

THE LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL JOURNAL



Spring 1992

Volume 4 • Number 2



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

Walt Whitman

Spring 1992

Volume 4 • Number 2

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

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ISSN 0898-7084

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**Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in
HISTORICAL ABSTRACTS and AMERICA: HISTORY AND LIFE.**

The editors gratefully acknowledge the support of the Office of the Provost and of the Dean of Social and Behavioral Sciences, USB. We thank the Center for Excellence and Innovation in Education, USB, the Long Island Savings Bank, and the Long Island Studies Council for their generous assistance. We appreciate the unstinting cooperation of Joel T. Rosenthal, the chair of the Department of History USB. We owe a special vote of thanks to Richard C. Koch and staff, Graphic Support Services, USB, and Patricia A. Foster and staff, Publications Office, USB, for their indispensable help in designing and printing the LIHJ. We also thank Jeanne Pandolfo, Health Sciences CINC Center, USB, for her splendid cooperation.

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

The Editor, LIHJ
Department of History
State University of New York at Stony Brook
Stony Brook, NY 11794-4348.

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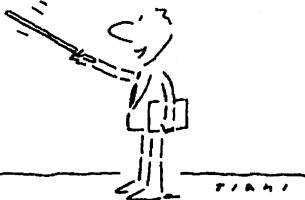


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The History of Brookhaven National Laboratory

Part Two: The Haworth Years

By Robert P. Crease

One day in the spring of 1948, Leland Haworth asked his friend George Collins to walk with him around the grounds of Brookhaven National Laboratory (BNL), then one year old. Haworth was the Lab's new associate director, while Collins, the chairman of the University of Rochester Physics Department, was that institution's representative to Associated Universities, Inc., the nine-member consortium which ran BNL.¹ Haworth was upset by the managerial style of Phillip Morse, BNL's director, whom Haworth felt was disconnected from the daily life of the laboratory. A theorist somewhat out of his element in an experimental laboratory, Morse was inclined to delegate authority to a deputy, and to provide scientists with administrators and technicians to build the instruments Haworth felt the scientists should build themselves. This was no way to run a laboratory, Haworth told Collins, especially a young one just getting off the ground. A laboratory should be run in a more hands-on manner.²

After joining the Lab on 1 August 1947 to do high energy physics research, Haworth found his work frustrated by administrative problems. He was intensely practical and insisted on knowing most details of projects to which he committed himself.³ Haworth came to trust people slowly, after working with them a long time, but then never relaxed his trust, sometimes to his detriment. He had a knack, in deadlocked meetings, for posing the question whose answer would resolve the issue. When troubled, Haworth spilled out his thoughts to a willing ear, often on long walks.

Haworth had met Collins at the M.I.T. Radiation Laboratory, a wartime organization charged with developing radar for military purposes. Like Haworth, Collins had a practical bent. He grew up on a farm, in what were once the wilds of Maryland, and years later remarked that this background was appropriate for an experimenter; on a farm, one learns to take responsibility for getting things done on time, and to improvise when necessary.

Haworth's troubles met an unexpected and happy resolution. In the summer of 1948, Morse resigned, partly because of problems with the reactor project and partly to pursue his own scientific interests. On 17 July, Haworth was named acting director and three months later director. In assuming BNL's directorship, Haworth's commitment was sorely tested; he found himself involved in everything from electronics to construction projects to

balancing spread-sheets with pencil and paper. He often worked well past midnight, should a project demand it. One of Haworth's first acts was to fire Morse's deputy and remove the cumbersome bureaucracy beginning to form. He then faced the task of overseeing the lab's two major construction projects, the Brookhaven Graphite Research Reactor (BGRR) and the Cosmotron.

Haworth remained director until 1961. In this time BNL matured as a scientific institution, and the relation between science and society was evolving. The lab soon became entwined with social and political events.

The Growing Public Spotlight

BNL was conceived as a multipurpose laboratory with special emphasis on radiation research. Other national laboratories were also equipped with reactors, including Oak Ridge National Laboratory, in Tennessee, and Argonne National Laboratory, outside of Chicago. But, by the early 1950s, Oak Ridge was managed by an industrial contractor (Union Carbide), and was concerned with engineering and applied science, while Argonne, though run by a university contractor (the University of Chicago), had as its primary mission reactor development projects. BNL continued to be oriented toward academic research.

As issues involving radioactivity moved increasingly to the fore in the 1950s, BNL sometimes found itself inadvertently in the public spotlight. This is illustrated by two episodes in which BNL was drawn or pushed into social issues at the AEC's request. One involved BNL scientists in research to evaluate the potential costs of a disaster at a commercial nuclear power plant; the other involved BNL's medical department in treating victims of radioactive fallout from the test of a thermonuclear weapon.

In the early 1950s, AEC officials envisioned the development of a nuclear power industry in this country, and wanted to encourage private ownership and operation of nuclear power plants. Utilities, however, were not complying, for they were wary of the astronomically high liabilities potentially stemming from what were then known as "runaways" (nuclear accidents in which the reaction gets out of hand and takes off by itself). Nuclear power proponents felt the only solution was for the government to step in and indemnify the utilities. The liability issue had not been addressed in the 1946 Atomic Energy Act, because all nuclear reactors at that time were government owned and operated, and thus self-insured. The architects of the 1954 Act also bypassed the issue, for two reasons. One was that with no information available on potential liability, sponsors were anxious to get the bill through, and not wait for a study. The other was that because operation of privately owned nuclear power plants was years in the future, the question did not seem urgent.⁴

However, once the 1954 Atomic Energy Act passed, nuclear power proponents began to tackle the liability issue. Early in 1956, Senator Clinton Anderson of New Mexico, the chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and a former insurance executive, and Representative Melvin Price of

Illinois, also on the Joint Committee, introduced a bill that limited company liability, with the government providing additional coverage, but it never came to a vote in that session. Aware that Congress would not write the utilities a blank check, Anderson asked the AEC, in July 1956, for a comprehensive report "on estimated damage caused by nuclear reactor runaways."⁵

On 29 August, the AEC sent Haworth a teletype:

The JCAE has requested that a comprehensive study be made of the damage which would be caused by runaway nuclear reactors...For some time the AEC has felt that one of the national laboratories should have the central responsibility for the technical aspects of reactor safety. We feel that BNL is the logical choice...The proposed report would resemble studies of the quote maximum creditable accident unquote now generally made for each reactor in obtaining approval from the advisory committee on reactor safeguards.⁶

"Maximum creditable accident" was a trademark of the AEC's Reactor Safeguard Committee, whose thinking about nuclear safety was oriented toward conceiving and attempting to forestall the worst disaster imaginable. Such an approach to safety, peculiar at best, is possibly less effective than one oriented towards more modest and usual kinds of accidents.⁷ Nevertheless, the AEC had decided to orient its safety policy toward preventing the "maximum creditable accident," and the AEC's request to Haworth to quantify it not only would have the effect of institutionalizing this orientation, but, ultimately, of molding the public's orientation towards nuclear safety as well.

Haworth handed the job to Herbert Kouts of the Nuclear Engineering Department, who, in turn, named his assistant, Kenneth Downes, as project manager. (BNL shied away from the other request for the lab to assume "central responsibility for the technical aspects of reactor safety.") Downes assembled a team including members from the reactor engineering (to determine what and how much radioactive material could be released), meteorology (to determine its possible distribution), health physics, and medical departments (to determine how much injury the material could cause). On 26 September, E. L. Van Horn, the AEC area manager, gave the team final authorization to proceed.

Conflicts soon arose between the scientific research agenda of the BNL team and the political agenda of the AEC. One was known as the "25 r" problem. Downes asked the AEC for a figure for radiation exposure below which individuals would not be considered injured, and therefore would not receive compensation. He suggested 25 roentgens, a figure mentioned for years but which he had never seen written down. Reluctant to commit itself in print to a number, the AEC balked. When Downes refused to proceed without a number, the AEC agreed on 25 r (the figure is still in use). Another conflict arose over use of "fallout," an emotion-ally charged word in the mid-1950s, as discussed below. The AEC wanted a substitute term, a ruse some BNL scientists denounced as "inane." This round was won by the AEC when

Downes agreed to use locutions like “deposition.” The most serious dispute, however, came over AEC pressure to state the probability for a worst-case scenario. In the absence of a definite probability, the actuarial problem—the ultimate motivation for the study—could not be completely resolved. The BNL team, deciding the probability was “extremely low,” found no scientific basis for pinning it to a number, and refused to commit itself in the final document, provoking heated criticism from AEC officials.

The study, “Theoretical Consequences of Major Accidents in Large Nuclear Power Plants,” is universally known by its AEC publication number, “WASH-740.” It envisions the possibility of an accident to a reactor of about two hundred megawatts (then considered large), located 30 miles upwind of a major city. The report considers three kinds of accidents: in a “contained” case, all the radioactive materials escape from the core, but none escape the containment building; in a “volatile release” case, all volatile fission products and 1 percent of the strontium escape the containment building; in the worst case, which they admitted was highly improbable, 50 percent of all fission products in the reactor escape. In their deliberately pessimistic scenario, as many as 3,400 people could be killed and 43,000 injured, with possible property damage as high as \$7 billion. Nevertheless, the authors state, “this study does not set an upper limit for the potential damages; there is no known way at present to do this.”⁸

The BNL scientists realized that preventing runaways was a serious problem, but that a worse danger existed in the form of a “fuel meltdown.” The fission process inside each reactor generates a large amount of heat which must be dissipated. If the coolant system fails and the heat is not removed, the fuel might melt and burn its way through the containment vessel to the ground, possibly leading to an enormous release of radioactive materials. (In later years, this problem was called the “China Syndrome” for the direction in which the molten material was headed). Indeed, the authors state that of all possible mechanisms of fission product release a meltdown is the “most likely to occur.”⁹ While many nuclear engineers knew of this potential problem, the BNL report made many others, less familiar with reactors, aware for the first time of this kind of threat.

After receiving the WASH-740 report on 15 March 1957, the AEC sent it to the Joint Committee, which had begun a new push for a bill providing federal liability insurance for the nuclear power industry. Hearings started on 25 March. The ensuing Price-Anderson Act of 1957 did not seek fully to cover the worst-case scenario of WASH-740 (which might have been too costly for Congress to swallow), but only more modest accidents. It required reactor operators to purchase the maximum amount of coverage offered by private insurance carriers—about \$60 million, making the operators eligible for a federal insurance program providing additional coverage of up to \$500 million. The coverage extended to contractors and subcontractors who otherwise might be held liable. If damages of an accident exceeded \$560 million, claimants were out of luck. Despite the gap between worst-case

estimates and available coverage, the mere knowledge that a scientific study existed helped the bill sail through Congress. When the Joint Committee voted to report the bill on 9 May, the only opponent was Rep. Chet Holifield, of California, who objected to the extravagant and unusual subsidy provided the nuclear power industry, and made liberal use of WASH-740 in his criticisms. Nevertheless, the Price-Anderson Act passed the House by voice vote and the Senate without debate, and was signed into law on 2 September 1957. Thus was laid the groundwork for the nuclear power industry. Few outside the industry realized its significance; virtually the only national periodical to mark Price-Anderson's passage was, appropriately, *Business Week*.¹⁰

Eventually, the critical role Price-Anderson played became clear to opponents of nuclear power, who began to use the BNL study as ammunition, noting the gap between the worst-case scenario and the available insurance. "The 1957 Brookhaven Report has been a serious public relations liability in the promotion of nuclear power installations," declared *The Nation*¹¹; the study was brought up throughout the 1980s in debates over the Shoreham nuclear power plant.

More ammunition for anti-nuclear critics was provided by the AEC's aborted attempt to revise WASH-740, in 1964. The AEC hoped that new safety measures in reactors would lower damage estimates, making Price-Anderson less controversial in anticipation of its expiration in 1967. On 21 July 1964, BNL's director, Maurice Goldhaber, received a letter announcing the AEC's interest in reexamining and updating the WASH-740 study, "to put the technical aspects of potential major reactor accidents in the most realistic perspective possible based on currently available information." However, the new procedure would be different. BNL scientists would write only a "semifinal draft report," to be handed to a "steering committee" organized by the AEC to "develop a final draft of the report which would most adequately correspond to the detailed needs of the Commission."¹²

Once again, Downes was made project manager. Early discussions anticipated completion of the final report by 31 December 1964, but "the detailed needs of the Commission" intervened. On 21 October, the steering committee met with Downes' team to hear the preliminary results, and did not like what it heard. Downes said that the new safety features made no difference in the worst-case scenario, and that the new figures were essentially the same as the old, but scaled up because large reactors, in 1964, were some five times the size of large reactors in 1956. Far from lowering the numbers, Downes said, in the updated study "the results were frightening."¹³ In the worst-case scenario, 45,000 fatalities were envisioned, and property damage was estimated at as much as forty times higher than the previous figure of \$7 billion. After months of discussion, the AEC decided not to continue work on the BNL draft, which later led to accusations of a cover-up by the Commission.

In the 1979 movie, *The China Syndrome*, the protagonists first learned what the title phrase meant, when a "physics professor" defined it as a meltdown accident that could "render an area the size of Pennsylvania permanently

uninhabitable.” The professor’s speech paraphrased part of the WASH-740 update,¹⁴ and he thus effectively served as the mouthpiece for BNL research.

Another episode in which BNL’s research brought it unwittingly into the political arena occurred when several members of the medical department became involved in the study and treatment of fallout victims. As a civilian research institution BNL took no part in the development of atomic weapons, a joint effort of the AEC and the Department of Defense. Nevertheless, the AEC turned to BNL for help following a nuclear mishap in the course of its atomic testing program which spread fallout over inhabited areas of the Marshall Islands. Fallout is radioactive debris from an atomic explosion, produced when the bomb blast digs up surface dirt, coral, and other matter, contaminates it, and throws it into the skies where weather conditions can distribute it over a large area. Japanese survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were exposed to the direct effects of radiation from high-altitude blasts, but little from fallout. Thus, not much was known about the long-term effects of fallout.

On 1 March 1954, however, the first deliverable thermonuclear (“hydrogen”) bomb, code-named “Bravo,” was detonated as part of the testing program on Bikini Island. In purely military terms, the test was wildly successful, with a 15-megaton yield, three times greater than expected and nearly a thousand times the force of the bombs that destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki, only nine years before.¹⁵ Soon it was apparent that, in other respects, the test was disastrous, producing far more fallout than anticipated. Instrumental problems, confusing messages, and delayed data reception misled officials into thinking that populated areas were not in danger. By midnight, however, it became clear that inhabited areas had been exposed to high levels of radiation. The next day, military personnel were evacuated from a weather station at Rongerik, 135 miles east of Bikini, and evacuations were ordered for the native populations of that atoll and others nearby. On 3 and 4 March, destroyers picked up Marshallese inhabitants on Rongelap (64 individuals), Ailingnae (18), and Utirik (154), and transferred them to Kwajalein Island. Some had been exposed to radiation for more than two days.¹⁶

An emergency medical research team, jointly sponsored by the AEC and the Defense Department, was quickly dispatched to the area, reaching Kwajalein on 8 March. Its mission was to study effects of the exposure to fallout and carry out needed treatment. The 21-person team was headed by Eugene P. Cronkite of the Naval Medical Research Institute, later a BNL employee; two other future BNL scientists on the team were Robert Conard, also of the Institute, and Victor Bond, of the Naval Radiological Defense Laboratory.

The Utirik inhabitants were found free of symptoms of radiation sickness, and were returned to their island in June. Those from Rongelap and Ailinginae were less fortunate. They displayed typical symptoms of radiation exposure; vomiting, nausea, diarrhea, low blood counts, temporary hair loss, and skin lesions. For several years they had slight increases in the rates of stillbirths and miscarriages; their islands were uninhabitable until 1957.

In 1954, Cronkite and Bond left the Navy to pursue studies of the

biological effects of radiation at BNL; Conard joined them in 1956. That year, the AEC contracted for BNL to take over responsibility for examination of the Marshallese, and Conard became project head, a position he held until 1979.¹⁷ BNL not only had three members of the original research team on its staff, but was outfitted to study radiation and its effects in a variety of contexts. When project members built a 21-ton steel room furnished with instrumentation for measuring whole-body radiation, and shipped it to the Marshall Islands via the Panama Canal, the laboratory had the facilities needed for this job as well for the study of dietary effects of food consumed by the Marshallese.

