1,500 or so that you needed in those days to be considered successful. At the time, however, I thought it was just great.<sup>12</sup>

Except for jaunts to the West Coast on business, Faith lived in Brooklyn with her husband Hugh Cuthrell, a utility executive, and their four children. Summers and week-ends were spent at Shelter Island until her widowed mother sold the Hilo Farm estate in the late 1930s. According to Faith's daughter Hervey, "Grandmother was so upset [after her husband's death], she wouldn't return," and told the caretakers "to let everything go."<sup>13</sup>

During the 1930s, many large estates fell into bankruptcy and went to the auctioneer's block, were split into parcels, or lay dormant. Faith continued to visit with relatives or friends, so that she witnessed the change of Shelter Island from upper- to middle-class ambience. With her observant eye, she used the evolving settings as material for her romantic plots, thus producing a lively record of Long Island's social history from the 1920s through the 1970s.

In 1930, nine years after her first published work, she finally had a best seller, *The Office Wife*. Serialized before publication, the book went into reprint in both the cloth and paper editions, sold well in England, was translated into several languages, and was snapped up by Hollywood. The story of a secretary who does more for her boss than a wife and, after many entanglements, marries him, its settings revolved around a Park Avenue advertising agency with side trips to polo matches at Fort Hamilton, rides to Long Beach, Shinnecock Hills, and weekends at Southampton. This marked the start of almost fifty years of success, during which she produced two novels a year until she died in 1978.<sup>14</sup>

At the age of thirty-six, she wrote *The Incredible Year*, a story of love during the stock market crash. As usual, it involves a luxurious apartment on the East River and summer parties at Oyster Bay. The couple survives, learns humility, and finds hope in a new business venture. The author admitted later that she wanted readers to forget their troubles: "People had to have some escape hatch, some way to get out of themselves."<sup>15</sup>

Her dialogue and story line are not outdated, nor is her message passé. Indeed, Baldwin was a forerunner of modern female romanticists, without the explicit sex which in her time was hinted at but not described. She was a depression-era, escapist writer of happy endings to lighten the hearts of readers suffering from the money crunch, rather than a depicter of misery and despair. Other women writers, such as Ruby Ayres, Ethel Dell, Beatrice Burton, and Vida Hurst, followed her lead with the "dreams-come-true" climax, but never reached her heights.

Male writers were more in demand, with Sinclair Lewis's *Elmer Gantry*, *Arrowsmith*, and *Babbitt*, Percival Wrenn's *Beau Geste*, and other socially critical or exciting novels that also were made into movies. Nevertheless, Faith Baldwin had written over sixty novels by 1936, the trough of the depression, without any reference to the poverty-stricken majority. Most of Baldwin's works were based on her knowledge of people who remained well-to-do before and after the crash.

In his biography of Baldwin, Page Cooper praised her for having "the photostatic eye of a painter and an ear that catches all the nuances of our patter." He quoted a *New York Times* review of *Manhattan Nights* as saying that it contained some of her best writing, "the upper crust and the underworld, penthouses and studios, newspaper offices and hospitals, Broadway and Coney Island, social climbers and strap-hangers, rogues and receptionists; she has transfixed them all."<sup>16</sup>

Women were busy trying to untangle the problems of love and work, jobs and marriage, peculiar to the new skyscraper age, much as Baldwin herself presented a shining example that having a career and running a home could work. Courtship and marriage, with their joys and hardships, were among her favored themes. Her heroines were secretaries, hostesses, nurses, interns, actresses, and real estate brokers. They sold stocks and bonds, designed dresses, or ran beauty salons, attesting to Baldwin's belief in the feminist movement. Yet, conflict

between career and marriage was another frequent topic.

Unlike Baldwin, the heroine of *Self-Made Woman* capitulated to her domineering, sexually magnetic husband with “an awareness of defeat.” As usual, the plot was rooted in Brooklyn, Manhattan, and Long Island. Cathleen McElroy, a thirty-year-old real estate magnate, once lived and went to school in Bay Ridge. She thought of the old days as her chauffeur drove her along Shore Road on her way to the newly opened Waldorf, past mansions being razed for apartments. As a successful business woman, Cathy was able to move her Irish mother “out Long Island way” to Woodside, and rent a summer cottage for her family in Southampton. One of her beaux was an attractive playboy “from the elite of Long Island,” but she ended up with an equally handsome man who offered help as a “silent partner” when the real estate market turned sluggish, and also suggested being a “marriage partner.”<sup>17</sup>

By the time Baldwin was forty she joined Mary Roberts Rinehart and Kathleen Norris as the highest-paid writers of magazine serials, with her stories published in *Cosmopolitan* and *Ladies Home Journal*. Consequently, she was offered top prices for motion picture rights, “earning well over a million dollars,” according to an interview in 1959.<sup>18</sup>

At least twelve films were based on her novels or short stories, featuring popular actors like Henry Fonda, Clark Gable, and Jean Harlow. Her first was *Week-end Marriage*, in 1932; *The Moon's Our Home* was a hit in 1936, depicting a “glamour gal” who sought a career in Hollywood. The 1948 post-war period featured *Apartment for Peggy*, starring William Holden and Jeanne Crain, in which a couple found itself in a dilemma when the husband, a veteran, went back to college on Long Island while his wife was expecting. United Artists produced one of her later films, *Queen for a Day*, in 1951, but after that she seemed disillusioned with the movie industry.

Her stories grew with the times. When World War Two came, she exclaimed that “nothing was more important...I was still successful, but it was all different because the world was different.” Yet she continued to give her readers what they wanted, enabling lonely working people, young and old, to identify with her glamorous, wealthy characters, explaining that certain problems about love and friendship are shared by everybody.<sup>19</sup>

Baldwin's more serious writing emerged in *American Family*, a history based on her grandfather's diaries. Her grandfather, Stephen Livingston Baldwin (portrayed as Dr. Tobias Condit), took his young bride to China to work in the missions, and later became a doctor. Her father, Stephen, was born in China but at the age of seven returned to Brooklyn to be educated. A sequel, *The Puritan Strain*, centered on Condit's daughter Elizabeth. The critics welcomed both as solidly conceived works which enhanced her reputation as a significant novelist, though her principal identity was that of a writer of light fiction.<sup>20</sup>

Late in the 1930s she moved to a farmhouse in Connecticut, off Long Island Sound; Fable Farm was much like Hilo Farm on Shelter Island. Her fictional characters continued to be middle- and upper-class Americans, living

in Manhattan penthouses, luxurious country homes, and suburban communities. Her subjects again were women's concerns—work, money, marriage, motherhood, childless marriage, infidelity, and divorce—with her self-possessed heroines ranging from the quietly independent to the gorgeous spitfire. They frequented the Waldorf, the Astor, and the Plaza, and vacationed at mansions in Plandome and Oyster Bay, or on rolling estates on the ocean in the Hamptons and Montauk. Her achieving women engaged in exciting avocations or worked at stimulating occupations, the common denominator being that somehow they resolved their problems and soared to success.