No fatalities had occurred among the Marshallese at the time BNL assumed responsibility for the project, two years after the accident, and it seemed that the effects of fallout had largely disappeared; Conard reassured the islanders that the danger had passed. Studies of Japanese survivors, however, revealed an increase in susceptibility to cancer, and the medical team drew up plans for long-term care and study of the Marshallese, recommending that annual examinations be continued indefinitely. Thus began BNL's commitment, still in effect, to examination of the Marshallese.¹⁸ Also participating was the BNL Safety and Environmental Protection Division, which carried out extensive radiological surveys of the Marshall Islands affected by fallout. Their findings have been an important adjunct to the medical evaluation and treatment of Marshallese on the contaminated islands.

The extent of ignorance about the effects of fallout eventually was revealed. Unexpectedly, beginning about a decade after the accident, many Marshallese began to develop thyroid abnormalities including reduced function, tumors benign and malignant, and stunted growth in children. Previously, the principal source of danger to the thyroid gland from fallout was thought to be the isotope iodine-131. The BNL medical team now realized that a number of other extremely short-lived iodine isotopes were present, which also had harmful long-term effects, and that a range of thyroid abnormalities besides cancer could result. Many Marshallese required thyroid operations, which were carried out in the United States beginning in 1965. From then on, Marshallese were brought almost yearly to this country, first to BNL for extensive work-ups, and then to hospitals in Boston or Cleveland for the operation.

In addition to difficulties in conducting examinations because of the language barrier and cultural differences, the BNL medical team encountered other obstacles. Its AEC mandate was research oriented, limited to examination and treatment of people exposed to fallout. However, primary health care of the Islanders, ordinarily a responsibility of local health authorities, proved inadequate. The BNL team attempted to fill the void by increasing medical care, at the time of its visits, to the extent possible within the time and fiscal limitations. Islanders not exposed to the fallout were included in the examinations, and a BNL-sponsored resident physician was placed in the Marshalls. Nevertheless, a wide gap remained between the needs of the inhabitants and the treatment the BNL team could provide.

Another obstacle was political tensions created by the accident, and the

Marshallese victims soon found themselves pawns in a game played by others. In December 1971, a fact-finding team of Japanese, invited by a member of the Marshallese Congress representing Rongelap, arrived in the islands but was refused admission to Rongelap for lack of proper visas. Marshallese politicians were understandably angered. The following March, when the BNL medical team arrived to perform its annual medical checkup, the same representative advised the inhabitants not to participate and the examinations could not be carried out. One Rongalapese told a reporter, “We are very sorry we’re not allowed to see the doctors. I am not sure why but we are afraid of our leaders.”¹⁹

Later that year, Lekoj Anjain, of Rongelap, a man who had missed the examination, grew ill of leukemia and died of causes probably related to radiation exposure. Though his illness still might have been fatal, earlier examination might caught it and extended his life. Nevertheless, the fatality, the first among the Marshallese attributable to fallout, contributed to the climate of suspicion. Accusations (unsubstantiated) were lodged that the U.S. deliberately had exposed the islanders, with BNL doctors part of the conspiracy. Conard’s reassuring statements that the danger had passed, made before discovery of the thyroid abnormalities, were recalled as evidence of complicity. The BNL doctors became objects of anti-American sentiment, in and outside Micronesia.

In 1975, Nelson Anjain, magistrate of Rongelap and brother of John, returned from a visit to Japan at the invitation of an anti-nuclear-weapons organization, and, in an open letter to Conard, wrote that “you never really cared about us as people—only as a group of guinea pigs for your government’s research efforts...we want medical care from doctors who care about us...we no longer want you to come to Rongelap.” The letter said that his people wanted the kind of medical care that America provides its citizens, and that henceforth they would look to doctors who really cared, from other countries, such as Japan. In reply, an open letter from an attorney for the Micronesian Legal Service Corporation pointed out that Americans do not, on the whole, receive good health care and rarely the kind of thorough examinations provided by the BNL doctors; moreover, Japanese doctors who wanted to examine the Rongalapese had their own political agenda:

Don’t fool yourself that they [the Japanese] want to examine you because they really care. At least the Americans have a responsibility to you, since they exposed you in the first place...If they [the Japanese] would come at all, it would be more because they are interested in the research and the uniqueness of the Rongalapese, than because they care about you. Other doctors might ask payment from you in political terms.²⁰

BNL’s doctors continued to be attacked and defended for years. They, too, became pawns of a sort between the U.S. government institution responsible for the disaster, and would-be saviors of innocent victims of wicked imperialism.²¹

There is no question of the American government's culpability in the Bravo disaster and the extent of Marshallese suffering. But the mission of the BNL doctors, who were contracted by the AEC, did not include medical care except during the annual or biannual visits. It was probably inevitable that the BNL team would be viewed as the AEC's "company doctors," and that the research character of the visits would be contrasted unfavorably with the genuine needs and sufferings of the Marshallese people. Nevertheless, that research—the first major study of the effects of fallout on human beings—had value that included but also reached beyond treatment of the Marshallese; it helped the BNL medical department to formulate, for the first time, a comprehensive program for treatment of radiation victims. As Barton Hacker writes,

Like the American radium-dial painters of the 1920s and the Japanese of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, the Marshallese of 1954 inadvertently were to provide otherwise unobtainable data on the human consequences of high radiation exposures.²²

Meanwhile, public attention to Bravo fallout victims had political repercussions. Though testing in the Pacific had gone on since 1946, public concern mounted after Bravo. A moratorium on testing in the Pacific was announced in 1958, and the Limited Test-Ban Treaty was signed five years later.

The BNL studies of the Marshallese Islanders were but a small part of a much larger research program carried out in these years by the biology, the health physics, and medical departments. Other important contributions dealt with the effects of irradiation on organisms (such as studies of the relation between radiation-induced and natural aging that shed light on both processes); the extensive use of radioisotopes to unravel normal biological processes (studies of enzyme action); and radioactive substances (synthesis of human insulin).²³

The preparation of WASH-740 and the treatment of the Marshallese each involved less than a dozen researchers who worked simultaneously on other projects at the lab, and each project occupied a small fraction of BNL's resources. Nevertheless, each inadvertently drew the lab into politically charged events. The two projects thus symbolized the growing cultural and political significance of BNL's research, which, in turn, reflected the increasing cultural and political significance of science itself in this period.

"For the Enlightenment and Benefit of Mankind:" The Cosmotron

About half of BNL's scientific and technical effort under Haworth's directorship was in the physical sciences, with the rest divided between nuclear engineering and technology, and the life sciences.²⁴ And while nuclear reactors had been the reason for BNL's creation, particle accelerators played an increasingly large role in the lab's research program.

An accelerator is a device that boosts particles to high energies in electronic "racetracks" and then slams them into targets, where experimenters observe the results. Such collisions are one of the only means scientists have

to learn about the nature and behavior of particles. It might be said that smashing a particle into a target and watching what happens is the basic physics experiment, at high energies, of the twentieth century. Progress in high-energy physics has gone hand-in-hand with the development of ever larger accelerators.

Accelerators of the 1930s were tabletop devices, but by the end of the decade grew to more than a dozen feet in diameter. The Cosmotron, BNL's first large accelerator, was approved by the AEC early in 1948, and Haworth brought Collins in to head the Cosmotron Department on 1 April 1950. The machine accelerated protons in a vacuum chamber 240 feet in circumference, with four semicircular segments of 30-foot radius connected by four straight sections 11 feet in length. Surrounding the vacuum chamber like beads on a string were 288 magnets, each shaped like an eight-foot high "C" several inches thick, with the vacuum chamber placed in the open slot cut to the center. These magnets bent the paths of the protons and kept them in orbit inside the vacuum chamber. One of the 288 magnets can still be seen at BNL, standing outside the administration building of the accelerator's successor, the Alternating Gradient Synchrotron (AGS). The protons entered the machine in one of the straight sections, and were extracted for experimental purposes from another.

In committing their resources to the Cosmotron, BNL's accelerator physicists wanted to produce an instrument that would be at the cutting edge for the maximum time. Thus, they had an incentive for pushing existing technologies to the limit, and for developing innovative ones. The Cosmotron involved BNL scientists in the development of several kinds of new technologies, including the use of ferrites; their use in a project on the scale of the Cosmotron involved new dimensions of interaction between science, technology, and industry. With Collins as head of the project, and John Blewett and Kenneth Green as chief engineers, the Cosmotron was completed in 1952 at a cost of about \$7 million, with the first protons injected into the machine in March of that year. AEC Commissioner Henry D. Smyth, in a speech at the dedication ceremony that December, noted that the machine was built for "the enlightenment and benefit of mankind."

Two principal parameters of an accelerator are beam energy and intensity (how many particles per pulse). The Cosmotron was the first machine to reach an energy of 1 BeV (billion electron volts), which it did in May 1952; it surpassed 2.3 BeV in 10 June and reached its full design energy of 3 BeV in January 1954. At the beginning, the beam intensity was 10^{10} protons per pulse (each pulse was about an inch long, with pulses every few seconds); the figure rose to 10^{11} in 1960, and nearly 10^{12} by the time the machine was shut off at the end of 1966.

By itself, an accelerator is a kind of utility, whose product is high-energy particles. Its accessories are detectors, the "eyes" of an accelerator, which make particles and their behaviors "visible". Protons were extracted from the Cosmotron, slammed against targets, and fragments from the resulting

collision recorded by the detector. In accelerators of the early 1950s, there were three principal kinds of particle detection methods: emulsions, scintillators, and cloud chambers.

Emulsions are high-density photographic films. When stacked together, placed in a beam for exposure, and developed, particle paths appear as thin lines which travel from emulsion to emulsion. Emulsions were popular in the 1940s for studying cosmic rays, and though used for a while with accelerators had drawbacks: it was difficult to prepare large stacks of uniform composition, they could not easily be used with a magnet for momentum resolution, and actually tracing the tracks from emulsion to emulsion was time-consuming and tedious.²⁵

Scintillators are compounds which emit tiny flashes of light when charged particles pass through them. These were especially effective when used with electronics and computers, which allowed scintillation counters to track thousands of particles a second—an intensity which would flood emulsions and cloud chambers.²⁶

Cloud chambers were devices which, utilizing principles of cloud formation, caused condensation to form in the wake of charged particles. The narrow white lines thus created could then be photographed and measured. BNL's cloud chamber group, led by Ralph Shutt, not only turned in several major discoveries, but also pioneered in the later development of cloud chambers.²⁷

Aside from contributing to a growing body of information on properties of subatomic particles, research teams working at the Cosmotron turned in four discoveries of particular importance: the associated production of strange or "V" particles (after the fork-like tracks they left in cloud chambers); the tau-theta puzzle; resonances; and a particle called the K_L .

Strange, or "V," particles, discovered in the late 1940s in cosmic rays, had unusually long lifetimes (10^{-10} seconds, compared to 10^{-22} seconds for particles of similar type). When the Cosmotron, the first machine able to produce strange particles, was switched on, a team of cloud-chamber researchers led by Shutt discovered that strange particles were produced in pairs, a phenomenon known as "associated production."²⁸ This discovery was a major step en route to the quark model of strongly interacting particles, which developed in the next decade.

Further research into strange particles turned up two, the tau and the theta, with identical properties except for one known as parity; it was clear that their parity was different from the two separate ways in which the particles decayed. This nearly identical character of two particles ran against most of what then was known about elementary particles, and the peculiarity soon grew into an enormous difficulty known as the "tau-theta puzzle." The work which led to the tau-theta puzzle was principally done at BNL, which also played a small role in the resolution of the puzzle. In 1956, C. N. Yang, a physicist at the Institute for Advanced Studies spending the summer at BNL, and T.D. Lee of Columbia University, made the then heretical suggestion that the two particles were, indeed, identical, but that parity, a property known to

be conserved in electromagnetic and strong interactions, was not conserved in the weak interaction—the mechanism responsible for particle's decay. This suggestion was shortly confirmed,²⁹ and the two scientists shared the Nobel Prize for physics in 1957.

Resonances, which are excited states of strongly-interacting particles, occur when their components stay bound together momentarily at higher energy levels than during the normal, or “ground,” state. Atoms had been known to have excited states since around the turn of the century, and “spectroscopy” was the name given to the study of the spectral lines given off by electrons in excited states upon returning to lower ones. In the 1930s, nuclei were discovered to have excited states, giving rise to the branch of physics known as “nuclear spectroscopy.” In 1952, a team of physicists, led by Enrico Fermi, in the course of measuring how particles called pions scattered off protons at the Chicago cyclotron, discovered a puzzling rise in the cross section (a measure of the probability of interaction). However, their accelerator was not powerful enough to determine whether this rise culminated in a peak, indicating an excited state. Two BNL physicists, Luke C. L. Yuan and Seymour J. Lindenbaum, used the Cosmotron to show that there was a peak, thus confirming the discovery. Soon other resonances were discovered, many at the Cosmotron, producing the branch of “particle spectroscopy.” These resonances included two kinds of sigma particles as well as the rho meson (the first pion resonance).³⁰ This work contributed further evidence to the evolving picture of strongly interacting particles which eventually produced the quark model.

The growing understanding of strongly interacting particles led a pair of theorists, in 1955, to postulate the existence of the K_L , a neutral K meson which decayed into three pions over a relatively long time, in addition to the already known neutral K meson which decayed into two pions. This particle was discovered the next year at the Cosmotron,³¹ in a dramatic case of cooperation between experiment and theory. The discovery inaugurated the study of “particle mixtures,” opening up a new vista on the study of subatomic particles. It also helped to lead experimenters to discover a phenomenon known as CP violation, found in 1964 at the Cosmotron's successor, the AGS.

But associated production, the tau-theta puzzle, resonances, and the K_L were only the most prominent discoveries that resulted from an extensive and interdisciplinary research program. Demand for time on the Cosmotron grew. In March 1953, it was operated for two eight-hour shifts a day, five days a week. By 1961, the Cosmotron was running around the clock. Meanwhile, improvements made it possible to accommodate even more experimental teams. Until 1955, for instance, the Cosmotron could utilize only internal targets for its protons; the detectors were placed inside the machine near the beam, the machine was switched on, and the beam orbit was adjusted to move the protons onto the targets. The resulting collisions created secondary beams, which were directed to detectors. In December 1955, an external beam was installed so that protons could be extracted from the machine and directed to outside targets.

More improvements followed during an extended repair. On 5 November 1957, the Cosmotron broke down because of stresses created by mechanical motion of parts under the tremendous forces generated by the magnets. An investigation concluded, "The present design of the coil is satisfactory electrically, but is mechanically inadequate. We know of no way to repair the present end connections to produce a truly reliable coil."³² The only solution was to repair the entire machine. During the year and a half shutdown, facilities were greatly expanded: the experimental area was expanded from 5,000 to more than 25,000 square feet, and two more external beams were added.

As accelerators were built with higher and higher energies and intensities, both at BNL and elsewhere, the character of the Cosmotron research program changed. The machine was no longer at the cutting edge, and high-energy physicists began to plan their experiments elsewhere. The program now began to emphasize nuclear chemistry and low energy physics, and an even higher portion of the experimental teams was composed of groups of visitors from universities, rather than members of BNL's staff.

Early in 1965, the AEC delivered to President Lyndon B. Johnson a "Policy for National Action in the Field of High Energy Physics," which called for periodic review of older accelerators, and named four that it felt were nearing the end of their period of maximum usefulness: the Cosmotron; the Bevatron at Berkeley; the Cambridge Electron Accelerator; and the Princeton-Pennsylvania Accelerator in Princeton. The Cosmotron was tentatively scheduled for permanent shutdown at the end of FY 1967.³³

The report of a review panel, delivered 29 September 1965, concluded that the Cosmotron's research was sufficiently important to the nation's science program to continue operation until "at least 1970." The AEC overruled the panel, deciding that the Cosmotron's energy and intensity were simply too low, given the new and more powerful machines that had come on line, including BNL's own AGS (whose energy was 33 GeV). Moreover, the AEC was feeling pinched by several expensive accelerator projects looming on the horizon, including the Stanford Linear Accelerator Center (SLAC), the Los Alamos Meson Physics facility (LAMP), and a new 200-BeV accelerator on the drawing board. BNL officials looked for alternate funding sources (the Cosmotron's operating budget was \$3 million per year), but on 14 March 1966, AEC chairman Glenn T. Seaborg informed AUI president T. Keith Glennan that "we have regretfully concluded that Cosmotron operations should be curtailed in an orderly fashion as soon as possible and not later than the end of FY 1967."³⁴

More than the Cosmotron had become outdated; an entire "way of life" of accelerator instruments and methods had passed in the fourteen years since its beginning. All detection methods in use when the machine first came on line had been superseded. By the mid-1960s, emulsions were used only for specialized purposes. Many functions of scintillation counters had been taken over by spark chambers, which produced electronic signals directly, without the medium of light, and cloud chambers were largely superseded by bubble chambers, in which the particles left their tracks in liquid instead of air; the first

high-energy bubble chamber experiment was done on the Cosmotron in 1957.³⁵

The Cosmotron ceased operation at the end of the night shift on Saturday, 31 December 1966, at 7:00 a.m. Someone located Blewett and Collins to tell them the final moment was at hand. “There was no ceremony,” Collins recalls. “John Blewett and I just stood there watching the guy in the control room shut it off. The last switch was flipped. Someone said, ‘Amen.’ That was it.”³⁶

“The Pile:” The Brookhaven Graphite Research Reactor

A reactor is a device to create and control a nuclear chain reaction, a process accompanied by the release of energy and neutrons. Nuclear power plants exploit the energy for power generation, research reactors exploit the neutrons for scientific purposes. The BGRR, the first reactor built exclusively for research, consisted of a pile of graphite blocks stacked, uncemented, in a cube 25 feet per side (hence the reason reactors were called “piles”). Uranium fuel rods were inserted and withdrawn from holes in the south face, while control rods entered the reactor at two corners.

Like the Cosmotron, the BGRR was a kind of utility, with neutrons as its product. The two principal parameters of a reactor are its power level, or the total energy released, and its flux, or the number of neutrons per square centimeter per second. Initially, the BGRR ran at 30 megawatts, but problems developed with the uranium fuel rods, which periodically ruptured under the heat. The reactor’s power was lowered, first to 28, then to 24 megawatts, at which the uranium was cool enough to eliminate the problem. At this power, the BGRR’s neutron flux was 4×10^{12} neutrons per square centimeter per second. Experimenters acquired information about the reactor’s operation from a blackboard posted near the northeast corner of the pile, which read:

REACTOR
OPERATING at
MEGAWATTS
NEXT
SHUTDOWN

Different experimental groups utilized neutrons in a variety of different ways, including the study of condensed matter, the nucleus, and particles; the study of the effects of irradiation on materials and organisms; the development of nuclear tools and techniques; and the development of nuclear engineering methods.

In the study of condensed matter, the nucleus, and particles, experimenters brought beams of neutrons into experimental areas outside the reactor, separated the neutrons by energy, caused those of a specific energy to interact with different kinds of materials, and observed the results. To separate the neutrons by energy experimenters used two basic kinds of accessories, “spectrometers” and “choppers.” A spectrometer consisted of a crystal which when struck by a beam of neutrons caused them to fan out in a continuous

stream according to energy, similar to the way a prism causes a beam of light to spread out into its components. Choppers, used to separate neutrons of higher energies, were developed by Donald Hughes, who had worked as a graduate student at the University of Chicago and was an assistant director of the Manhattan Project. They consisted of rotating steel drums, transversed by slots, that spun at high velocity. When a chopper was put in a neutron beam, the slot would open and shut thousands of times a second. During the brief time the slot was open, only those neutrons moving sufficiently swiftly to get all the way through could continue; the rest were absorbed in the steel. A chopper thus created bursts of neutrons with a high, precisely defined energy.³⁷

Valuable information was produced by studying how neutrons of different energies interact with matter. Hughes was able to make very precise measurements of neutron cross sections; a cross section is simply the probability of interaction between one thing and another. Because the probability of interaction of neutrons with most things was so high compared to that of other particles, neutron cross sections were measured, jokingly but universally, in units called “barns,” inspired by the idea that using them was as easy as shooting at the broad side of a barn. Knowledge of cross sections is extremely important for research and engineering; a large cross-section for low-energy neutrons in cadmium made it an excellent filter in neutron research, for instance. Another large cross section in xenon was famous because the thirst for neutrons of this fission byproduct threatened to kill the reaction in early piles. Hughes soon realized the importance of collecting and collating all known data on nuclear cross sections, and issued a BNL report, the “Barn Book,” on the subject.³⁸ The first edition was distributed at the first Atoms for Peace conference in Geneva in August 1955, and periodically revised thereafter. While BNL was the center for cross-section research in the 1950s, in the next decade accelerator-based sources began to offer better resolution and intensities, with much of the work done at Oak Ridge. However, BNL still has a National Nuclear Data Compilation Center. Other important neutron work at BNL on condensed matter, the nucleus, and particles included studies of the “cloudy crystal ball” nuclear model, magnetic moments, the lattice structure of solids, and Harry Palevsky’s critical scattering of neutrons, which led to advances in neutron scattering theory.

Experimenters at the BGRR had several means for studying effects of irradiation on materials and organisms. Two tunnels ran underneath the reactor for the irradiation of animals and equipment. Smaller objects could be placed in containers and inserted into the pile, either in holes or loops that circulated material continuously through the reactor. Irradiation was one means of simulating the effect of wear on metal, and irradiation of piston rings at the BGRR helped lead to the development of multi-grade motor oils currently used by automobiles. Not all such uses were scientific; neutron bombardment was a means used by art scholars to examine the composition of paint, while several jewelry merchants contracted with BNL to irradiate diamonds, which turn color following exposure to neutrons.

The BGRR was also used to develop nuclear tools and techniques. New kinds of radioisotopes and new means for producing them were developed. BNL supplied radiosodium, for instance, to the Harvard Medical school; the material was irradiated early in the morning, removed from the reactor at 6 a.m., flown to Boston by private plane, and used before noon. BNL also developed “generators” for radioisotopes; devices which could be “milked” by a hospital or research organization so that the radioisotope need not be shipped directly. In August 1954, BNL shipped its first generator (of iodine-132) to the Mayo Clinic in Minnesota. BNL’s development of one radioisotope, technetium-99m, proved so useful for research and clinical purposes that five companies requested that the laboratory stop distributing generators so they could take over the business.

The Nuclear Engineering Department had a facility on the top of the reactor where large areas could be exposed to neutrons. One group, led by Herbert Kouts, performed studies on shielding which became important in the design of nuclear submarine reactors. Kouts’s group also used the top of the BGRR to explore the behavior of different arrangements of uranium rods in water for possible reactor designs; meanwhile, researchers at the Oak Ridge and Argonne laboratories pursued other ideas. Eventually, water-moderated reactors proved most efficient, and the work of Kouts’s group was embodied in the Shippingport and Yankee Atomic Power reactors, and virtually every commercial power reactor since.

In 1958, the BGRR was converted over a period of time to a new kind of fuel—enriched uranium, with a higher proportion of uranium-235 than exists in nature. This conversion allowed the reactor to create a higher neutron flux— 2×10^{13} neutrons per square centimeter per second—at lower power (20 megawatts). In 1959, the Medical Research Reactor (MRR) was completed to take over applications of reactors to health studies and relieve pressure on the BGRR’s facilities; its flux was 2×10^{13} neutrons per square centimeter per second. Two of the MRR’s four faces were connected through ports to treatment rooms, a third opened on to an area for exposing large objects, and the fourth contained holes for inserting samples for irradiation and isotope production. But the BGRR’s doom was sealed in 1965, when another reactor of a more advanced design was completed at BNL, the High Flux Beam Reactor (HFBR), with a flux of 1.6×10^{15} neutrons per square centimeter per second at 40 megawatts and 2.4×10^{15} at 60 megawatts. Experiments could be done much faster and more efficiently on the new reactor, and use of the BGRR began to decline.

On 10 June 1968, the machine was put on a stand-by basis. Someone wrote on the blackboard:

6-10-68

REACTOR
OPERATING at
0 MEGAWATTS
NEXT
SHUTDOWN — The Endless Sleep

But the reports of my death, the machine might have objected, were exaggerated; a few months later the BGRR was turned on again in an experiment involving a continuously circulating loop through the reactor, a test project for the use of nuclear energy to facilitate certain chemical reactions. But it was not too much of an exaggeration, for the reactor soon was shut down for good, "The Endless Sleep" once more written on the blackboard; it can still be seen as part of the BGRR display in the Exhibit Center (the display also includes Hughes's fast chopper). In 1986, the BGRR was designated a Nuclear Historic Landmark by the American Nuclear Society, and a bronze commemorative plaque installed on the reactor's south face.

Though the Cosmotron and the BGRR were the laboratory's two principal scientific instruments, a large part of the scientific program involved neither, but consisted of experiments utilizing smaller instrumentation or experiments conceived at BNL and carried out at other facilities. To mention only one, David Alburger, of the Physics Department, in 1959, used equipment built at BNL for an accelerator at Oak Ridge, which, unlike the Cosmotron, was equipped to accelerate helium nuclei. Alburger demonstrated that three helium nuclei can combine to form a stable form of carbon; the British astronomer Fred Hoyle had predicted such a mechanism to explain how stars called "red giants" produce energy, converting light elements into heavier ones in the process. The discovery filled in a "missing link" in scientists' understanding of the evolution of the Universe.³⁹

The Evolution of National Laboratories

The phrase "National Laboratory" had a slightly disingenuous birth certificate. In the summer of 1946, before the laboratory was in existence, AUI secretary Norman Ramsey sat down to choose a name for it. Ramsey first settled on "Brookhaven Laboratory," whose misleading connotations of "quiet, shady streams" might help offset the negative image of the muddy site of the former army camp, as well as encourage recruitment. But because AUI was having problems with the Federal Government, Ramsey, almost as an afterthought, inserted the word "National," hoping to smooth over difficulties with those who would fund the institution.⁴⁰ The AEC began to distinguish between its "national" laboratories and others it funded, and the term acquired special meaning. But despite Ramsey's cunning, conflicts continued between contractors of the laboratories and the AEC.

BNL still bore the muddy marks of its Camp Upton origins. Its land consisted of two tracts on opposite sides of Rt. 25; a north tract of about 2,400 acres, for which periodic plans of development never materialized, and a southern tract of about 3,600 acres. After construction of the William Floyd Parkway in the late 1950s, on the lab's western boundary, its north and south gates were closed and a single access road opened to the west. About 100 of Camp Upton's buildings—barracks thrown up to house troops on a temporary basis—which had been pressed into service by the new laboratory, were still in use, although utterly unsatisfactory and in urgent need of

replacement. The laboratory still used parts of Camp Upton's obsolete street lighting system, along with the old telephone system, water tank, sewage system, and other infrastructural elements.

However, the lab's evolution as an institution was encouraged by the Atoms-for-Peace plan, initiated by President Dwight D. Eisenhower, in 1953, which eventually brought several benefits. The BGRR and its research were declassified on 13 December 1955. The only remaining classified information concerned the behavior of graphite under radiation; the building's only classified space was one of the storage areas. The "Iron Curtain," which had sealed off one face for experimenters without security clearance, was removed; the security booth was eliminated; the guards at the entrance were replaced by receptionists. All that remains of the forbidding-looking security booth is a cork-shaped outline in green tile on the floor. The Atoms-for-Peace plan also relaxed restrictions on foreign visitors. Leland Haworth exulted to the AUI's executive committee, that

this is essential for Brookhaven to become a true scientific Mecca, not merely for scientists in the United States, but from all over the world. It is in everyone's interest that scientific achievement be divorced from national origin.⁴¹

Physical access to the lab became easier. Until then, all individuals were stopped at the front gate. Not that this was entirely respected; the physicist Richard Feynman was known for stepping on his accelerator when nearing the gate, speeding past the booth, sticking his head out the window and shouting at the startled guards, "It's all right, boys!" Following Atoms for Peace, the trustees contemplated leaving the laboratory entirely open, but decided not to, from the "point of view of ordinary property protection and certain responsibilities to the public arising from the existence of the reactor." They opted instead for a reception center at the gate.⁴²

In other respects, however, the freedom of the lab with respect to the AEC had begun to erode. One turning point involved the contract renewal, which expired on 30 June 1957, although provisionally extended by letter agreement. Negotiations, which had gone on since late 1955, reached a snag over, among other things, the AEC's proposal to include a list of "unallowable costs." An allowable cost is chargeable to AUI's contract with the AEC, but an unallowable one must be taken out of the fee; the idea was that anything reasonable, necessary, and proper for the performance of the work should be allowable. The AEC now wanted to specify unallowable costs, while the AUI contended that it could be trusted to incur only allowable ones, and that, in any case, the existing contract, in effect, prohibited unallowable ones. Moreover, the AUI wanted to increase the limit above which AEC approval was needed for expenses, and to obtain permission to accumulate capital so that budgetary emergencies did not bring operations to a halt.

A frustrated Lloyd Berkner, AUI's President, told the board of trustees,

There is an urgent need for a change in the attitude of the Government toward research. Excessive emphasis on financial considerations, rather than careful selection of projects to be supported or to be dropped, is the determining factor in present research administration.

The reason soon surfaced. AUI secretary Charles Dunbar reported, at the next meeting, that:

The basic problem raised by the Commission's continuing effort to impose uniform policies on all its contracts remains. This trend runs counter to the original concept of contractor operation of the national laboratories, and seriously impairs the value to the Government of that method of operation.

On 2 December, Haworth informed Kenneth Fields, the AEC's General Manager, that he felt that relations between the AUI and the AEC were deteriorating. The minutes of a later meeting report Haworth's recollection of what he said:

The principal cause of this deterioration is what appears to be a growing tendency on the part of the AEC...to force its contractor to conform to rigid government procedures of the sort set out in the AEC's own Contract Manual. This pressure for uniformity disregards the wide differences in the type of work performed by the various contractors, e.g., basic research as contrasted with production. Moreover, by thus limiting its contractor's discretion in management, the AEC displays a lack of confidence which is bound to have a deleterious effect on the whole contract method of conducting research.⁴³

Haworth reported that Fields listened with "great interest" and promised to consider the matter. At the next day's meeting, AEC representatives dropped their insistence on the inclusion of a list of unallowable costs, and on a ceiling for the accumulations from the management fee. With this, all points of conflict were substantially resolved and a draft of the agreement, approved by the Washington office of AEC, was soon received by BNL. At the executive committee meeting, Dunbar made a special point of mentioning the "highly co-operative spirit" of the negotiations, and the "recognition by both sides that mutual confidence is essential for the successful operation of the contract."

Dunbar spoke too soon. Despite receipt of the approved draft, the AEC's Washington office changed its mind and reinstated the unallowable costs. In mid-January, Haworth reported to the trustees that Fields "conceded that these items were not important in substance but said their inclusion was highly desirable from the Commission's point of view in its dealings with other government agencies." Haworth strongly objected:

It is a violation of the underlying principles of the Brookhaven contract; namely, that the corporation be reimbursed for all costs incurred in

good faith. It is an opening wedge, quite possibly leading to other demands along the same lines.

The board voted to execute the modifications as previously decided, but continued AEC pressure eventually forced AUI to capitulate.⁴⁴

A potentially more far-reaching development, whose implications were not recognized at the time, involved liability. In the beginning, the AEC indemnified its contractors of laboratories. For example, it recognized that AUI was a non-profit organization with no assets, existing solely for the purpose of managing the laboratory, and assumed liability for most of its acts. "The Commission and the Contractor recognize that, in part, this work involves unusual, unpredictable, and abnormal risk," and that therefore the government would indemnify AUI except in cases of "bad faith or willful misconduct." Similar clauses were placed in other administrative contracts.

In 1958, however, a change in the status of the indemnity which, though apparently favorable to the contractors, turned out in the long run to be detrimental. The change came at the initiative of the AEC, which had intended to use the Price-Anderson Act to provide BNL with a similar kind of protection that it intended providing to utilities. The AEC's 1957 contract with AUI, executed before the passage of Price-Anderson, clearly anticipates doing so.⁴⁵ Following passage of Price-Anderson, the AEC approached the trustees to work it out. The trustees saw nothing wrong, and on 17 October, 1958, the executive committee decided that "a properly worded amendment to the contract providing for indemnity in accordance with the Price-Anderson Act would be satisfactory." It was decided to use it also as a vehicle for the indemnification of the national laboratories. The laboratories seemed to benefit tremendously, because coverage provided by Price-Anderson was more comprehensive, and the indemnification was backed up by the federal government rather than only the AEC. The trustees gave final approval on 19 December 1958.

It was a Faustian bargain. As the bloom began to wear off the nuclear power industry, critics began to attack Price-Anderson, correctly perceiving it as providing a unique and huge hidden subsidy for, and protection of, the industry. As protection of the nuclear power industry came under attack, so, inadvertently, did that of the national labs. In 1965, the Act was brought up for renewal and survived, despite stirrings of protest; in 1976, a pitched battle was fought over its renewal. When it came up for renewal in 1987, the matter of liability was further complicated by the beginnings of a series of scandals involving disposal of nuclear wastes at government-run nuclear weapons production plants. It was bad enough that BNL and other basic research labs had been in the same boat as the nuclear power industry regarding liability; now they found themselves in the same boat with another controversial institution, the weapons producers. The basic research labs survived this latest renewal because in the bill they are given "exceptional status," but one that is proving ever more difficult to preserve.