However, in the 1950s Baldwin began turning out more inspirational pieces. Her daughter, Hervey Moores, recalls that her mother took “my father's death badly.” In *Widow's Walk*, she composed poignant sonnets about being left alone, and donated the royalties to the Long Island College Building Fund in Brooklyn. Referring to the opened-roof structure on top of Victorian houses near the sea, where women waited for their seafaring husbands to return, Baldwin wrote, “The Widow's Walk...is no protecting roof...she who walks here...naked to the wind...folds her hands to pray.”<sup>21</sup>

After the deaths of her husband and her mother in 1955, Baldwin turned again to nonfiction with the autobiographical *Face Toward the Spring*. In this intimate and inspirational journey through the seasons, she helped readers to channel frustration and grief into creative, positive patterns. As Baldwin reflected on each month, she remembered the good things in her life. She wrote about the mosquito, gnat, and black fly, of picnics at Shelter Island, and then of her father:

When I was a girl and living the long summer through on Shelter Island, I used to be entertained by his custom of sitting on the big porch and spying upon the birds through binoculars. He was a trial lawyer, and in those days the courts closed for much of the summer. He had a wonderful time watching the orioles build their intricate nests. At times I thought him slightly daft, especially when I would come from the beach...through the apple orchard with a group of lively friends, and there Father would be making wild gestures. We were to be silent, going on tiptoe, avoiding the old pear tree sacred to the oriole and taking care not to interrupt their home building.<sup>22</sup>

The semi-autobiographical *Many Windows: Seasons of the Heart*, appeared in 1958. From July 1958 to December 1965 she wrote a monthly feature, “The Open Door,” for *Woman's Day* magazine which drew 300 letters a month from readers, which she expanded to produce *Testament of Trust* in 1960, the year of another tragedy, the death of her oldest son in a car crash. She filled her book with analogies as she concentrated on the months of the year, putting everything “in God's Hands” when the situation became overwhelming. In “January,” she discussed cutting “forsythia for house-forcing,” and the Bronx-Whitestone and other bridges leading to Long Island. In her youth, she walked “twice across Brooklyn Bridge on the pedestrian



footpath.” She also remembered taking her “children to the Botanical Gardens to see the spring flowers.” In “March,” she recalled walking in the “city-dirty banks of snow” on the day before her older son was born. In “May,” she described the “still-chilly waters of the Sound,” and how, at Shelter Island, “I was brought up boat-conscious. My father always had boats. He loved to sail as well as take the wheel of a speed or fishing boat. I knew all the waters around us, the Sound and Peconic Bay.” In “July,” she mentioned having visited her sister in East Hampton, “lunched with Esther at a tavern,” and walked “by the enormous pond and looked across the sand bar to the sea.”<sup>23</sup>

Other works of nonfiction included *Harvest of Hope*, *Living by Faith*, and *Evening Star*, once more reviewing the months of the year like meditations, recalling playing golf in her youth at Shelter Island with a girl caddy named Henrietta, watching “lightning from the front porch,” and her parents’ “crank” phone, “one of the first in the country, often having to wait til someone got off.”<sup>24</sup>

She resumed her steady output of romantic stories with typical Baldwinian themes. *One More Time* dealt with a woman’s suffering caused by the infidelities of her husband. They lived on the Sound, but he worked in Manhattan and often stayed at the University Club. One daughter went to “Blue Mountain College” in New England, and the other attended “Country Day School” in Garden City. Among Baldwin’s later works were the six Little Oxford novels centered about a beautiful suburb, a collage of Long Island and Connecticut. Characters reappeared from one book to the next, either passing through or settling down, as she skillfully recaptured topics of interest for women of all ages with swift-paced dialogue and intriguing plots. Her last novel was *Adam’s Eden*, in 1977; she was working on another at the time of her death at the age of eighty-four.<sup>24</sup>

When asked if she found it difficult to keep up with the changes of setting, slang, and viewpoint, she replied, “How much does human nature change? There are changing conventions...which just ebb and flow; freedom and strictness react against each other. But basically—life, death, birth, hunger, fear, love are the same. Emotionally we don’t change.” The prevalence of cursewords and obscenities in modern fiction disturbed her, as she commented in 1970: “I have so long been reading...literature concerned with problems and starred with the now-commonplace four-letter words; the writers have forgotten there are others, such as love and hope.” According to Baldwin,

Emotion—that’s my job. If you can put the readers through the paces of the emotions—even if they say that they wouldn’t have reacted in the same way that your characters did, or that they didn’t act that way when they were in the same situation—you’ve got something.<sup>26</sup>

Most of her works are housed in a “special place” at the Shelter Island Public Library, including some typescripts of her serialized short stories. There is also a Faith Baldwin Collection at Boston University, begun in 1968.

Faith Baldwin was foremost a writer of her times, one of the first in a long line of female authors of popular fiction. She was also a distinguished regional writer. Although her themes were universal, her novels were set among the familiar surroundings where she had lived—Shelter Island, Brooklyn, and both sides of Long Island Sound. These backgrounds were ever-present in her romantic, often uplifting works which appeared steadily from 1921 to 1977, bringing her enormous popularity and financial success.