Haworth's Departure

Haworth's last year and a half at BNL were marked by personal troubles. He developed cancer of the colon, for which he had an operation on 18 November 1959. The prospect left him terribly depressed; "I don't know whether I'll ever see you again," this normally optimistic man told an associate the night before. Moreover, his wife, Barbara Mottier, was also severely ill and wheelchair-bound; she died on 6 February 1961.

Ten days later, Haworth attended a meeting at the National Science Foundation.⁴⁶ After the meeting, Haworth called on Glenn Seaborg, a physicist from the University of California at Berkeley, winner of the Nobel Prize in Chemistry for 1951, and the man whom the newly-inaugurated John F. Kennedy had appointed to be the new Chairman of the AEC. To fill another vacancy on the 5-member AEC, Kennedy asked Seaborg to recommend a "young scientist" whose experience on the Commission could serve as background for a future position in government for which scientific expertise was important. The President was also concerned because the AEC's reputation and influence in Congress had eroded in the preceding few years, partly because of bitter feuding between a previous Chairman, Lewis L. Strauss, and key members of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy (including Clinton Anderson). Moreover, the AEC faced looming battles with Congress concerning the atomic energy program and projects involving large accelerators. Seaborg realized that the job called for someone with administrative experience, and with expertise both in nuclear reactors and accelerators—and thought of Leland Haworth.

"He had the combination that I wanted," says Seaborg. "He was an effective administrator, a soundly based scientist, and had an effective personality—the very qualities that had made him so effective as director of Brookhaven."⁴⁷ Seaborg broached the subject to Haworth, who was ready for a change. Intrigued with the challenge presented by an agency with so large an impact on supporting research throughout the United States, even though it meant relocation and a substantial cut in salary, he resigned as director of Brookhaven National Laboratory, effective 1 April 1961. Haworth's deputy, Gerald Tape, became acting director.

While Haworth was not a "young scientist" (he was 56), he was an ideal candidate because of his knowledge of nuclear reactors and his extensive experience as a manager. During the two years he served at the AEC, he was, among other activities, the chief architect of "Civilian Nuclear Power—a Report to the President," which had a long-range influence on the development of nuclear power in this country.⁴⁸ Haworth did exactly what Kennedy had in mind, moving on in 1963 to become director of the National Science Foundation. (Tape again became Haworth's replacement, this time at the AEC.)

In a resolution thanking Haworth for his services to the laboratory, the AUI trustees recalled the famous epitaph of Sir Christopher Wren; "If you would seek his monument, look around." BNL was a peculiar kind of monument. Other monuments stand out by virtue of the grandeur of their

design or the materials with which they are made. Brookhaven stood out by the kinds of actions performed there. Of its two principal instruments, the one consisted mainly of iron magnets, the other of graphite blocks; the key accessories of the former consisted largely of clouds, films, and crystals, of the latter prisms and spinning steel drums. Yet BNL scientists had managed to tease from such equipment performances that revealed new features of the structure and behavior of matter, the birth and evolution of the universe, and the behavior and development of life.

In little over a dozen years, BNL had gone from a still mud-splattered army camp to a world-class laboratory. The next article will focus on the two new instruments—BNL's second generation—whose construction Haworth oversaw, and which came into operation just as he left, the Alternating Gradient Synchrotron (AGS) and the High Flux Beam Reactor (HFBR). These two machines, still in operation, are the true legacy of the Haworth years.

NOTES

1. Associated Universities, Inc. (AUI) served as a buffer between BNL and the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), with the aim of allowing BNL to operate with the freedom of a university while remaining dependent on federal money provided by the AEC; see Robert P. Crease, "The History of Brookhaven National Laboratory Part One: The Graphite Reactor and the Cosmotron," *LIHJ* 3 (Fall 1991): 167-88.
2. George Collins, interview with author, 29 May 1991, BNL Archives.
3. Years later, for instance, as head of the National Science Foundation, his insistence on reading every letter handed to him for a signature would be a source of frustration to assistants.
4. For the story of the Price-Anderson Act, and of the regulation of the nuclear power industry in general, see George T. Mazuzan and J. Samuel Walker, *Controlling the Atom: The Beginnings of Nuclear Regulation 1946-1962* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1984).
5. Clinton P. Anderson to K.E. Fields, 6 July 1956, BNL Director's Office (Haworth) files, Series III, Folder 17.
6. Louis H. Roddis, Jr. to Leland J. Haworth, 29 August 1956, BNL Director's Office (Haworth) files, Series III, Folder 17.
7. For the evolution of this approach to nuclear power plant safety, see Spencer R. Weart, *Nuclear Fear: A History of Images* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1988), 284-85, 292-93.
8. "Theoretical Consequences of Major Accidents in Large Nuclear Power Plants: A Study of Possible Consequences if Certain Assumed Accidents, Theoretically Possible but Highly Improbable, Were to Occur in Large Nuclear Power Plants," United States Atomic Energy Commission, March 1957, WASH-740, 2.
9. *Ibid.*, 23.
10. *Business Week*, 24 August 1957, 124.
11. David Pesonen, *The Nation*, 18 October 1965, 245.
12. "A major reason for reconsidering [WASH 740]," states an AEC memorandum, "was that many people feel that new estimates will be lower" (memo, Albert P. Kenneke to Steering Committee, 9 February 1965, 4, cited in Daniel Ford, *The Cult of The Atom* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982), 68; Clifford K. Beck to Maurice Goldhaber, 21 July 1964, BNL archives file, Nuclear Engineering Department, 1964-1965.
13. Steering Committee Minutes, 21 October 1964, cited in Ford, *ibid.*, 69.
14. Memo, Albert P. Kenneke *re* minutes of steering committee on WASH-740 revision, 28

January 1965, 12 February 1965, 11, cited in Ford, *ibid*, 69-70.

15. For the test program, see Richard G. Hewlett and Jack M. Holl, *Atoms for Peace and War 1953-1961: Eisenhower and the Atomic Energy Commission* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1989); Barton C. Hacker, *The Dragon's Tail: Radiation Safety in the Manhattan Project, 1942-1946* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1987); Hacker, *Elements of Controversy: A History of Radiation Safety in the Nuclear Testing Program*, unpublished ms.; Neal O. Hines, *Proving Ground: An Account of the Radiobiological Studies in the Pacific: 1946-1961* (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1962).

16. Marshallese and American personnel were not the only fallout victims. Unbeknownst for two weeks to the military and the public, a Japanese fishing vessel with 23 crew members, the *Lucky Dragon*, was in the way of the unexpectedly long plume of fallout, which covered the craft with a white, snow-like substance; its crew displayed symptoms of radiation sickness (see Ralph E. Lapp, *The Voyage of the Lucky Dragon* (New York: Harper, 1957)).

17. Since Conard's retirement in 1979, examinations have continued at Brookhaven, directed by William Adams who still is in charge, though he also works half-time at Harlem Hospital.

18. Robert A. Conard, "Fallout: The Experiences of a Medical Team in the Care of a Marshallese Population Accidentally Exposed to Fallout Radiation," BNL Report, forthcoming.

19. "TO A.E.C. MEDICAL TEAM: We are sorry the people on Rongelap were not able to cooperate with the A.E.C. medical team in the examinations this year. We were advised not to cooperate by our Congressman" (Memo, Rongelap Council, 16 March 1972); Mike Malone, "Administration Medical Team Help Refused," *Pacific Daily News*, 28 March 1972.

20. N. Anjain to R. A. Conard, *Micronesian Independent*, 25 April 1975; Chips Barry to Nelson Anjain, 29 April 1975.

21. For criticism of BNL's program, see Konrad Kotrady (a Brookhaven-sponsored doctor who, for a short time, cared for the Marshallese), "The Brookhaven Medical Program to Detect Radiation Effects in the Marshallese People: A Comparison of the Peoples' vs. the Program's Attitude," unpublished, referred to in another pertinent work, Jane Dibblin, *Day of Two Suns* (London: Virago Press, 1988). Dibblin juxtaposes quotations from Conard's scientific reports with anecdotal accounts of the horrible after-effects of exposure to portray BNL doctors as cold, unfeeling, and interested only in research and technical aspects of the project.

22. Barton C. Hacker, chapter on the Castle tests, *Elements of Controversy: The Atomic Energy Commission and Radiation Safety in Nuclear Weapons Testing, 1947-1974*, forthcoming. I am grateful to Barton C. Hacker for letting me see the manuscript.

23. H. J. Curtis, "The Somaticutation Theory of Aging," in R. Kastenbaum, ed., *Contributions to the Psychobiology of Aging* (New York: Springer, 1965), 69-90; D. E. Koshland, Jr., "Correlation of Structure and Function in Enzyme Action," *Science* 142 (1963): 1533-41; P. G. Katsoyannis, "Synthesis of Insulin." *Science* 154 (1966), 1509-14.

24. See Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, "The Future Role of the Atomic Energy Commission Laboratories," October 1960.

25. For the history of emulsions, see H. Yagoda, "The Tracks of Nuclear Particles," *Scientific American* 194 (May 1956), 40-47.

26. See G. Collins, "Scintillation Counters," *Scientific American* 189 (May 1953), 36-41.

27. R. P. Shutt, "Cloud Chambers: Expansion and Diffusion," *Nuclear Instruments and Methods* 162 (1979): 379-88

28. W. B. Fowler, R. P. Shutt, A. M. Thorndike, and W. L. Whittemore, *Physical Review* 91 (1953): 1287.

29. C. N. Yang and T. D. Lee, "Question of Parity Conservation in Weak Interactions," *Physical Review* 106 (1957): 1371 (Dr. Yang is Einstein Professor and Director of the Institute for Theoretical Physics, USB); for the confirmation, see Wu, C. S., Ambler, E., Hayward, R. W., Hoppes, D. D., and Hudson, R. P. *Physical Review* 105 (1957): 1413.

30. A. R. Erwin, R. March, W. D. Walker and E. West, *Physical Review Letters* 6 (1961): 628.
31. K. Landé et al, *Physical Review* 103 (1956): 1901.
32. "Investigation of Cosmotron Coil Failure of Nov. 5, 1957," 25 November 1957, Director's Office files, BNR archives.
33. "Policy for National Action in the Field of High Energy Physics," U. S. Atomic Energy Commission, Washington, D.C., 24 January 1965.
34. Report of the Cosmotron Review Committee; Glenn T. Seaborg to T. Keith Glennan, 14 March 1966, BNL archives.
35. J. Brown, D. Glaser, M. Perl, J. van der Velde, *Physical Review* 107 (1957): 906.
36. George Collins, interview with author, 29 May 1991, BNL Archives.
37. For a while Hughes headed the Nuclear Physics Division at Argonne, until in 1949 he had a dispute with the director over the support of basic research and came to BNL; F. G. P. Seidl, D. J. Hughes, H. Palevsky, J. Levin, W. Y. Kato, and N. G. Sjöstrand, *Physical Review* 95 (1954): 476.
38. A barn is 10^{24} square centimeters per nucleus; *Neutron Cross Sections*, Brookhaven National Laboratory, Upton, NY, BNL 325.
39. David E. Alburger, "7.656-Mev E_0 Transition in C^{12} ," *Physical Review Letters* 3:6 (1959): 280-81; *New York Times* 4 October 1959, sec. E.
40. Norman F. Ramsey, "Early History of Associated Universities and Brookhaven national Laboratory," 30 March 1966, Brookhaven National Laboratory BNL 992, 7.
41. Minutes of the Executive Committee of Associated Universities, Inc., 14 February 1955.
42. *Ibid.*, 15 April 1955.
43. *Ibid.*, 18 October, 15 November, and 13 December 1957.
44. Currently, there are 30 categories of nonallowable costs in the contract.
45. "The foregoing provisions of this Article IX are agreed upon by the parties hereto without prejudice to their right to, and in contemplation of the possibility that they may, enter into an agreement or agreements of indemnification under Subsection 170 (d) of the Atomic Energy Act" (paragraph 4, Article IX, 1957 contract).
46. The meeting concerned AUT's participation in the National Radio Astronomy Observatory, in West Virginia, another narrative that intersects with Brookhaven's history; see Allan A. Needell, "Lloyd Berkner, Merle Tuve, and the Federal Role in Radio Astronomy," *Osiris* 3 (1987): 261-288.
47. Glenn Seaborg to the author, 8 January 1992. Seaborg was called by Kennedy on 9 January, and sworn in on 1 March.
48. "Civillian Nuclear Power—A Report to the President," in Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, *Nuclear Power Economics—1962 through 1967*, 99-167.

Fundamentals of Archives

By Geri Solomon

The word *archives* refers to unique collections of documents which are historically significant. The materials housed in archives can include organizational papers such as articles of incorporation, charters, and bylaws, or business records, land records, and financial documents. Other possibilities include faculty research papers, student class notes, photographic materials, audiotapes, videos, diaries, and correspondence. Whatever is collected is a reflection of some aspect of the organization for which it is being collected, and can be useful to historians, genealogists, students, or the institution itself to answer questions about that institution in an historical context.

At Hofstra University, the archives house the non-current records of the administration, selected faculty papers, student print materials and club memorabilia, as well as documents donated by alumni. In addition, many print materials that suggest the breadth and scope of the events that occur on campus are collected by the University Archives. The records now comprise approximately nine hundred cubic feet of materials including photographic images, audio and video tapes, as well as subject files and individual documents that span the institution's fifty-six year history and describe its impact on the surrounding geographic area.

Hofstra's location in the center of Nassau County, the use of the campus for cultural events and programs, and the institution's educational focus give the archival collection depth and relevance far beyond merely an institutional history. As the site for political campaign stop-overs, 1960s seminars about drug use and the Vietnam War, Presidential Conferences, Victory Games, Literary Conferences, and hundreds of other planned activities and spontaneous "happenings," the archives contains documentation that depicts the campus from a myriad of "eyes."

One collection that is particularly exciting is the audiotape collection. Containing over one thousand tapes of diverse people and events, the voices within that collection actually tell historical stories. Such public figures as Martin Luther King Jr., Bella Abzug, Godfrey Cambridge, Jimmy Carter, Abbie Hoffman, Abba Eban, William Kuntzler, and Brig. General Robert Scott are represented on tapes.¹ The tapes also include significant discussions on topics ranging from abortion, foreign relations, and nuclear war to access for capture a single moment in time and give life to an event that is immediately tangible.

An archives collection can help to explain how things are, or, why a particular set of historical circumstances set the stage for an event. Hofstra, for instance, was founded in 1935 as a commuter college for Long Islanders. Under the auspices of New York University, it attracted many students who, because of the Great Depression, could not afford to attend off-Island institutions. The Foundings Collection in the archives depicts the early history of Hofstra University, the activities of the students and the professors, and many other details describing the time period and the role the university played in that era.

In addition to its function as an institution of higher education on Long Island, Hofstra sought the advice of community leaders and invited several important Long Islanders to be on its board of trustees. George Estabrook, Robert Moses, and Alicia Patterson were among those significant in shaping Hofstra's early history. Estabrook, the mayor of Hempstead Village, was a logical choice to be considered part of the university's family. The phenomenon known as "town-gown" conflict historically occurs in places where colleges and universities are built. The founders of Hofstra wished to alleviate any such problem with both the town and the village of Hempstead, and with the residential community in which Hofstra was located. Estabrook's appointment to the board made good political sense. He could help Hofstra to understand Hempstead's problems, and insure Hempstead that the university would be a good neighbor. The archives contain references to "Hofstra for Hempstead Day," and programs and photographs for the annual Estabrook Awards Dinner.²

Robert Moses, a name with which most Long Islanders are familiar, left a tangible mark on the Island's physical space by building roads, parks, and bridges. Moses was also an important shaper of Hofstra's early history. The correspondence between Moses and Hofstra's president, John Cranford Adams, indicates that Moses was treated with caution and respect. Adams, the president of Hofstra from 1944 to 1962, commented in his memoirs that Moses once chided him for bringing up matters of finance that he thought were inconsequential. In reference to repairs needed at Hofstra Hall, Moses was said to exclaim, "You may replace the linoleum with gorgonzola cheese if you see fit, but never waste the time of your trustees with such trivial matters."³

Alicia Patterson brought a different perspective to Hofstra, and, as founder and editor of *Newsday*, she was an important source of media expertise. Patterson's strength of character and belief that women could accomplish any number of things were evidenced by both her career choice and her hobbies. As an avid flyer, she held the woman's aviation record from New York to Philadelphia in 1931. These characteristics served her well as a member of Hofstra's board of trustees, on which she served for nineteen years, giving generously of her time and money.⁴ Long Island and Hofstra have histories that intermingle and the archival documents saved by the university depict this interconnection.