#### NOTES

*Author's note: The former Baldwin estate is directly across from my home on Shelter Island; I can look out my window at her house.*

1. Charles Hanson Towne, reviews of Faith Baldwin, *Private Duty* (New York: P. F. Collier, 1936), and *That Man of Mine* (New York: P. F. Collier, 1937), quoted in Page Cooper, *Faith Baldwin and Her American Family* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1938), 16, 19; for *Time* quotation, see *Contemporary Authors*, s.v. "Baldwin, Faith," 3 (April 1978), 44.
2. Obituary, *Washington Post*, 21 March 1978, C4; Jack Denton Scott, "Novelist—Faith Baldwin," *Cosmopolitan* (August 1959), 36; Obituary, *New York Times*, 19 March 1978, 38.
3. Robert Van Gelder, "An Interview With Faith Baldwin," *Writers and Writing* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946), 313; Ellen Lewis Buell, "For Love and Money," review of Baldwin, *The Golden Shoestring* (New York: Rinehart, 1949), *New York Times* Book Review Section, 1 May 1949, 16.
4. Edwin O'Connor, *The Edge of Sadness* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1961), 258; Scott, 36.
5. Scott, 37.
6. Baldwin, *American Family* (New York: P. F. Collier, 1934, 1935).
7. Cooper, 6.
8. Buell, 16.
9. Mary Johnston, "Opus 61" (Review of Baldwin, *Look Out For Lisa* [New York: Rinehart, 1950]), *New York Times* Book Review Section, 7 May 1950, 20.
10. Amber Lee, pseud., *Proud Revelry* (New York: Thomas Seltzer, 1926); author's interview with Hervey Moores (Mrs. Chester A. Moores Jr.), 6 June 1993.
11. Amber Lee, pseud., *The Woman I Am* (New York: Thomas Seltzer, 1925).
12. *Ibid.*, 311; Baldwin, *Alimony* (New York: Grosset & Dunlop, 1924), and *Mavis of Green Hill* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1921).
13. Moores interview, 9 June 1993.
14. Baldwin, *The Office Wife* (New York: Grosset & Dunlop, 1929, 1930).
15. Baldwin, *The Incredible Year* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1929); *New York Times*, obituary 19 March 1978, 38.
16. Cooper, 4, 16; Baldwin, *Manhattan Nights* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1937).
17. Baldwin, *Self-Made Woman* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1932), 23, 47.
18. *Ibid.*, 211.
19. Scott, 36; obituary, *New York Times*.
20. Baldwin, *The Puritan Strain* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1935).
21. Moores interview, 9 June 1993; Baldwin, *Widow's Walk* (New York: Rinehart, 1954), 14.
22. Baldwin, *Face Toward the Spring* (New York: Rinehart, 1956), 162.
23. Baldwin, *Many Windows: Seasons of the Heart* (New York: Rinehart, 1958); *Testament of*

*Trust* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1960), 67, 110, 76, 137, 172, 176.

24. Baldwin, *Harvest of Hope* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1962); *Living By Faith* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1964); *Evening Star* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1964, 1968), 134, 173.

25 Baldwin, *One More Time* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1971); *Adam's Eden* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1977).

26. Van Gelder, 312, 313; Baldwin, Dedication to *Take What You Want* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970), 1.

# Reviews

Joshua Stoff. *From Canoes to Cruisers: The Maritime Heritage of Long Island*. Interlaken, NY: Long Island Studies Institute/Empire State Books, 1994. Illustrations, bibliography, index. Pp. 112. \$18 cloth, \$10 paper.

*From Canoes to Cruisers: The Maritime Heritage of Long Island* is a meticulously researched, well-written, informative book by Joshua Stoff, the curator of the Nassau County Cradle of Aviation Museum. Intended for young readers from grade four and up, this is the sort of work parents buy for their children and end up reading themselves. Given its affordability, my suggestion is to buy two copies, the hardcover, priced at \$18, and the paperback, a real bargain at \$10. As appealing as the price are the 9" x 12" oversize format, excellent bibliographies (including one for young readers), list of maritime education centers, and comprehensive index.

Scattered throughout the book's 112 lively pages are various nineteenth-century illustrations from *Harper's Weekly*, Nathaniel Currier's celebrated lithograph of the sinking of the steamboat *Lexington* off Eaton's Neck on a frigid January night in 1840, and many of the talented author's excellent drawings. In addition to whales, shipwrecks, shipbuilding, and other aspects of Long Island's earlier maritime history, Stoff, ever the artist, offers his detailed representations of World War Two ships.

The text is as impressive as the eye-catching illustrations. Classroom teachers will welcome the fact that each section of the book can stand on its own. For example, in his brief but fact-filled chapter "Pirates!", Stoff refuses to underestimate the cognitive ability of ten-year-olds by including an excerpt from a primary source, a letter written in 1699 by New York Governor Lord Bellomont. He proceeds to detail the exploits of Captain William Kidd, the famous English privateer-pirate, and the less celebrated Joseph Bradish. Readers of all ages will find something new and interesting in the account.

The chapter on early shipping and shipbuilding, more instructive for children than for adults, contains an easily comprehended enumeration of the job descriptions of the various skilled craftsmen who built the ships. Teachers should note that this will save them a great deal of effort when presenting this important aspect of Long Island's colonial and nineteenth-century economy. Educators also will find the two chapters on the American Revolution useful. In addition to a fast-paced analysis of cross-Sound whaleboat raids, Stoff includes an account of the sinking of HMS *Cullogen* off Montauk in 1781, a

story which he brings up to date by pointing out that “part of her hull can be seen at low tide. It is to become an underwater park, specifically for use by scuba divers” (23). My guess is that children who read this will probably drag their parents to Culloden Point this summer, with or without scuba gear, to confront history in one of the many places on Long Island where it was made.

Besides igniting the historical imagination of the young reader, *From Canoes to Cruisers* highlights unfamiliar aspects of military history, with outstanding coverage of the War of 1812 and both World Wars. Stoff’s eight chapters on twentieth-century military history are filled with interesting data about vessels sunk off Long Island during World War Two, the landing of four German saboteurs at Amagansett in 1942, and Grumman’s experimental hydrofoils, including the H. S. *Denison* which, in 1962, “went from Oyster Bay to Newport, Rhode Island, in just two hours—a record for any type of ship” (89).

Although his attention to military events is outstanding, Stoff does not neglect any aspect of Long Island’s maritime history, including the contributions of such women as Martha Smith Brewer Brown, who accompanied her husband on a whaling voyage out of Greenport in 1847, and Mrs. Anna (Nancy) Smith Strong, a member of General Washington’s “Setauket Spy Ring” during the Revolutionary War. Additional information about the role of women in Long Island’s maritime history would have enhanced this fine work, but, taken as a whole, *From Canoes to Cruisers* is a first-rate contribution to the growing collection of books about the Island’s proud history.

MARILYN WEIGOLD  
*Pace University*

Natalie A. Naylor, Ed. *The Roots and Heritage of Hempstead Town*. Interlaken, NY: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1994. Illustrations, appendices, bibliography, index. Pp. 254. \$25 cloth, \$15 paper.

Natalie A. Naylor’s introduction sums up what this publication strives to prove:

Hempstead, founded in 1644, was the first European settlement in present-day Nassau County. During its first two decades, it was part of the New Netherland colony, a settlement of English families in Dutch territory. In the colonial period, Hempstead extended from the Long Island Sound to the Atlantic Ocean [and to the western end of the peninsula called Rockaway] (7).

Five writers bring their own viewpoints to this fine study of colonial Hempstead.

In the chapter “*Heemstede*: An English Town under Dutch Rule,” Dr. Martha Shattuck gives a rare view from the Dutch standpoint. Because Shattuck is involved in the retranslation of Dutch documents and is versed in Dutch colonial government, her paper brings new understanding.

In "News from *Lange Eylandt*: the 1640s and 1650s," Edward J. Smits gives two contrasting views. First, there is a clear explanation of who the Hempstead settlers were, where they came from, and why they selected this location in Dutch territory. Colonial records show us how the Dutch and English handled each other. Daniel Denton's 1670 description of New York states, very frankly, "It hath been generally observed, that where the English come to settle, a Divine Hand makes way for them, by removing or cutting off the Indians" (23). The conclusion of Smits's chapter is introduced with this statement: "If we could obtain the Indian view, this is probably how their Sachem Tackapausha would present it" (23). There follows an eloquent explanation of Indian culture and how the Indians had tried to accommodate their new neighbors (in much the same way that a mammal accommodates a tapeworm until the worm starves its host). Based on comments in Dutch records, the dialogue is reminiscent of the Shawnee leader Tecumseh's famed oratory.

The biography, "Thomas Rushmore, a Long Island Pioneer," is the perfect complement to the first two essays. The author, Robert Rushmore, illustrates the way a seventeenth-century citizen of Hempstead lived, served his town, and interacted with the "movers and shakers" of his day.

In his fifteen "Vignettes of Hempstead Town, 1643-1800," Myron H. Luke treats such subjects as the Indians, the Hempstead Plains, the Kieft Patent, and the Duke's Laws Convention. In his most extensive vignette, Luke helps us feel the impact of the Revolution on Hempstead. Citizens of all political persuasions were plundered both by occupation and patriot forces. The rancor engendered by these bitter years began to subside only at the turn of the century, as described in the final vignette.

At the half-way point in the book, we have seen the roots of Hempstead through the eyes of the Dutch, the English, the Indians, and the scholars who have studied them. Of course, there is repetition when four scholars deal with the same fundamental subject. However, unifying these studies under one cover gives a well-rounded picture of a complex subject.

What of this heritage remains today? Extensive appendices give us the text of important deeds and a never-before-published 1654 list of Hempstead's property owners. Other appendices contain seventeenth- and nineteenth-century descriptions of Hempstead. Lists of landmarks and population statistics complete the section. The book also contains a comprehensive, well-organized bibliography, along with fifty woodcuts and other illustrations.

In addition to this documentary heritage, one-quarter of the book describes the preservation of Hempstead's landmarks. In 1948, one branch of the Hewlett family secured a bid on their estate at Lawrence to relieve the heavy property tax burden. The town Historian, Charles Hewlett, convinced his cousins to donate three acres of valuable land surrounding Rock Hall. The town of Hempstead accepted the gift and has preserved this gem of Georgian colonial architecture. "The Evolution of Rock Hall from Colonial 'Great House' to House Museum," by Shirley Hibbard, is a thorough study of the

Martin family who built this house. Additional research and careful reading of the physical evidence has been used to describe the original structure and its extensive alterations. Hibbard's essay contains much social history to explain the reasons for the changes in the house and its use. The town of Hempstead is indeed fortunate to have a Friends of Rock Hall organization to support such thorough research.

In the remaining pages, James York explains Hempstead's Landmarks Preservation Ordinance, and chronicles some successful preservation efforts. Of course, there is always more to study, but *The Roots and Heritage of Hempstead Town* certainly fulfills the mission implied in its title.

JOHN A. HEWLETT

*Half Hollow Hills School District*

William T. Lauder and Charles F. Howlett. *Amityville's 1894 School House*. Amityville: Amityville Historical Society, 1994. Illustrated. Pp. 54 (paper). \$5, postpaid, from Amityville Historical Society, P. O. Box 764, Amityville, NY 11701.

Considering the media titles surrounding the Amityville community over the past few years, you might, at first, expect a book that deals with the occult or some sinister, fictional schoolhouse. This book is not fiction but it is equally as entertaining. This book is not about a catchy theme or topic, but it is an excellent work about a community's dedication to build a state-of-the-art school and maintain it during a century of a changing Long Island.

The text is not designed with dynamic, multi-colored graphics intended to entice the reader from the confines of the Barnes and Noble bookshelves. It was commissioned by the Park Avenue School Centennial Committee, and is very well-written. Pictures and historical graphics culled from long-forgotten archives are included. The strength of this textual endeavor lies in its content and its purpose—a well-documented search and objective treatment of a community's struggle to maintain a school for the education of its young.

The school, when erected in 1894,

was the most modern and safest school that had yet been built in the area...However, by today's standards...it would be considered a fire trap. Nevertheless, it represented the culmination of 250 years of community effort to provide the best possible educational atmosphere for the youth of the community (3).

The authors detail these struggles by early residents of Amityville to build a school system independent of Huntington and more reflective of their values. That role of the community school is relevant today, when discussion of consolidating local schools seems so pertinent. Perhaps Long Islanders no longer share these values about the local school. It is valuable, however, to understand why, in 1894, the neighbors of Amityville found it so important to commit such significant resources and to sacrifice for their children's

education. This book may prove unsettling to districts unsure of their values, or unwilling to explore the history of the enculturation of their young.

The Amityville school story began in 1650 and continues today, with the building on Park Avenue a model of that commitment to their children. For example, "The foyer was a welcomed place to the children in winter, especially the girls, when they arrived shivering cold from their walk of a mile or more to school" (2). The Union Free School District, within the limits of Common School District No. 6, was established by a vote on 19 January 1893. On 6 April 1893, another vote appropriated a sum not to exceed \$20,000, a considerable amount at the time, for the construction of the school.

The independence of the Amityville schools is also described as a major effort to overcome racial segregation practiced by maintaining separate facilities and teachers' pay contracts. The authors elaborate on the social and economic struggles that the community overcame in the formation of the district and the building of that new high school, a story told over and over again on Long Island.