The student body of 1935 was the first and only student body the institution had seen, therefore, any event that was started became a tradition. The economy was of great concern and this was depicted in various ways on

the campus. One example is the tradition of a "Poverty Ball." Started in 1935 and sponsored by the student newspaper, the *Chronicle*, it was held for more than twenty years. The students dressed in tattered clothing and joined with faculty for an evening of "merriment" at Hofstra Hall. A still unsolved mystery is who stole the doughnuts the first year the ball was held.⁵ As years passed, the Poverty Ball continued to be held, but with little thought to the origins of its name. To document this event there are photographs and printed material in the University Archives.

The Use of Archives

The student or scholar must fully understand the question to be explored, and do the necessary preparatory work before going to an archives. Archival or primary source documents are not useful until secondary sources have been consulted. Once a researcher knows about the historical context of the subject matter, the archivist can guide him or her to as many appropriate sources as are available in the facility.

Archival repositories house uniquely assembled collections of materials, with no two repositories containing the same information. Individual archives store only the information that is reflective of a particular organization, region, institution, or group. Each place where archival documents are stored has a specific idea about what it is saving and how it fits into the general scheme of the institution, hierarchy, or location. This is called a collection development policy. The information supplied in this statement allows the archivist to select from among all of the historical materials that are available to them. Collection development defines the scope of an archives, both limiting and giving direction to those who make acquisition decisions. These determinations ultimately give researchers the ability to make informed decisions about where to do their primary source research.

As there are a variety of reasons why an individual might deposit his or her professional or personal papers at an institution, archival materials often end up in unlikely places. For instance, someone writing a biography of George Lincoln Rockwell, or a history of the American Nazi Party he headed, might not think of coming to Hofstra for information. But in 1964, as a test of its academic freedom, the Student Government Association decided to invite Rockwell to speak on campus. The Hofstra Archives contain the information about that event: student reaction to the speech; faculty and administrative concerns; newspaper clippings about the community's reaction; and an audiotape of Rockwell's speech.⁶ Researchers must be ready to cull information from a variety of institutions when embarking on a project that includes primary source documents.

Although the deposit of personal and professional materials in archives might appear random and capricious, there are many ways of deciding which institutions have materials one might need for doing research. There are national and local computer data bases, as well as other reporting agencies, that can help the historian who wants to do extensive archival work. A

comprehensive search on a database such as RLIN (Research Libraries Information Network), or the use of NUCMC (National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections) will help to indicate which repositories hold information on a pertinent subject area.

In New York State, historians can use the information gathered by the Historic Documents Inventory to see which materials they can consult close to home. This comprehensive inventory, completed over a thirteen-year period, now includes information from every county in the state. Fieldworkers were hired to go from repository to repository to investigate what types of archival materials were held by each institution. The fieldworkers noted date spans, quantity of materials, formats—including photographs and land deeds—family names, corporate names, and other vital statistics. Editors then assigned index terms and the information was checked by the repository. Data was entered into a computer, and, eventually, printed guide books were issued. Several regions, including Nassau and Suffolk Counties, are still in production. Online searching through the RLIN database in the AMC segment (Archives and Manuscript Control) will provide information about most repositories in Nassau and Suffolk (for a complete list of participating repositories from Nassau and Suffolk Counties, see the historical documents inventory at the end of this article).

The RLIN database is a wonderful research tool, but availability of terminals on Long Island is problematic. Only the State University of New York at Stony Brook and the Suffolk Cooperative Library System have search terminals. The printed guides are available in some public libraries, but not all libraries contain the full set that represents archival materials held in New York State. In addition, the use of the printed guides can be misleading. If one assumes that a particular individual appears only in the county where he or she lived or worked, it is possible to miss data deposited in repositories in other locations. Due to the different methods by which materials find their way into archives—collecting policies, deposit by family members, friends, or dealers, for instance—all the printed guides should be consulted for a comprehensive search. The computer database is more efficient, as it can search all repositories' entries simultaneously and report which materials reside in particular institutions.

Searching a computerized database can be difficult for a beginner. There are command languages as well as specific terminologies to be aware of when seeking information. These languages may vary from database to database. It will save time and frustration if the researcher makes the effort to be trained in the use of a particular database, and receives some instruction in command language from a reference librarian or archivist. After performing several searches using personal names, subject terms, and date spans, the information to be retrieved will be more easily available, and should provide a comprehensive "hit list" of all the information contained in that database.

In addition to RLIN, there are other sources of information about archival collections. NUCMC (the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections),

for instance, was established in 1959 as a reporting agency of the Library of Congress. It describes each archival collection with much the same information as a catalog card. There is a title statement, date span, quantity of materials, a short scope note, and subject terms. The only cumbersome aspect of the catalog is the use of multiple indexes to figure out which volume to consult. The two-volume *Index to Personal Names in the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections, 1959-1984* (Alexandria, VA: Chadwyck-Healey, 1987), greatly simplifies the search for personal names.

Unlike books or other print material, archival collections are difficult to process and make available to researchers. Therefore, a collection might not be reported by the agency where it is housed until it is processed and made available to the public. Materials deposited many years ago with restrictions on their availability might also preclude a repository from informing organizations such as NUCMC or RLIN of archival materials. The researcher should be aware that “new” collections of material become available all the time. Some repositories have newsletters listing new accessions and newly processed collections. Other repositories print subject guides, or sell copies of their finding aids.

In addition to RLIN and NUCMC there are other “clearing houses” where information is being compiled about archival records. *The Catalog of Landscape Records in the United States* is located at Wave Hill, in the Bronx. This organization fields questions about landscape architecture records, often helping scholars to locate collections that might be applicable to their research. The SAA (Society of American Archivists), MARAC (Mid-Atlantic Regional Archives Conference), LIAC (Long Island Archives Conference), and other organizations all hold regular meetings, have newsletters, and provide information about archival collections to their membership. In addition BITNET, an online electronic mail network, has a special users group known as the Archives & Archivists List. The list is regularly monitored by archivists across the country; appeals for information about a certain topic often find their way onto this electronic bulletin board.

The Importance of Archival Collections

As archival materials are not “user ready” like books, they require special handling before a researcher can be guided to the appropriate documents. Archival collections must be ordered in such a way that they are both physically supported and preserved, as well as accessible to users. This step, known as processing, handles the materials according to archival theories. The processing, arrangement, description, and physical location of archival materials are all important to the eventual research potential of the archives’ collections. The way in which the documents are arranged is crucial. There are certain principles of archives that are kept in mind. Two basic archival tenets are provenance and *respect-des-fonds*. Provenance refers to the necessity of keeping materials from one office or creator together. This means that items from separate collections may not be intermingled, even if there is an overlap of ‘like’ subjects, personal names, formats, or dates. *Respect-des-fonds* refers to

the impact of one document upon another in its original order, or from the office of origin. The placement of documents in the original order is thought to impact the users' interpretation of the material.

"Collection" has two meanings. It can refer broadly to the entire archival repository, or, more specifically, to the individual groups of records within that repository. In the case of the individual groups of records, the use of the word *collection* requires that the materials have a cohesiveness and were originally part of one unit, or were brought together as one unit. The structure of a collection will suffer irreparable damage if split into a variety of folders for placement in vertical files. The pieces of the collection, which give each other meaning, are less meaningful if separated. The study of a particular incident also suffers if materials emanating from a variety of sources are brought together under one artificially created subject grouping.

For example, during the late 1960s and early 1970s, many campuses across the United States suffered from what is now referred to as a period of "student unrest." Strikes and protests were common, with a high rate of student activism. Student unrest might seem an appropriate subject category for filing a variety of information about this era. Unfortunately, the viewpoints of each of this scenario's many actors are clouded when the documents are intermingled. It is impossible to interpret the administrative stance, the student outlook, or the faculty position, if each of these groups' documents are commingled. It is more appropriate to note the subject term in a document describing individual collections, allowing the materials to remain with their appropriate structural group.

In addition to being difficult to arrange, the description of archival collections is often hard to compile, and the method for description may vary from repository to repository. Many arrangement schemes are complex, as reflected by the information given to the researcher in the form of a finding aid or guide. Researchers must know how to use a finding aid or other descriptive archival guide to ask for the materials that are appropriate for their research. For this reason, most archival repositories have a "use interview" before research is begun. Archivists will try to find out the end-product of the research, what is hoped to be discovered, and how much the researcher already knows about their topic. This enables the archivist to better prepare the repository for the research project.

The information saved in archives plays a vital part in how history will be written. Archives contain our documentary heritage. It is important that these documents be saved, arranged, described, and made available for research use. To insure that historical documents of enduring value to an institution are saved, and to protect them from theft or deterioration, it is necessary to have archives. Various factors contribute to proper storage of these sometimes fragile documents. Light, heat, humidity, and temperatures must all be correctly regulated. Like books, paper records and audio-visual materials have optimal storage requirements that foster long-life. Specific processing must be done to prevent physical and structural damage.

Unique and historical documents, like book materials, can be used to answer scholarly inquiries, help genealogists in their research, and provide answers to corporate or in-house questions about administrative policies. In addition, the uses of archival material can supplement traditional library materials in providing insight into historic events. From the unusual to the traditional, archival documents are pieces of evidence, they are the documentary trail to our history. Sometimes the trail is hard to find, sometimes the trail has disappeared, but, through the work of archivists, many historic trails are being preserved so that tomorrow's historians will have new discoveries to make and new trails to follow.

Historical Documents Inventory—repositories surveyed in Nassau and Suffolk Counties by Patricia E. White, Arthur F. Sniffin, and Alan H. Haeberle, field archivists, New York State Historical Documents Inventory, in cooperation with the Olin Library, Cornell University, 1988-1991. This list was supplied to the author by Alan H. Haeberle.

Colleges, Schools, and Universities

Adelphi University, Swirbul Library, Special Collections & Archives

Hofstra University Archives

Hofstra University Library, Special Collections

Huntington School District Clerk

Huntington School District Museum

LaSalle Military Academy, Oakdale

Long Island University—C.W. Post College, Special Collections

Nassau Community College

New York Institute of Technology, Education Hall Library, Old Westbury

State University of New York at Stony Brook, Special Collections

State University of New York College at Old Westbury, Archives

State University of New York College of Technology at Farmingdale

Suffolk County Community College, Selden Campus

Webb Institute of Naval Architecture, Glen Cove

Government

Babylon Town Historian

Belle Terre Village Historian

Deer Park Archives

Floral Park Village Historian

Huntington Town Historian

Lloyd Harbor Village Historian

Northport Village Clerk

Riverhead Town Historian

Southampton Town Archives

Southold Town Historian

Suffolk County Clerk, Documents Room

Suffolk County Division of Historic Services, West Sayville
Westhampton Beach Village Historian

Historical/Preservation Associations, Societies, and Sites

Amityville Historical Society
Babylon, Village of, Preservation Society
Baldwin Historical Society and Museum
Bellport-Brookhaven Historical Society
Bridgehampton Historical Society
Cow Neck Peninsula Historical Society, Port Washington
Cutchogue-New Suffolk Historical Council
Fire Island Lighthouse Preservation Society
Fire Island National Seashore—Headquarters
Fire Island National Seashore—Lighthouse
Greenlawn-Centerport Historical Association
Historical Society of the Massapequas
Historical Society of the Westburys
Home Sweet Home, East Hampton
Huntington Historical Society
Lake Ronkonkoma Historical Society
Lindenhurst Historical Society
Long Island Republic Airport Historical Society, East Farmingdale
Lynbrook Village Historical Committee
Montauk Lighthouse Historical Society
Northport Historical Society
Oceanside Historical Society
Oyster Bay Historical Society
Oysterponds Historical Society
Port Jefferson Historical Society
Quogue Historical Society
Rockville Centre Historical Society at Phillips House
Sagamore Hill National Historic Site, Oyster Bay
Sagtikos Manor Historical Society, West Islip
Sayville Historical Society
Shelter Island Historical Society
Smithtown Historical Society
Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities, Setauket
Southampton Colonial Society
Southold Historical Society
Stirling Historical Society
Suffolk County Historical Society, Riverhead
Theodore Roosevelt Association, Oyster Bay
Three Village Historical Society, Setauket
Wading River Historical Society
Walt Whitman Birthplace Association, Huntington

West Hempstead Historical and Preservation Society
William Floyd Estate National Historic Site

Libraries

Allard K. Lowenstein Public Library, Long Beach
Babylon Public Library
Brookhaven Free Library
Bryant Library, Roslyn
Center Moriches Free Public Library
Cold Spring Harbor Library
Cutchogue Free Library
East Hampton Free Library
East Rockaway Public Library
Floral Park Public Library
Freeport Memorial Library
Friends of the Mattituck Free Library
Garden City Public Library
Glen Cove Public Library
Great Neck Library
Half Hollow Hills Community Library
Hempstead Public Library
Henry Waldinger Memorial Library, Valley Stream
Hewlett-Woodmere Public Library
Hicksville Public Library
Islip Public Library
John Jermain Library, Sag Harbor
Locust Valley Library
Longwood Public Library, Middle Island
Manhasset Public Library
Mastic-Moriches-Shirley Library
Mattituck Free Library
Middle Country Public Library, Centereach
Northport Public Library
Patchogue-Medford Public Library
Plainview-Old Bethpage Public Library
Port Washington Public Library
Riverhead Free Library
Shelter Island Public Library
Smithtown Library, The
South Country Library, Bellport
Southold Free Library
Syosset Public Library
West Babylon Public Library
West Islip Public Library

Museums

Sayville Historical Museum
Cold Spring Harbor Whaling Museum
Cradle of Aviation Museum, Mitchel Field, Garden City
East Hampton Town Marine Museum
Hicksville Gregory Museum
Museums at Stony Brook, The
Nassau County Museum, Library (at Hofstra)
Nassau County Police Museum, Mineola
Old Westbury Gardens
Planting Fields Foundation, Oyster Bay
Polish-America Museum, Port Washington
Raynham Hall, Oyster Bay
Rock Hall, Lawrence
Sag Harbor Whaling Museum
Sea Cliff Village Museum
Southold Indian Museum
Suffolk County Police Museum, Yaphank
Suffolk Marine Museum, West Sayville
Vanderbilt Museum of Suffolk County, Centerport

Parks

Hoyt Farm Park Preserve, Commack
Montauk Point County Park

Religious

Caroline Church of Brookhaven, Setauket
First Presbyterian (Whalers') Church, Sag Harbor
Orthodox Church in America, Archives, Syosset
Sisters of St. Joseph of Brentwood

Scientific/Medical

Brookhaven National Laboratory
Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory
Kings Park Psychiatric Center, Medical Library

Organizations and Businesses

Daughters of the American Revolution, Ketawamoke Chapter, Huntington
Girl Scouts of Nassau County, Inc., Garden City
Grumman Corporation History Center, Bethpage
Townsend Society of America, Oyster Bay
Underhill Society of America, Oyster Bay

NOTES

1. Hofstra University Archives, "Finding Aid to the Audiotape Collection."

2. Hofstra University Archives, Info-file, Estabrook, George.
3. Hofstra University Archives, Hofstra History Collection, Box 1, Folder, "Reflections of Hofstra" by John Cranford Adams, 50.
4. Hofstra University Archives, Info-file, Patterson, Alicia.
5. Hofstra University Archives, NEXUS 1936, 21.
6. Hofstra University Archives, Hofstra History Collection, Box 4, folder, "George Lincoln Rockwell."

The Lives and Identities of the Indians of Shelter Island, 1652-1835

By John Charles Witek

Editor's note: The LIJ is searching for the appropriate designation for Long Island's first inhabitants, Native American or Indian, each of which is semantically flawed. We use both terms in this article, and invite the response of readers.

The aptly named Shelter Island lies snugly in the bight between the North and South Forks of Long Island. First settled in 1652, this smallest of Suffolk's ten towns was not a magnet for settlers, as were neighboring Southold and East Hampton. To the contrary, Shelter Island was, to a great extent, the domain of three families—the Sylvesters, Nicolls, and Havenses—throughout the colonial era. Although the history of Nathaniel Sylvester, William Nicoll, George Havens, and their families are well documented, very little is known about the aboriginal residents. The purpose of this article is to examine the culture and history of Shelter Island's Native Americans.¹

My research began with the fortuitous discovery of a spirit bottle, inscribed with what looks like an Indian's mark. I discovered this opaque, green glass bottle (figure 1) in August 1991, while measuring submerged prehistoric sites at Fresh Pond, Shelter Island's only deep, glacial kettle-hole lake. It was recovered as two non-connecting pieces, buried in sand under about two meters of water, not far from the south shore of the pond. The specimen, 12.8 cm in diameter and more than 26 cm high when intact, has a long, tapering neck with a collared finish at the aperture.² Its measurements are typical of the relatively symmetrical, hand-blown bottles manufactured in England during the second half of the eighteenth century.

A distinctive 5-by-3 cm mark, incised vertically down the bottle's shoulder (figure 2), is made of meeting or intersecting scratches that terminate in three cruciform details. Although a search of contemporary documents signed by Native Americans yielded no comparable example, elements of the inscription resemble Indian marks on a variety of deeds and contracts.

The mixed context in which the find was made consisted principally of glass and ceramic shards, dating mostly from the second half of the nineteenth century. Since Fresh Pond has served as a dump site for more than two hundred years, analyses of finds made there need considerable qualification. In the present case, the site where the bottle was found would have been frequented by people residing at a house built by James Tuthill, in the 1740s.³ Although the design does not appear to be European or colonial, it



Figure 1. Inscribed eighteenth-century spirit bottle from Shelter Island, New York.

should be noted that from 1650 on, marks applied to the shoulders and sides of bottles made in England became an increasingly popular way to designate ownership, proprietorship, and origin.⁴

More relevant is the fact that glass bottles were so esteemed by Native Americans that they were included as burial accompaniments. Three were recovered at the Montauk cemetery at East Hampton excavated by the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, in 1917 and 1918.⁵ One bottle is inscribed on its shoulder with the name Wobetom, which also appears on early Montauk deeds and whaling indentures.

While Indians used bottles for various purposes, one cannot over-estimate the role played by alcohol—mainly, Barbadian Rum—in the dissolution of Indian lives and Indian life. In 1659, when the English Quaker, John Taylor, visited Shelter Island, he found a “great many...friendly and sober” Indians living there.⁶ Only thirteen years later, however, the situation seems to have changed. By 1672, the island’s proprietor, Nathaniel Sylvester, found it necessary to petition the colonial court at Fort James for constabulary powers to arrest unruly Indians who “presumed in their Drink to breed disturbance and make commotions there.”⁷ In keeping with the colonial custom of often paying for labor in kind, instead of with money, Shelter Island’s handful of merchant farmers paid Indians with liquor as a matter of course. Thus, Nathaniel Sylvester, in effect, contributed to the commotions he took measures to quell.

Neither the details of their lives, nor the number of Native Americans living on Shelter Island between 1640 and 1800, is understood precisely. Historians have written little to elaborate the statement made in a confirmatory paper dated March 1652, and on file among the records of Southold, that the Manhansett sachem Yokee, “with all his Indians that were formerly to said Island of Aahaquatawamock (Shelter Island) did freely and willingly depart the aforesaid island, leaving the aforesaid Captain Nathaniel Sylvester...in full possession of the same.”⁸

While Yokee and some people close to him did leave Shelter Island, it is evident that some Indians remained there, and were joined by others. The newly arrived proprietor had a world to build from the ground up; given Taylor’s account of Native Americans residing on Shelter Island by permission, it is inconceivable that Sylvester did not employ them to supplement his small work force of retainers and enslaved African Americans, especially for the seasonal demands of agriculture.

The Sylvester Account Book

Fortunately, several remarkable documents have come to light which, at last, illuminate the lives of Shelter Island’s Indians during the colonial period. One of these is a slender volume, bound in sheepskin, in which Giles Sylvester, Nathaniel’s eldest son, recorded his accounts for 1680, the year of his father’s death, as well as for 1682, 1687, 1688, 1692, and 1701. This account book, housed in the East Hampton Free Library’s Pennypacker Collection since the

1940s, is an invaluable primary source that, like the Havens store ledgers discussed below, has been overlooked by professional historians.

This manuscript is the first that suggests how many Indians lived on Shelter Island in the 1680s, who they were, where they came from, what work they did, and how much pay they received. Thanks to this and the other records to be discussed, Shelter Island's Indians emerge as individuals, rather than as the merely generic examples of ethnicity to which anonymity consigned them. While some names may have belonged to black slaves, individual entries suggest that the preponderance represented Native Americans.

The more than forty names include Abell, Abram, Allan, Ambusco, Anthony, Cato, Corna[e]lius, Dick, Govert, Guy, Harry, Honest Tom, Isaac, Japliott, John Indian, Black John, Jeffry (also spelled Jeffery and Jeffrey), Jaguano, Judas, Lawrence, Manhand[up], Mago, Mandansko, Mattahawood, Mohauk, Napandsson, Niantois, Neezanzaack Sag Indian, Pelo, Pandthom, Stephon, Shorto, Sunicutt, South Will, Turkyman, Unkus his man, Wabua, Wianaquath, Wiamoxon, Wian, and Wanup. Giles's notes also include the names Papan[']s? Squaw, Squaw Hannah, and Judith. Other Indian women are referred to as "the young squaw," and "the smith's squaw." Certainly, there were additional women and children. It would appear, then, that Indians formed the ethnic majority on Shelter Island at this time.⁹

At least eleven of the men Giles recorded are mentioned in the colonial records of Southampton, East Hampton, and Southold, but to cross-reference them would oblige us to range beyond our Shelter Island perspective. Suffice it to say that contracts binding themselves to go whaling for various East End entrepreneurs were signed by Abell, Anthony, Isaac, and Jeffrey, as well as by Adam, Dick, Harry, John, Judas and Will.¹⁰ Tradition has it that Turkom's Neck, a peninsula on the south side of Shelter Island, was named for Turkyman.

Most illuminating are references in town records indicating that Shelter Island Native Americans of the 1680s came from elsewhere. Barring a duplication of names, Abram (Abraham), Anthony, Dick, Harry, Isaac, Jeffery, Judas, Stephon (Stephen), and, possibly, Tom, are among the fifty-two males fifteen years old, or more, enumerated as Shinnecoeks in Southampton's 1698 census. Mago[e]'s name appears on a Montauk deed of 1687, and Ambusco, who signed several deeds concerning Southold, was the son of the Corchaug sachem Paucamp. Mohauk, Unkus hisman, Neezanzack the "Sag" Indian, and South Will must have been off-islanders, too. John may be the son of the Montauk, Wobetom.¹¹

This diversity may indicate that Yokee's departure created a void that was filled by Indians whose proprietary interest in Shelter Island was less than that of the people we have come to call the Manhansetts. It may reflect the peripatetic behavior of even such relatively sedentary groups of hunter-gatherers as those on eastern Long Island. More specifically, it may have marked the increasing mobility of Native American men involved with the East End shore whaling companies. These men, whose skills were in great demand,

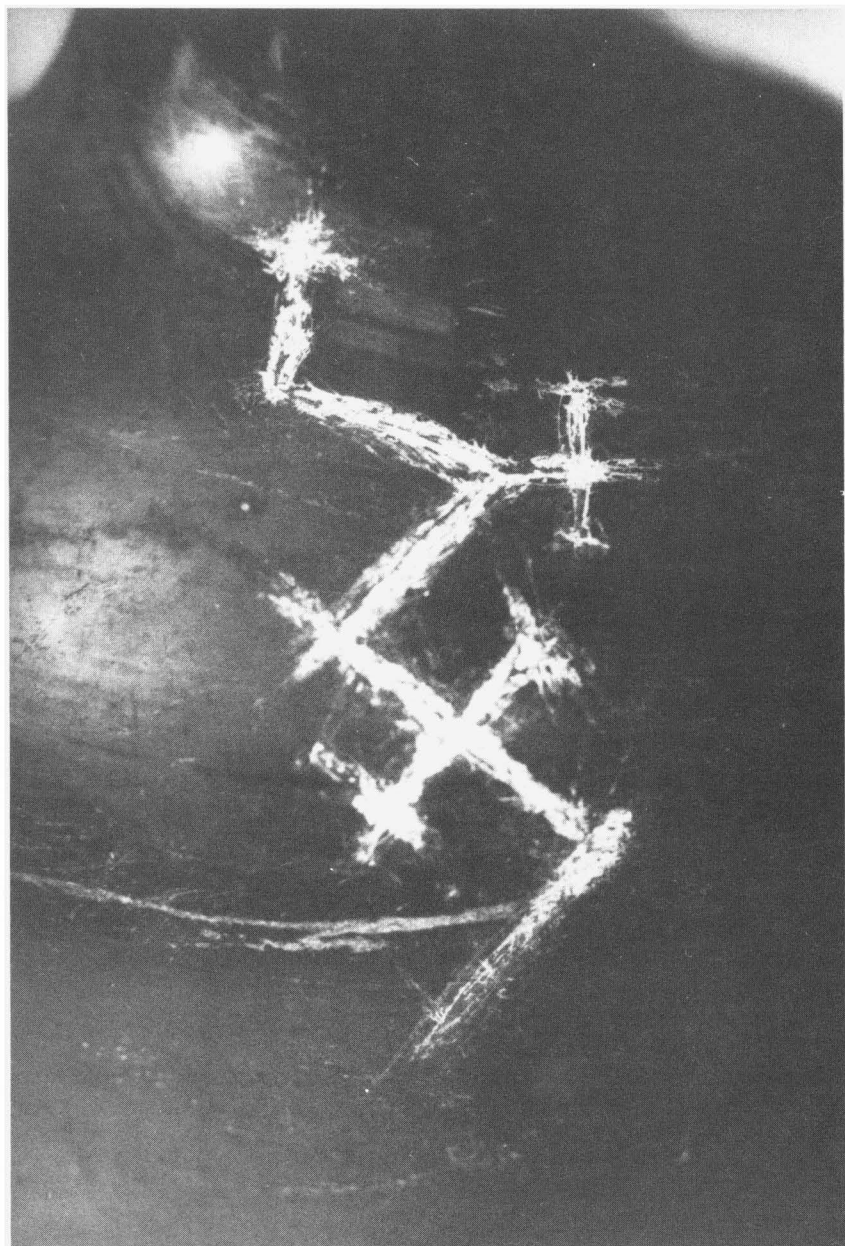


Figure 2. Detail showing incised design.

frequently moved back and forth from Shelter Island and the whaling stations in the towns of Southampton, East Hampton, and Brookhaven.¹²

The estate that Nathaniel Sylvester bequeathed to Giles and his four other sons included orchards, a cider mill, wheat fields, and livestock, maintained by an unknown number of slaves supplemented by Native American day laborers. Practically all of the Indians listed above worked for Giles on an occasional basis of anywhere from a day to a month, for what appears to be a standard payment of one shilling's credit for one day's work.

The nature of the work is only faintly sketched. The account book credits Indians for going to what was known as "the main"—the farm fields attached to a manor. Indians cut wood, for which they received a yard or two of the coarse cloth called "duffles"; they split logs, at the rate of a pint of rum for every hundred rails produced; and they were employed at reaping, threshing, and cider making.

The account book shows little more than a month's employment for any one Indian, with many down for only a few days. According to one current writer, these were people who

simply did not constitute a reliable work force. With no motivation for acquisition, the Calvinist work ethic of the English was a total puzzlement to the Indian. He worked for enough of life's necessities to insure survival, shared what he had, and that was that.¹³

Wages were not made in specie, which was scarce. Instead, except for a few yards of cotton, broad cloth, and "duffles," all payments were in the form of intoxicants. The most popular was the manor's cider, followed by Barbadian rum, which was more expensive. A gallon of cider was worth two shillings, or two days work. Diluted "Water Cider" was half that price, rum was three shillings a quart.

Colonists must have felt ambivalent about supplying Indians with liquor. Doing so led to violent outbursts that were universally dreaded, but liquor made Indians tractable. Both whaling companies and plantation owners depended on Native American labor to turn a profit, both used alcohol as an "encouragement," and both complained bitterly to the government when the Indians they needed became unavailable. Official measures were taken in 1671 to strengthen laws prohibiting the sale of liquor to Indians; however, Governor Francis Lovelace, who drafted the legislation, relaxed his order to whaling entrepreneurs who enlisted Indians crews by plying them with brandy and rum. Nathaniel Sylvester's request to arrest drunken Indians the following year may have been a result of the Governor's liquor loophole. It is equally likely that Sylvester, himself, used liquor to keep Indians on the farm. His son Giles certainly did, and young Giles was less canny about business than his father. In any event, Giles' account book indicates that farmers, like whalers, got labor with liquor—a pattern that continued well into the nineteenth century.¹⁴

In colonial times, Shelter Island was one point on a commercial triangle of goods between England, the Caribbean, and New England. The rum trade

incorporated resources from all three points: sugar was cultivated in Barbados; white oak for barrel staves was obtained and shipped from Shelter Island; glass bottles were made throughout England, mainly in London and Bristol. Ultimately, the rum that entered the Colonies was dispensed to call comers in various ways, despite efforts by settlers and Indians alike to limit the sale of alcohol to Native Americans, upon whom its effect was disastrous.

The Havens Store Ledgers

From 1765 until 1810, most of the rum on Shelter Island was dispensed by a combined store, tavern, school, meeting house, and boarding house. Originally a residence known as “Heartsease” when completed by William Havens in 1743, it was converted into a commercial operation some two decades later by Havens’s son James.

James Havens’s ledgers confirm his reputation for honest dealing, as well as showing that he extended credit without interest, not infrequently allowing a year or two to pass before collecting a debt. Although Native Americans are not listed in the Shelter Island censuses of 1771, 1776, and 1790, James Havens’s ledgers record transactions for a dozen of them, listed by name. The two hidebound volumes, together with the memoirs of a later Shelter Island Havens, Lodowick, provide further evocative glimpses into the Native American way of life on Shelter Island in colonial times, and offer some basis for demographic assumptions concerning them.¹⁵

Imperfect reflections of eight Indian family units, and six other individuals, are available through James Havens’s ledgers and Lodowick Havens’s memoirs. They are the Conocs—Sam, his wife Lisse (Lissy), and Peter; the Tobe[y]s—Sarah, Betty, and “children”; Indian Daniel, Daniel’s Jeffery, Jeffery’s mother Ginny, and his wife Ketziah; and a Mol Daniels who, reported Lodowick, drowned her child in a well. References are also made to Jack, his wife Sabina, and their six children; Cuffee Cuff and his wife Sarah (Toby?) and two children; Adam and Hezekiah; Harry Indian and a Mary Harry, who was probably a female relative; Governor Will and his wife; Sip; Bet (Betty) Stephen; Joe Pot...eg; and Isaac Indian.¹⁶ The list represents at least thirty formerly untallied individuals who, when added to the 1776 census of 171 people, increase Shelter Island’s population to 201, of which Native Americans represent 18 percent.

Like Giles Sylvester, James Havens used a double entry system, recording debits on left hand pages, credits on the right. Purchases made by Shelter Island Indians between 1765 and James’s death in 1810 demonstrate increasing acculturative change. They include coffee, tea, sugar, molasses, snuff, shot, flints, fishhooks, scissors, nails, a padlock, a knife, earthen crockery, a punch bowl, shoe buckles, cloth, a spelling book, “sundries,” and, at the not inconsiderable cost of six shillings, six pence, a volume of Isaac Watts’ *Songs and Hymns*.

By and large, however, the most popular item was rum, which James Havens sold by the gill (one-quarter pint), dram, half-pint, pint, quart, half-

gallon, and gallon. He sold “pink rum,” “cherry rum,” plain “rum,” and locally produced cider. In 1768, Jeffery Indian is debited one shilling, six pence for “a bottle *and* rum.” This is the only entry for a Native American that mentions a bottle, and unless Jeffery’s mark comes to light on some document of the period, it is as close as we will probably come to connecting our bottle to a particular Shelter Island owner.

The earliest ledger entries, including those for Bet Stephen in 1765, Jeffrey Indian in 1767, and Sam Gonoc in 1768, are practically all for rum. Purchases entered in the 1770s are more diverse, but rum still predominates. The records for Lissy Gonoc, Sarah Toby, and Ginny Jeffreys—they bought mostly coffee, tea, and molasses—suggest that women were less in alcohol’s thrall than were men.

Cash was scarce in colonial times, for settlers and Native Americans alike; while Indians sometimes settled their debts with small amounts of cash, they paid mostly with goods and services. They paid for rum and shot with racoon skins, sea fowl, feathers, fish, bay tallow, cranberries, huckleberries, corn, handmade brooms and baskets, and other products, as well as in exchange for working at hoeing, reaping, spinning, washing, and carding flax.