For example, the Blue Point community, a few miles east of Amityville, has a school building which helps to identify its community. The school characterizes that local community, since it is a public building that serves as a focal point of social interaction. Certainly that community might enjoy the treatise proposed by Lauder and Howlett.

Communities change over time, and that change may appear costly. The myopic view of this year's tax bill might propose a personal perspective that distorts many years of work by a community. Recessions and hard times, however, are not new. Residents of Long Island have endured those times and those expenses. Should these local schools, having outlived their usefulness, be discarded, or should they be maintained for their history, for their story and validation of a people's commitment to a better life through education? Can these buildings, constructed so long ago by so many neighbors, be preserved to provide a resource for the children who need to know about their community—its commitment to the future and its sacrifices of the past?

Amityville is fortunate, then, for not only preserving the physical plant but also for recording its story. Long Island is enriched by this excellent book. Its children will grow up and participate in a global society that may take them great distances. Those children of Amityville may soon forget the names of past teachers and colleagues, but they will have a recorded history to remember their neighbors and the commitment of their communities to the education of its young. Perhaps other Long Island communities will follow this lead and preserve and record the history of their efforts in education.

PAUL J. BAKER

*Bayport-Blue Point High School*



W. M. P. Dunne. *Thomas F. McManus and the American Fishing Schooners*. Mystic, CT: Mystic Seaport Museum, 1994. Illustrations, plans, maps, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. x, 416. \$39.95.

Long Island's most eminent maritime historian, W. M. P. Dunne of Hampton Bays, has written an absorbing biography of Thomas F. McManus, the virtuoso naval architect whose ideas on schooner design dominated the New England fishing fleets during their golden age.

The McManuses, a family of sail makers, came from Fingal, that stretch of coastline just north of Dublin which was once a Viking stronghold. Fingalians have long been prodigious seamen: fishermen, smugglers, privateers, and men-o'-wars' men. Like other Irish families fleeing economic and agricultural ruin at home, the McManuses migrated to Boston in the 1840s. But unlike many of their countrymen, they brought with them the capital and the sail-making skills that enabled them to find a niche on the Boston waterfront, just as the Irish-Americans were ready to dominate the fishing trade.

For young Tom McManus, born in 1856, schooner design was a preoccupation from childhood. In the lofts and shipyards of his family and their friends, he learned early the subtle elements of hull, rigging, and sail. When he was a teenager his family arranged for him to study under the tutelage of an able designer, Dennison J. Lawlor.

Much of Dr. Dunne's book is devoted to the efforts of McManus to manipulate the elements of design in the most desirable way to achieve safety, stability, maneuverability, speed, and cargo-carrying capacity. The reader is generously showered with chine, drag and freeboard, jib jigs, tack hooks, and rockered keels, with round bows, clipper bows, and knuckled forefeet. Bill Dunne practiced naval architecture long before Clio summoned him, but no person who is merely a historian could have written this book. Readers will absorb his lessons at their own level, whether their nautical knowledge was acquired on blue water or from reading C. S. Forester and Patrick O'Brian. Dunne presents the McManus solution to a design problem with the air of a kindly chef revealing a favorite recipe.

The biography of Thomas F. McManus offers gentle reminders of the nautical spirit of his age. We find the daily newspapers presenting fierce arguments about hull design, and learn that the *Boston Herald* owned an ocean-going news tug. The story of the famous fishermen's races, which McManus initiated, is told in thrilling detail.

The press of the Mystic Seaport Museum has published W. M. P. Dunne's manuscript in a splendid volume filled with beautiful pictures of schooners—and, indeed, what artifact of man is more beautiful than a handsome schooner under sail?

For Long Islanders of nautical sentiments, whether former naval persons or current yachtsmen, who feel deserving of a big treat, the writer recommends a day off. Take the Orient Point ferry to New London and drive

twenty minutes north on I-95 to the Mystic Seaport Museum. In the Stillwell Building you will gaze with reverence at Eric A. Ronnberg Jr.'s great collection of schooner models, principally by McManus. Step outside and go on board the *L. A. Dunton*, a McManus schooner tied up at a nearby pier. On the way out, stop at the museum bookstore and buy a copy of Bill Dunne's book to take home. Believe me, at the end of the day you'll feel as though you've treated yourself well.

DONALD A. PETRIE  
*Lazard Frères & Co.*

E. A. (Bud) Livingston. *President Lincoln's Third Largest City: Brooklyn and the Civil War*. Glendale, NY: Budd Press, 1994. Notes, bibliography, index. Pp. 188. \$19.95 (paper).

*President Lincoln's Third Largest City* reminds us of the strengths—and weaknesses—of informal historical writing. Originally an MA thesis at Queens College, it approaches its subject with the exuberant curiosity and infectious love of place that academic historians tend to regard as rather beneath their dignity. Unfortunately, these appealing qualities are observed by the author's preference for anecdote over sustained argumentation. The book leapfrogs through a dozen-odd topics ("The Churches," "Walt Whitman," "The Newspapers," "Entertainment," "The Monitor," "The Sanitary Fair of 1864," and the like) unencumbered by anything that could be called an argument or interpretation. It finds little if anything new to say on these matters, either—hardly surprising, since it relies almost entirely on standard secondary sources, salted from time to time with references to contemporary newspapers, the odd city directory, obscure pamphlets of dubious authority, and a handful of manuscript collections.

Thoughtful readers will discern the outlines of some intriguing questions—why was there no Brooklyn equivalent to the Draft Riots in Manhattan, despite considerable antiwar feeling there? did the demands of the wartime economy diminish or increase Brooklyn's role as an economic satellite of New York? what effect, if any, did the war have on the distribution of social and political power in Brooklyn? Unfortunately, they will have to look elsewhere for answers.

EDWIN G. BURROWS  
*Brooklyn College*

Janice L. Schaefer. *The History of Mastic Beach*. Mastic Beach: Mastic Beach Property Owners Association, 1994. Illustrations, bibliography. Pp. 70. \$3 (paper), from Mastic Beach Property Owners Association, 1 Neighborhood Road, Mastic Beach, NY 11951.

The community of Mastic Beach has played an important role in the history of Long Island, from colonial land dealings with the Indians to post-World

War Two suburban expansion. Settled early by prominent families, this hamlet's proximity to the ocean made it a promising area for commerce and fishing. It is this thread of historical continuity that Janice Schaefer uses to bind her book together. By tracing the history of Mastic Beach from colonial days, Schaefer shows the growth of both hamlet and country.