In 1776, Indian Isaac was credited with two shillings for digging a grave. Sam Gonoc received four shillings for a day’s work reaping, and thirteen shillings, nine pence for five and one-half days of hoeing corn. In 1771, Lissy Gonoc earned nine pence for a day’s work washing, and one and six for the sale of a corn basket. In 1772, Sarah Toby paid her previous year’s debts by bottoming a chair for ten pence, and a “great chair” for one and six. She also traded a hog for an amount that is illegible, and surrendered a gold locket valued at six shillings, eight pence.

For the most part, Indian debts were forgiven by wealthy estate owners who, we can assume, employed Indians as field hands on a *per diem* basis. The Havens’s ledgers attest to the payment of Indians debts by William Nicoll,² his nephew, William³, and William’s³ son, Samuel B. Nicoll, all of whom, in turn, managed the 3000-acre Nicoll plantation on Sachem’s Neck, the part of Shelter Island where most Indians lived until more than half of their tightly clustered “huts and wigwams” were destroyed by fire in 1790.¹⁷

Before he died, in 1768, William Nicoll² paid Indian Jeffery’s debt of one pound, one shilling, and Sam Gonoc’s debt of one pound, four shillings, eight pence. Four years later Samuel B. Nicoll, who inherited the estate of his unmarried uncle, paid three pounds, twelve and six, for Sam Gonoc’s debts, and, in 1774, three pounds, two and six, for Jeffery’s. If Native American men averaged between two and four shillings for one day’s work in the second half of the eighteenth century, as the Havens’s accounts suggest, then the wages paid by William Nicoll in the 1770s must represent a month or more of work in the fields by Sam and Jeffery. More than a century after the coming of Nathaniel Sylvester, the Native Americans still were working for liquor.

The Sylvester accounts and the Havens store ledgers reflect a Native American way of life consisting of seasonal farm labor and whaling, together

with their traditional hunting and gathering, probably supplemented by gardening. It was a poor life, exacerbated by alcoholism and its blighting effects—among them fetal alcohol syndrome, malnutrition, and disease. Although some of Shelter Island's Indians may have drifted away unnoticed to the Brothertown settlement in Oneida County, New York,¹⁸ probably most were laid to rest in the as yet undiscovered burial grounds mentioned in Lodowick Havens's memoirs. Accompanying the dead would be found a few items that might have come from the Havens's store—perhaps a kettle, a cup, a knife, and, possibly, a bottle or two that at one time held rum.

Indian Names and Nomenclature

Eastern Long Island Native American names are tantalizing to study, but their significance will not be fathomed until adequate glossaries of local dialects come to light. Cultural factors also complicate efforts to derive meanings from names, because low-ranking Indians frequently went without them. Women and children tend to be referred to generically, or as another person's spouse or offspring. A man might change his name, or have several names for a variety of reasons;¹⁹ Shelter Island's sachem, Yokee, seems to be a vivid example of this phenomenon.

A few early documents state the original Algonkian names of seventeenth-century people encountered by Shelter Island's first white settlers. These include Actoncoween, whom William W. Tooker identifies as the Shinnecock translator Cockenoe;²⁰ Yowocongus; Sonquoquashissick; and the island's sachem, Yokee. Yokee is also known as Unkenchie, Pogaticut, and, due to the vagaries of phonetic spelling, Youghco, Youco, Yocoo, and Yocow. His name also appears as Yowowan, and his wife's as Aswa, in the 1639 deed conveying Gardiner's Island to Lion Gardiner.²¹

By 1680, after white settlers had occupied Shelter Island for a generation, the records show a mixture of Indian names about half of which are Algonkian, half are English. Govert, a Dutch name, may reflect Indian contact with Govert Lockmans, who traded with them in 1648. After more than a century of English occupation, the settlers' records cease to use Algonkian names for Shelter Island's Indians. For the most part, these names are now English first names; surnames are uncommon, and appear to be in a formative stage at this time.

Conclusion

The Havens's store and tavern ledgers reveal a process leading to the creation of surnames that is analogous to the way many such names developed in Europe during the Middle Ages and Renaissance: the possessive case, indicating a spouse or a child, becomes appended to that person's first name (for example, John's wife Mary becomes Mary Johns). The ledgers have entries for a Ginny—Jeffrey's. Another entry, under the heading of Jeffrey Indian, describes a debt incurred for "Sundries by your mother, Ginny." The name Mary Harry may have been used for a female relative of Harry Indian.

Surnames also seem to stem from intermarriage between Native and African Americans. The names Cuffee Cuff and Sabina, used by Lodowick Havens to identify two Shelter Island Indians, may have black connotation; Cuffee may have been both a personal and a generic name for an African American.

Latinized names like Sabina and Caesar were given commonly to slaves, although Indians possessed them, as well. William Nicoll, who held ten or more slaves on Shelter Island in 1776, owned men named Cuff, a variant of Cuffee, and Caesar.²² If Cuffee Cuff can be shown to have been a manumitted slave living with Indians, or the son of a slave named Cuff and an Indian mother, we would have a Shelter Island example of African-Native American marriage, like those among the nearby Montauk and Shinnecock peoples. Shelter Island blacks and Indians labored side by side in the fields of the Nicolls and the Sylvesters, and resided in the same environs. Sharing land and a similar lot in life probably encouraged such marriages.

Like Cuffee, the name Betty Tobs Caesar suggests intermarriage. The Havens's ledgers contain an accounting for an Indian named Sarah Tobe, and Lodowick Havens recalled Indians named Sarah and Betty Toby. A sermon delivered in 1856 by the Rev. Daniel Lord recounts the final days, some twenty years earlier, of a Betty Tobs Caesar, reportedly the last Native American born on Shelter Island. This woman, according to Lord, died at an advanced age of "more than foreshore [sic] years," after her conversion to Christianity.²³ Tobs is probably a misprint for Toby, and Caesar may hark back to the slave with that name owned by William Nicoll (although there were Montauk Indians named Cesar and Toby).

The incised bottle that prompted the writing of this report served more as a touchstone than an artifact for analysis. However, it encourages further study of the theme of liquor as a catalyst between settlers and Native Americans. The evidence for Shelter Island illustrates the use of intoxicants by planters to secure Indian labor, and the historical persistence of this practice.

The historian Norman H. Clark observes that the colonial period in America was "precisely the period during which English-speaking people were integrating the use of distilled spirits into their way of life." Hard liquor was indispensable to hospitality, it

tightened the gravity of oaths and contracts, enriched the mysteries of birth, marriage, and death. It softened the edges of sorrow and fatigue, eased the burden of poverty, glorified king or republic. And it did this to the pace of an accelerating social phenomenon, that of private and public drunkenness.²⁴

Before encountering Europeans, Long Island's Native Americans were unfamiliar with strong drink. Once they were introduced to it, alcohol took a terrible toll on their families and their communities. Colonial whalers, merchants, and farmers used alcohol as a business tool, despite Dutch and English ordinances regulating its sale.

It has been argued that Native Americans were genetically predisposed to

alcoholism, and that their culture avowed mind-altering drugs. The evidence from Shelter Island demonstrates a simpler, more familiar syndrome; that hard labor, poverty, and cultural dislocation tend to be accompanied by what, today, is known as “substance abuse.”

NOTES

1. William S. Pelletreau, “Shelter Island,” in *History of Suffolk County* (New York: W. W. Munsell & Co., 1882), 1; for the history of Shelter Island, see also Helen Otis Lamont, *The Story of Shelter Island in the Revolution* (Shelter Island Historical Society, 1975); Helen Z. Wortis, *A Woman Named Matilda and Other True Accounts of Old Shelter Island* (Shelter Island: Shelter Island Historical Society, 1978); and Jacob E. Mallman, *Historical Papers on Shelter Island and its Presbyterian Church* (Shelter Island: Shelter Island Historical Society, 1985).
2. The bottle has been donated to the Shelter Island Historical Society for its William Havens House collection.
3. Lamont, *Shelter Island*, 11.
4. Derek C. Davis, *English Bottles and Decanters 1650-1900* (New York, 1972), 15-16.
5. Foster H. Saville, “A Montauk Cemetery at East Hampton, Long Island,” in Gaynell Stone Levine, ed., *Readings in Long Island Archaeology and Ethnohistory* 1 (Stony Brook: Xerox, 1977), 17-19.
6. Wortis, “Shelter Island and Barbados,” in *Woman Named Matilda*, 15.
7. Edmund B. O’Callaghan, ed. *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1884) 14: 671. William Nicoll, the patentee of the town of Islip, bought one-quarter of Shelter Island, including the part known as Sachem’s Neck, in 1695, the same year that George Havens purchased another 1,000 acres; Nicoll, by inheritance, became half-owner of the island in 1706 (Pelletreau, “Shelter Island,” 2).
8. Ralph G. Duvall, *History of Shelter Island 1652-1952* (Shelter Island, 1976), 13; George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, preached to Native Americans from the steps of Sylvester Manor, in 1672, and colonial /records show that Indians lived on Shelter Island during this decade. However, it seems excessive to say that before the arrival of Europeans, Shelter Island’s Manhasset “tribe...could summon 500 fighting men to the warpath for the scene of savage carnage,” an inaccuracy propounded originally by the Presbyterian minister, Thomas Harries, who touched upon Shelter Island’s Indians in a series of “Historical Sermons,” in 1871. These were subsequently published in several Long Island newspapers, and repeated by later authors.
9. Although Shelter Island’s Indians clearly outnumbered both the settlers and their African American slaves, their background of hunting and gathering suggests that their presence on Shelter Island was usually in a state of flux. For several centuries before the coming of Europeans, the Indians used the island seasonally, perhaps even year-round on occasion, but ultimately they were transitory. Evidence of substantial permanence on Shelter Island, such as a “fort,” horticulture, wampum making, or a contact-period site has yet to be found. Perhaps the “Manhassetts” were a far-ranging group, from Long Island’s South Shore, with no extended history on Shelter Island, who simply made the best of a bad situation by negotiating with the English whom they feared and misunderstood.
10. *Records, Town of East Hampton* (Sag Harbor, 1887), 1:137, 229, 2, 408; II: 94-96
11. Gaynell Stone, ed. *The Shinnecock Indians: A Culture History (Readings in Long Island Archaeology and Ethnohistory)*, Lexington, MA: Ginn Custom Publishing, 1983) 6:102, 250-251, 255, 257, 260-261; *Records, Town of East Hampton* 1: 132, 137; J. Wickham Case, *Southold Town Records* (Southold and Riverhead, 1882), 208.
12. The name “Manhasset” (sometimes spelled Manhasset, but not to be confused with Manhasset, in Nassau County) may be derived from the aboriginal “*Manhansack ahaquashu wornick*,” meaning “an island sheltered by islands” (Pelletreau, “Shelter Island,” 1); interview

with John A. Strong, 6 January 1992.

13. Priscilla Dunhill, "The People of Sachems Neck," in Muriel Porter Weaver, *Where They Go By Water* (n.p.: The Nature Conservancy, 1990), 20.

14. For the business relationship between settlers with Native Americans, see John A. Strong, "Shinnecock and Montauk Whalers," *LIHJ* 2 (Fall 1989): 29-40, and "The Pigskin Book: Records of Native-American Whalers 1696-1721," *LIHJ* 3 (Fall 1990): 17-29.

15. James Havens's ledgers and Lodowick Havens's memoir are in the archives of the Shelter Island Historical Society's William Havens House.

16. Mallman, *Historical Papers on Shelter Island*, 73.

17. Ibid.

18. For Brothertown, see Gaynell Stone, "Long Island as America: A New Look at the First Inhabitants" *LIHJ* 1 (Spring 1989): 165-66.

19. Roger Williams, *A Key into the Language of America* (1643; reprint, Detroit: Wayne State Univ. Press, 1973), 96; Strong, "Pigskin Book," 24-25.

20. William W. Tooker, "Cockenoe-De-Long Island," in *Readings in Long Island Archaeology and Ethnohistory* 4, Gaynell Stone Levine and Nancy Bonvillain, eds. (Lexington, MA: Ginn Custom Publishing, 1980), 181.

21. Mallman, *Historical Papers*, 11; For Lion Gardiner's acquisition of Gardiner's Island see also Roger Wunderlich, "'An Island of Mine Owne': The Life and Times of Lion Gardiner, 1599-1663," *LIHJ* 2 (Fall 1989): 3-14.

22. Duvall, *History of Shelter Island*, 89.

23. Mallman, *Historical Papers*, 87.

24. Norman H. Clark, *Deliver Us from Evil: An Interpretation of American Prohibition* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1976), 17.

A Reading of Edward Lange's Landscapes: Text and Context

By Wendy Joy Darby

The highly detailed and numerous works of the painter Edward Lange are a rich documentary source for Long Island of the 1870s and the 1880s. Indeed, his importance as an artist lies in the realm of local history rather than fine art. This article is based on a lecture on Lange presented at the Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities in conjunction with the exhibition "Edward Lange Revisited."¹

Except that he was born in Darmstadt, Germany, in 1846, Lange's early years are hard to document. He is thought to have been living in New York City by the late 1860s, and is known to have been farming near Commack by 1871. During the 1870s, he made numerous ink and wash drawings of nearby farmsteads and views, the earliest known being a Northport scene of 1871. What these early works lack in sophistication, they make up for in documentary-like exactitude. Late in 1878, Lange gave up farming and moved his family to New York City, presumably to pursue a career as a professional artist. However, this move lasted only four months, as the death of a child from diphtheria led to the family's return to the healthier environment of Long Island. Lange set up as a landscape painter, eventually becoming a successful commercial artist working in watercolor, pen and ink, and oils, and using photography to produce multiple copies of works such as village- and townscapes.

Among the topics to be addressed through the medium of Lange's work is landscape gardening around small-scale domestic dwellings. Given the ubiquitous influence of the horticultural writings of Andrew Jackson Downing (1815-1852), had the gardens depicted by Lange been formed on Downingsque principles? If so, to what extent did they conform to or deviate from these principles? A re-examination of Downing led me to question why he was so popular and, indeed, what was he popularizing?² Rather than deal with Lange's representations simply as recorded observations, I wondered whether they contained notions of social and economic status, or of aesthetic conventions and attitudes. My intention was to "read" the painting-as-text, and, in doing so, to elucidate its context.

Although this "reading" began with Lange's illustrations, working outward and backwards in time from them, for the sake of clarity that process is presented here in chronological sequence. Therefore, we begin with broad

concepts before narrowing down to our particular focus. It is necessary to consider some of the ideas projected onto the American landscape in the early nineteenth century, and their European origins; we must also take note of the aesthetic debate surrounding landscape painting, and its eventual diffusion into principles of landscape gardening—the effects of which can be glimpsed in Lange's works. By briefly examining the relationship between art, nature, and religion, we shall attempt to arrive at an overview from which Lange's works can be better understood.

Traditional Christian teaching presented Nature as the Mirror or Book of God. By looking upon, or reading, Nature in its abundant varieties, one could spiritually ascend to God the Creator. An extremely complex hierarchical ordering of the universe was seen as a great chain of being, stretching down from God to the smallest inanimate object. As man was made in the image of God, so the metaphor of divine order had its correspondence in human political order. Man's social structures, being confirmed in nature, were validated as God-given. A favorite example was the beehive, with queen, workers, and drones going about their appointed tasks, all knowing their place and staying within the limits of that place. So with man.³ Though reflected in nature, God was not nature.