The early history of Mastic revolved around four influential families: the "Tangier" Smiths (Col. William Smith was mayor of Tangier before the British gave it up and he came to Long Island in 1685), the Nicolls, Woodhulls, and Floyds. Nathaniel Woodhull, descendant of the Mastic Woodhulls, was born in 1722 and fought in the Revolutionary War. Captured by the British on 28 August 1776, one day after the Battle of Long Island, he suffered wounds which led to his death three weeks later. He is buried in Mastic Beach. William Floyd, born in Mastic in 1734, became the youngest signer of the Declaration of Independence, as well as Suffolk County's only representative to the Continental Congress.

Schaefer provides a clear picture of these early times, tracing the families as they acquired tracts of land from the Unkechaug Indians. These vast purchases were complex and controversial even in those early times, and are contested to this day. Later, the families built manor homes. The ancestral homes of both William Floyd and Tangier Smith have been restored and are open to the public.

The stirring events of the Revolution gave way to the quiet nineteenth century. Schaefer picks up her narrative in the later part of that century, when Mastic and Long Island stood poised for development. The first major effort to develop the area was the Tangier Development Corporation's unsuccessful attempt in the early-twentieth century. The only remainders—a small wooden bridge spanning the narrow section of bay to the ocean and a beach hotel—were casualties of the 1938 hurricane. Today, the Smith Point Bridge (completed in 1959) provides access to the beach and Fire Island National Seashore, at the same location as its predecessor's.

By 1926, investors again saw the area's potential as a summer community for young families from New York City. Early newspaper advertisements give a vivid picture of the era, offering lots for \$10 down and \$3 per month: "Get into the Long Island boom. Provide a summer home for your family at Mastic Park" (15). The boom continued for ten years until the hurricane of 1938 devastated the area. Schaefer furnishes hurricane anecdotes, enhanced by photographs. For example,

Mr. and Mrs. August Wieber's cottage was on Narcissus Road. They tried to escape...but water came gushing down the street so they went back into their house. When the water in the house became chest high, they went up into the attic and called for help (17).

Mastic Beach was primarily a summer community at the time, so few people were there during the hurricane, and fortunately no lives were lost. Many summer bungalows became year-around homes in post-World War Two

Mastic Beach.

The second half of the book is devoted to the history of community groups and organizations. Though some references are brief, they give a picture of a village expanding and prospering in the face of many challenges. The section on the Mastic Beach Property Owners Association, of which Schaefer is president, provides a detailed, valuable record of Long Island's halcyon days. Full-page ads on facing pages chronicle present Mastic Beach stores and organizations.

The book is aimed at a local, Mastic Beach audience, well-served by the author. However, the history of the sister hamlets of Mastic and Shirley are omitted. This is delicate surgery, indeed, as the three communities function as one, sharing a library, school system, and shopping facilities. Though it is hard to mention one without the others, it is also sometimes necessary to limit the focus of such specialized publications as this. Each historical trail leads to others that could develop into books of their own.

Indians on Long Island suffered much as other Native Americans did during the colonization of the continent. However, in contrast with many groups who lost their ancestral grounds, some land of the Mastic-area Poosepatucks was restored in 1700 by a grant from Tangier Smith. The circumstances are right today for a more detailed analysis of the history and present place in the community of the Poosepatuck Indians, who still live here on their fifty-five acre reservation.

CHRISTOPHER BERDAN  
*Center Moriches School District*

Edith Gaines. *The Charity Society, 1794-1994: An Institution for the Use and Benefit of the Poor Among the Black People*. Charity Society of Jericho and Westbury Friends Monthly Meetings, 1994. Illustrations, notes. Pp. 27. \$4.00 (paper), postpaid, from Leon Rushmore, 21 Hewlett Lane, Port Washington, NY 11050.

Quakers were in the forefront of efforts to abolish slavery and to educate blacks. In response to the New York Yearly Meeting's adoption of a strong antislavery position in 1776, many Long Island Friends manumitted their slaves. In 1794, thirty Quakers from the half-dozen local Meetings in present-day Nassau County organized a Charity Society "to help improve the condition of the poor among the black people by educating their children" (6). As Edith Gaines notes in her introduction, the subscribers' list "reads like a page of Long Island's history" with such surnames as Hicks, Pearsall, Carle, Willets, Seaman, and Underhill (1).

The Charity Society was organized before free public schools were established, when private pay schools and charity schools provided education. When New York State established its district school system in 1812, the tax-supported schools charged parents a rate based on the number of days their children attended. The Charity Society assisted by paying this fee. Attendance was not compulsory, and the number of black (or white)

children in school varied depending on the season and weather. Committed to the importance of education, the Charity Society appointed committees to visit black families to encourage their children's education. As a result of these visits, the society began three First Day schools, open to adults as well as children, which were in session on Sundays after religious services. It conducted the Guinea School in Westbury for seven months in 1817. Later, the society built a schoolhouse in Jerusalem (Wantagh) in 1835, which was in use for thirty years.

The Charity Society supported black education on Long Island until 1868. In 1867, New York State abolished its rate bill for public schools. District common schools were now accessible to all poor children (white and black), and parents no longer needed to declare themselves paupers to receive free schooling. The Charity Society then shifted much of its efforts to help Freedmen's Bureau schools in the South, though it gave some support to the Howard Orphanage in Kings Park in 1913. Since the 1970s, the society has provided scholarships for local black students at Friends Academy in Locust Valley and the Westbury Friends School.

A sidebar on "The Role of Quaker Women" indicates that the women's business meeting donated to the Charity Society beginning in 1795; women were volunteer teachers in the schools; and the society first elected women members in 1851 (7). Another sidebar, drawing on a 1941 talk by a Charity School member, Henry Hicks, notes several prominent Long Island African Americans.

Stephen Rushmore, Clerk of the Charity Society, notes in a final sidebar that the "Charity School stands at a crossroads in its long history" as it is updating its mission statement and seeking "innovative ways to donate funds to benefit a greater number of needy children" (23). That task should be aided by greater awareness of its history.

The society is to be congratulated for commemorating its two-hundredth anniversary by enlisting an outside historian to provide a scholarly history of the society (there are seventy-four notes in the thin pamphlet).

Minutes can sometimes be frustrating sources, but Edith Gaines has utilized them well. She puts the society's history in the broader context of Quaker and educational history. It is sometimes unclear—as indeed, apparently the records themselves are—whether children are attending public or charity schools.

Although it is difficult to assess the success of the society, its continuing commitment is worthy of admiration. This booklet documenting its history will be of particular value to those interested in philanthropy, education, and religion.

NATALIE A. NAYLOR  
*Hofstra University*

John Ellis Kordes, writer, producer, and director. *A. T. Stewart's Garden City: A Documentary Film*. Video tape, 100 minutes. Garden City: John Ellis Kordes, 1994. \$39.95 (available at several locations in Garden City, or

directly from the producer (telephone [516] 742-4113).

Garden City has been important in Long Island's history both because of its unique origins as a planned community and its involvement with Long Island's transportation, aviation, military, and business history. Hence, this video on Garden City's history is of more than local interest.

John Ellis Kordes is a Garden City photographer. His first video on the *Long Island Motor Parkway and its Garden City Toll Lodge* (1993) for the Toll Lodge Preservation Association documented the history of the Vanderbilt Parkway and the moving and restoration of the Garden City toll lodge to serve as the Chamber of Commerce headquarters. Kordes also has prepared a historical calendar, a Garden City poster, and a small exhibit about the parkway in the lobby of the toll house. He has now produced a full-length film covering 125 years of Garden City's history. Kordes acknowledges his reliance on the published histories of Garden City by Mildred H. Smith and Vincent Seyfried, and has made good use of the extensive local history collection in the public library. His independent project received financial support from a local automobile company which has a brief opening "commercial."

About one-third of the film is devoted to the Stewart era, but nearly half is on the twentieth century. The video is divided into twenty-six segments covering different topics or periods. Each ranges in length from two to five minutes and is introduced by a title frame. This makes it easy to show specific sections, although longer segments with more segueing of topics would result in a smoother flow. Of interest to a general audience are the segments on the Hempstead Plains, the Long Island Motor Parkway, aviation, Camp Mills, and Lindbergh's flight, as well as the sections on Stewart and the founding of Garden City. Kordes himself introduces several of the segments on camera at different sites in the village, but most of the narration is professionally delivered by Charley Connolly of WKJY or by WHLI radio announcers, accompanied by appropriate background music. Quotations from contemporary letters and newspapers, together with archival photographs and documents, provide good historical verisimilitude.

Much of the early history will be familiar to those who have read the published histories, but it is useful to have the history in this format which can reach a wider audience. It is more difficult to put into perspective recent twentieth-century history, particularly years within the memories of many in the community. Building schools and other public buildings, anniversary celebrations, construction of stores and Roosevelt Field on the eastern border, and the fate of the Garden City Hotel are some of the topics in the segments on recent decades.

The film unabashedly incorporates a booster approach. Stewart, like his bust commissioned for the 1969 centennial, is on a pedestal. Stewart did something "daring and innovative," by creating a "place which embodied his ideals and wisdom." The only "villains" are the "ghouls" who stole Stewart's body and Henry Hilton, who betrayed Stewart's trust and squandered his business empire. Conflict is muted and the final segment, entitled "Beauty

and Order,” features the title song from *Camelot* and beautiful contemporary views of Garden City.

It is arguable, however, whether today’s Garden City is really the community envisioned by A. T. Stewart, as Kordes maintains, since Stewart died before the community was really established. Stewart certainly was the important formative influence, together with his architect John Kellum. Deborah S. Gardner, however, gives a more critical view of Stewart in her chapter on “Suburban Expansion” in her doctoral dissertation, “The Architecture of Commercial Capitalism: John Kellum and the Development of New York, 1840-1875” (Columbia University, 1979, 261-313, copy in Long Island Studies Institute, Hofstra University).

Kordes implies Stewart had discussed his plans for Garden City with his wife. After her husband’s death, it was Cornelia Clinch Stewart who persuaded the Episcopal archdiocese to move its headquarters to Garden City by promising to build a cathedral, bishop’s residence, and educational institutions (St. Paul’s and St. Mary’s Schools). The religious and educational institutions which were created as memorials to her husband gave the community a distinctive tone and, as Kordes notes, they gave Garden City a “permanent reason for its existence.”

It was Cornelia’s heirs who formed the Garden City Company which governed the community until the village was incorporated in 1919. It is unfortunate that its early records were lost in a 1911 fire, for the company was the decisive influence in the years when Garden City really began to develop. George Hubbell, manager of the company for more than two decades (1897-1919) and the first mayor, is acknowledged as the most important individual in the twentieth century. During the company’s reign, its decisions to sell houses, develop adjacent sections, build golf courses, a casino, new railroad stations, and a larger hotel (designed by Stanford White, husband of one of the heirs), were important, as were its donation of land for the new Nassau County courthouse and the arrival of the elegant Doubleday plant. The hotel became the center of social activities. Garden City later pioneered such innovations as zoning, off-street parking lots, multi-story apartment buildings, and suburban branches of New York City department stores (Best & Co. chose Garden City in 1930 and Franklin Avenue became known as Long Island’s Fifth Avenue).

While some interpretations may be challenged, factual errors are few. No doubt every viewer will note some omissions (e.g., Camp Black in the Spanish-American War and the role of women in organizing the library and the historical society). Despite these reservations, Kordes is to be congratulated for creating this full-length documentary history of Garden City. It is technically proficient, with excellent photography and well-grounded in historical research. Teachers can conveniently use selected segments in general courses on Long Island history.

NATALIE A. NAYLOR  
*Hofstra University*

*For the recent biography of A. T. Stewart by Stephen Elias, see Thomas D. Beal's review, LIHJ 7 (Fall 1994): 132-4.*

*Life in Old New York Photo Postcards.* Edited by Hayward Cirker. New York: Dover Publications, 1994. 24 glossy, black-and-white postcards, notes. \$4.95 (9" x 12" paperback). Available at bookstores or directly from Dover Publications, Inc., 31 E. 2d Street, Mineola, NY 11501 (add \$3 for shipping and handling).

The great metropolis of yesteryear springs to life in this gallery of vintage views of Fifth Avenue, Chinatown, Coney Island, and many other sites and locales. New Yorkers, tourists, visitors—anyone intrigued by the old Gotham City—will delight in these authentic photographs.

Among the collection of two dozen detachable postcards are picturesque Surf Avenue, Coney Island; Central Park ice skaters with the Dakota apartment house standing majestically alone in the background; the Horn and Hardart Automat dispensing food for a nickel in the 1930s; a magnificent view of the walkway across Brooklyn Bridge; horse-drawn carriages trotting down Fifth Avenue during the Easter Parade of 1902; and others of equal interest.

The book spans the years from 1877 to 1948, and although the original photographers are not credited, the editor, Hayward Cirker, has lined the inside front and back covers with a succinct but an informative summary of each card. With its postcards priced at a fraction more than twenty cents each, this book is a genuine bargain as well as a handsome addition to Dover's previously published collections of *Old Philadelphia*, *Chicago*, *St. Louis*, and *Boston*. We hope Hayward Cirker will issue similar works for Queens, Nassau, and Suffolk.

NANCY DAWKINS  
*SUNY at Stony Brook*



# Communications

Dear Editor,

I wish that John Strong ["The Reaffirmation of Tradition Among the Native Americans of Eastern Long Island," *LIHJ* 7 (Fall 1994): 42-67] would stop portraying prejudice as an exclusively white affliction. Most hurtful to Indians who have intermarried with African Americans are the attitudes of *other Indians*, many of whom consider mixed offspring racially impure. Still, this is being picky. I look forward very much to his book.

John C. Witek  
Huntington, West Virginia

Dear Editors,

There have been several reactions to my article on the reaffirmation of tradition among the Algonquian peoples of Long Island (*LIHJ*, Fall 1994), some by word of mouth and some by correspondence. In general, the comments have been positive and all have been offered in a gracious manner. Some mentioned mistakes about names of individuals and organizations, and one (printed above), by John Witek, raised an important question about racial prejudice. These all require a response.

My apologies to an old acquaintance, Rebecca Williams, for referring to her as "Barbara" on page 59. I have no idea how that happened. Fortunately, she is identified properly in the credits for the cover photo which I took at a fund raiser for the Shinnecock Nation Museum at Guild Hall.

Sherrill Foster, a board member of the Friends of the Pharaoh Museum reminded me that the museum is named after *Jeremiah* Pharaoh, not Stephen. As one of the volunteers who worked briefly on the excavation of the Jeremiah Pharaoh site under the supervision of Edward Johannemann, I should not have made such a mistake.

I must also apologize to Marguerite Smith for two errors in the endnotes. Note 60 was listed as 68, and should have cited Marguerite Smith as my informant about the 1994 Shinnecock election. Ms. Smith brings to her analysis her training as a lawyer and her understanding of the customs and unique history of her people. She has, over the years, provided me with many important insights into Shinnecock history and culture.

John Witek has raised an issue about the prejudice expressed by some

Native Americans against Native Americans with African American ancestry. Such attitudes certainly do exist, but this issue was not directly relevant to the themes discussed in my article. Nevertheless, I welcome the opportunity to offer a brief comment.

Unfortunately, racial prejudice is an attractive, simplistic mindset which is used by individuals suffering from low self-esteem. Some Native Americans certainly do have an all-too-common human vulnerability to bigotry. Occasionally I have come up against such negative attitudes, but I do not believe that it is as widespread today as John Witek's comments suggest. As I noted in the article, many eastern Algonquian people of mixed ancestry, such as the Shinnecock, have been welcomed on the Sioux, Iroquois, and Montagnias reservations and have been invited to participate in religious and community activities.

The prejudice expressed by Native Americans, however, has never been as damaging to the eastern Native Americans of mixed ancestry as the prejudice from whites, who had the economic and political power to exploit them and squeeze them off their lands. Racial epithets and ethnic snobbery by some Native Americans, who in some cases may actually be playing to bigotry they sensed in whites, is certainly an annoyance, but it does not pose a significant economic or political threat. Such behavior, contrary to Witek's assertion, is most certainly not as harmful to the Algonquians of mixed ancestry as the prejudice of whites who have used these rationales to defend exploitation.

It was not Native Americans who proclaimed the Montaukett tribe extinct and squeezed them off their land (see article), nor were they responsible for the attempt to seize the Poosepatuck lands in 1935, and the Shinnecock lands in 1952. In each case, whites raised the issue of "racial purity" as a rationale for their actions.

John A. Strong  
LIU—Southampton Campus

Dear Editor,

Enclosed are maps and informative documents compiled by my friend Art Thorman and me about Plattsdale, a hamlet that existed in the second half of the nineteenth century in today's North New Hyde Park (New Hyde Park Road—Marcus Avenue—Union Turnpike—Old Courthouse Road). Our research unearthed a good deal about Hyde Park (later New Hyde Park)—the Dongan-Clark-Cobbett estate—and the Searingtown and Hempstead Plains areas, covering three centuries. Census data reveals that one Uriah Platt owned two slaves in 1755, nine in 1790, and three in 1800. Was the drop after 1790 in keeping with the decline of slavery in New York State on the way to emancipation in 1827? Were these slaves manumitted or did they purchase their freedom? Another aspect worth following up is the economic continuity in the North New Hyde Park-Manhasset Hills area. The Platts had money, while the Williams house (now at Old Bethpage Village) sold for

\$3,000 to William Smith in the 1870s. The area seems to have always been upper-middle class.

Both of us grew up in New Hyde Park but now live far away, and, in any case, are not trained historical writers. We present you with this material in hopes that one of your readers will use it for an article on the history of Queens and Nassau in general, and of Plattsdale or New Hyde Park in particular.

Ken Fox  
Santa Clara, CA  
Art Thorman  
Voorheesville, NY

*Editor's response: We will gladly share this rich source material with any scholar who wants to use it as the basis for an article.*

Dear Editor,

I enjoyed the review of Josh Stoff's recent book in the *LIHJ* (Fall 1994); for my review of this book, see the *Seaford Public Library Newsletter*, October 1994...I am quite alarmed by Lynne V. Cheney's article, "The End of History," in the 20 October 1994 *Wall Street Journal*, and the consequences of this direction on the teaching of American history to our children...Continued success to you and the *LIHJ*. It is an excellent publication and it is so important that the history of Long Island be written and published on a continuous basis.

Peter J. Ruffner  
Seaford

Dear Editor,

The *LIHJ* is great! I especially enjoyed this issue's (Fall 1994) article on "Robert Moses and the Making of Jones Beach State Park." Assemblyman Thomas A. McWhinney came from our Inwood community. He is interred in Trinity Churchyard, Hewlett, along with many other prominent citizens.

Frank Roy Meserole  
Inwood

Dear LIHJ,

As a student of Long Island history—seventeen years as head of the L. I. Collection of the Queens Borough Public Library—I appreciate your high-quality journal.

Davis Erhardt  
Coram

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