However, by the late eighteenth—early nineteenth century, the terms God and Nature were becoming interchangeable. From Wordsworth to Emerson, from England's Turner to America's Thomas Cole, there was a kind of Christianized nature-worship abroad in literature and art (or secularized Christianity, depending upon one's point of view). The transcendentalists' mystical belief in individualism—the capacity of the individual to directly perceive or commune with God in nature unmediated by human institutions—was a democratic notion. Admittedly, this ability was more readily exercised by those refined in mind and spirit. Given such refinement, organic form could reveal moral and religious truths because they were manifest embodiments of the Creator. The new clergy of this Christianized naturalism were landscape artists.⁴

In relationship to the less cultivated, less refined larger community, the artist stood as intermediary between God-in-Nature and Man. A religious sensibility acknowledged the role of Art in bringing Man to God, a linkage which had particular ramifications in America because America's landscape was special. It was landscape untouched by man, still as it had been formed by the Creator; primordial wilderness was preserved here as nowhere else. While the cultural heights might be European, the paradisiacal heights were right here in America. God and Nature were commingled, and both were expressed in and by the American landscape. From John the Evangelist's "In the beginning was the Word," one had moved to John Locke's "In the beginning all the world was America."⁵

The unspoilt wilderness signifying America's special godly state was, of course, receiving the imprint of man. (Actually, the notion of "unspoilt wilderness" was not correct, for the Native Americans did indeed "manage"

the wilderness, but that is another issue.) In his *Essay on American Scenery* (1835), Thomas Cole lamented the destruction of forest as land was brought under cultivation. In this young nation, in which God was spectacular Nature, national identity became embodied in the landscape. Landscape painters such as the Hudson River artists became sign-makers of a national iconography, portraying an America on whose continent “all the works of nature are on a magnificent scale—mountains, lakes, valleys, and plains.”⁶

Early nineteenth-century Protestant theology was much concerned with these “works of nature” as it grappled with creation theory, delving for biblical clues to arrive at the exact time of creation. Set against the six days of Genesis were theories of gradual evolution over an almost infinite-seeming time span. By the mid-nineteenth century, there was a defensive reassertion of God the Creator, but “the very urgency with which it was asserted that every organism in nature revealed God could be correlated with the dawning realization that it did not.”⁷

Art supported the God/Nature link; it interpreted nature which, in turn, interpreted God to man. What science revealed could either extend the intricate wonders of the great chain of being or snap it apart. Discoveries of fossils supporting geological time-scales at variance with holy writ, and all the advances in the natural sciences had an inherent capacity for a faith-shattering impact. Up to this period, the theological question “Who can look on Nature and not see God” had been purely rhetorical. The question now had an edge to it, for the answer might well come back—the geologist, the biologist, and so on. One also might add—the cultivator of land.

Over time, “Nature” became secularized and man distanced from it. Such distance enabled him to view nature as separate from himself, as “other,” a resource to be exploited without moral or religious implications. An alternative position emerged from which to approach nature.

In broad terms, then, a dichotomy can be seen between the vision of American landscape as pristine, original, God-created, and the emerging utilitarian view of a cultivated landscape to be exploited by man’s technological ingenuity. It may be helpful at this point to remember how rural a society America was. In 1860, five out of six Americans lived outside of cities; by 1900, that figure had only dropped to four out of six, while the total population had vastly increased.⁸ One can begin to appreciate the sheer magnitude of the rural base in which the “God’s country” myth could be sustained, even while constituting the force encroaching upon that pristine Eden, changing it from a garden of prelapsarian innocence to an agrarian garden of knowledge and cultivation. The tension between these two visions of the American landscape can be felt in the following excerpt from an early nineteenth-century New York farming and gardening journal:

It is with pain that I state the fact, which is already familiar to every person of observation, that nothing is more common than to witness in our country well cultivated farms and good buildings, with numerous flocks and herds cropping the luxuriant herbage of the pastures and

fields, without seeing a single tree upon the premises planted for ornament, nor one preserved from the feller's axe because it was beautiful...but all of the forest is swept away, except what is reserved for fuel, as with the besom of destruction.⁹

Horticulture and landscape gardening were to be the civilizing factors in this utilitarian landscape. By their art they were to bridge the two opposing views of nature.

The United States's great exponent of landscape gardening and its elevating effect on the young nation was Andrew Jackson Downing. Though by no means the first theorist or practitioner of the art on American soil, he was, perhaps, the first American-born. Certainly, his fame here and in Europe was exceptional. Born in 1815 in Newburgh in the Hudson Highlands, Downing was raised in the scenery of the American Eden, and was imbued with the romantic spirit of both his age and place. Educated by his older brother as a horticulturist, and despite his lack of formal education in the arts or letters, he read the English landscape theorists and gardeners such as Uvedale Price, Humphrey Repton, and John Claudius Loudon.¹⁰ Downing was deeply indebted to Loudon's writings; through Loudon's *Architectural Magazine* (1837-1839) he would have first come across articles by John Ruskin expounding his theories of architecture and landscape aesthetics. Ruskin became immensely popular in the United States, perhaps more so than in his native England. Volume one of his first major text, *Modern Painters* (1843), placed landscape

in a broader context than the study of form and the history of style. The "higher landscape" depended upon a humble submission of men to the great laws of nature, a close observation of the natural world and the application of the greatest skill and imagination in its representation.

According to Ruskin, landscape then became "a suitable subject for examining the deepest moral and artistic truths."¹¹ His ideas fell on well-prepared ground, given the American preoccupation with the role of art in relation to nature, religion, and nationhood.

Downing's expressed aim was to bring beauty, harmony, and moral significance into the daily lives of Americans. Like Ruskin, his overarching emphasis was on moral feeling based upon individual perception.¹² In championing the Gothic style in the 1840s, Downing expressed his dislike of classical formalism and symmetry associated with Greek Revival architecture which had earlier swept across the country. He applied similar criteria to nature, deploring the imposition of formal design on gardens. Rather, he felt that the gardener should take existing elements and, by his self-conscious art, manipulate them into a new harmonious relationship which improved upon nature. This was the modern or natural style of landscape gardening. The ancient style, with its mechanical regularity, symmetry, and geometry, was to be confined to public places which required a certain grandeur, or to gardens

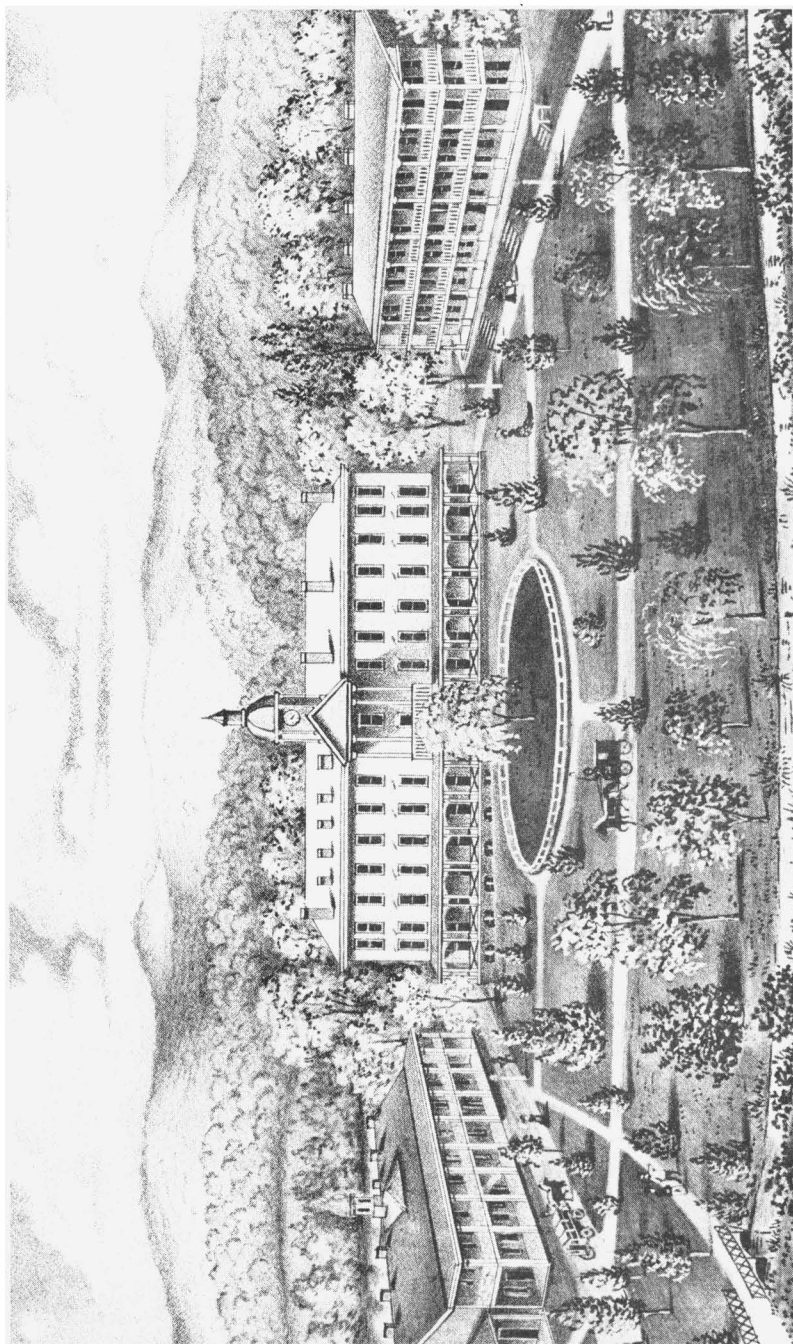


Figure 1. Unidentified Hotel, no date. Courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. Vataemar F. Jacobsen.

too tiny to admit of variety and irregularity.

The quintessential element of this natural style was that it was an art form which imitated nature. However, care had to be taken that it not be so slavish an imitation as to entirely blend with its surroundings; it must remain capable of recognition. To this end, Loudon placed great importance on the use of non-native species, and even called for lawns to be composed of grasses different from those found in the surrounding environs. Downing, too, was of the opinion that “ornamental trees from other countries...not only have an intrinsic value in themselves, but to a refined taste they offer gratifications from the associations connected with them.” In his *Treatise on Landscape Gardening* (1841), Downing emphatically calls for the introduction of “largely exotic ornamental trees, shrubs and plants, instead of those of indigenous growth.”¹³ While Eden might be America, European trimmings stood as markers of “the cultivated mind.” Ironically, of course, the very non-native species Loudon was calling for were often from the Americas!

Downing’s *Treatise*, which rocketed him to fame, was not just another book of gardening advice. It had two voices: that of the practical horti-culturalist, and that of the metaphysical abstractionist whose mission was refinement of certain classes of persons. As Norman Newton succinctly puts it,

Downing’s writing was astonishingly obscure as can be readily attested by dipping into the *Treatise* at almost any page. One can hardly escape wondering not only what Downing meant, but also whether he clearly understood what he was writing about.

One example will serve. If the reader of the *Treatise* was to acquire “good taste,” then Downing recommended that the four principles of the art of landscape gardening be committed to memory. Two were quite straightforward: “The Production of a Whole” (i.e., unity) and “The Production of Variety.” The other two were of a different order: “The Recognition of Art, founded on the immutability of the True as well as the Beautiful,” and “The imitation of the Beauty of Expression, derived from a refined perception of the sentiment of Nature.”¹⁴

Such religious and moral overtones from the various strands of the landscape debate reverberate through Downing’s writings. If we look briefly at Ruskin’s two categories of the Beautiful, I think we shall catch a glimpse of where Downing was coming from. In Ruskin’s system, both types of Beauty referenced back to the Creator:

Typical Beauty [was] that external quality of bodies... which, whether it occur in a stone, flower, beast, or in man...may be shown to be in some sort typical of the Divine attributes.

Vital Beauty [was] the appearance of felicitous fulfillment of function in living things...especially the...right exertion of perfect life in man.¹⁵

The moral value of a work of art was part of its beauty. In Downing’s arena,

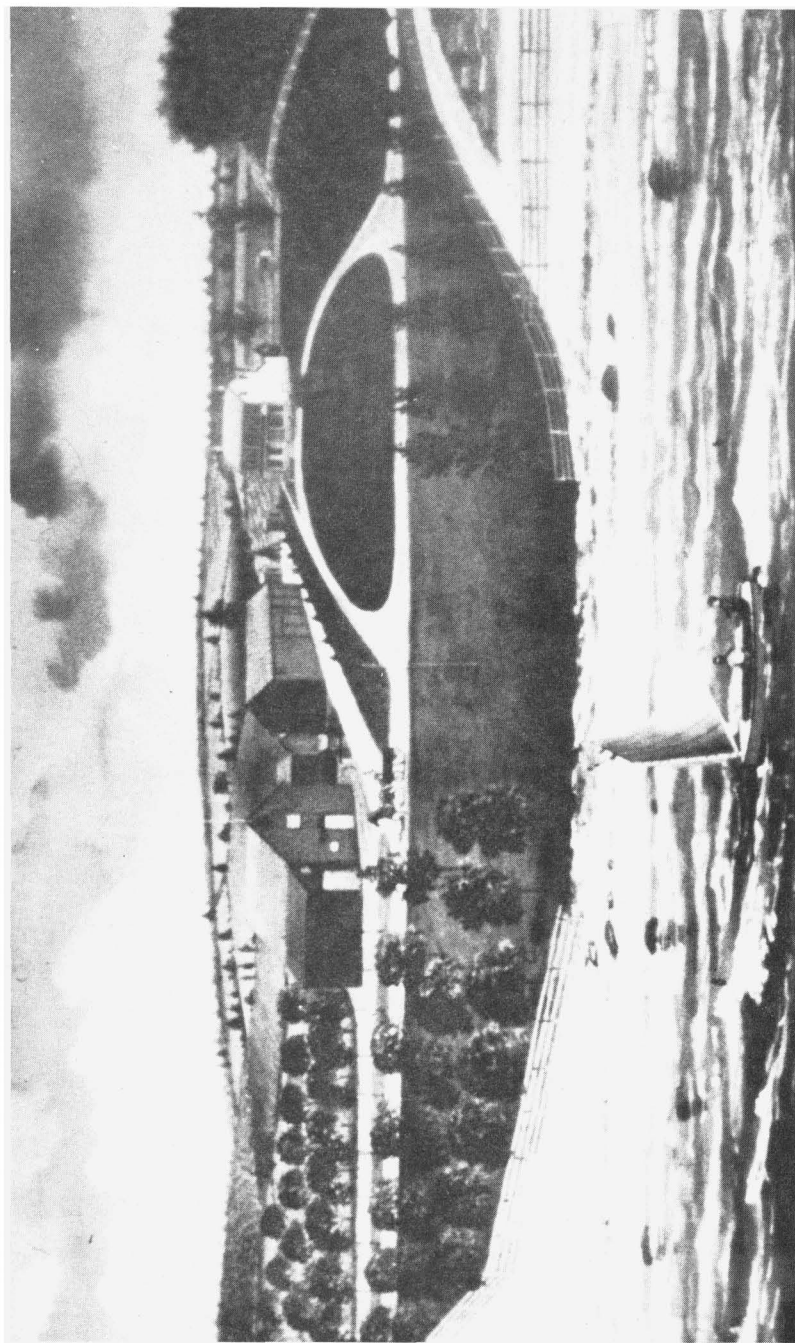


Figure 2. East Neck Farm, Near Huntington, 1880. Courtesy of Huntington Historical Society, Photo Collection.

landscape gardening was the art by which the literal environment of the home could be invested with moral meaning. The moral value which could be contained in the actual structure of the home is nowhere more clearly spelled out than in his preface to *The Architecture of Country Houses* (1850). He gives three reasons why his “countrymen should have good houses.”

First:

With the perception of proportion...order, and beauty...comes that refinement of manners which distinguishes a civilized from a coarse and brutal people.

Once this level of civilization is attained,

is the solitude and freedom of the family home...which constantly preserves the purity of the nation, and invigorates its intellectual powers.

Finally, the home is the State in microcosm:

There is a moral influence in a country home...which is more powerful than any mere oral teachings of virtue and morality.¹⁶

Exactly where one places Downing in the larger landscape is difficult to assess, for his constant urging for “the removal or concealment of everything uncouth and discordant” in nature, combined with his call for the use of non-native species as a means of expressing refined taste, certainly distances him from the vision of the American landscape as a pristine physical repository of spiritual truth. It would seem that his use of the language of the Wordsworthian romantic or Emersonian transcendentalist was largely due to the mediation of Ruskin’s writings. Although Ruskin’s “literary master was Wordsworth,” Ruskin himself did not worship at the altar of pantheism. Similarly, his Low-Church background militated against his being in complete accord with the transcendentalists.¹⁷ The way in which Ruskin articulated a resolution of the Art-Religion-Nature question was, in a sense, Downing’s springboard.

If landscape painters were the new priesthood, interpreting God-in-Nature, then perhaps we can understand Downing’s immense popularity in terms of his ‘short-circuiting’ even that mediating group. By following Downing’s popularized—some might even say bastardized—Ruskinian aesthetic, the reader could acquire a “refined perception of the sentiment of nature” and so on. One could indeed “Do It Yourself,” a sort of horticultural equivalent of the religious revivalism then sweeping the country.

Downing’s “patronizing way in which he prey[ed] upon an assumed status-consciousness” in his readers appears quite astute, as witness the numerous editions of his books.¹⁸ There was a hunger for informed guidance concerning the arts in general. The American Art-Union, founded in 1839 in New York City, soon had an audience spread throughout the nation’s cities and small towns. By the 1840s, lithographs and prints had brought art works within reach of a wide segment of society. Downing’s books on landscape

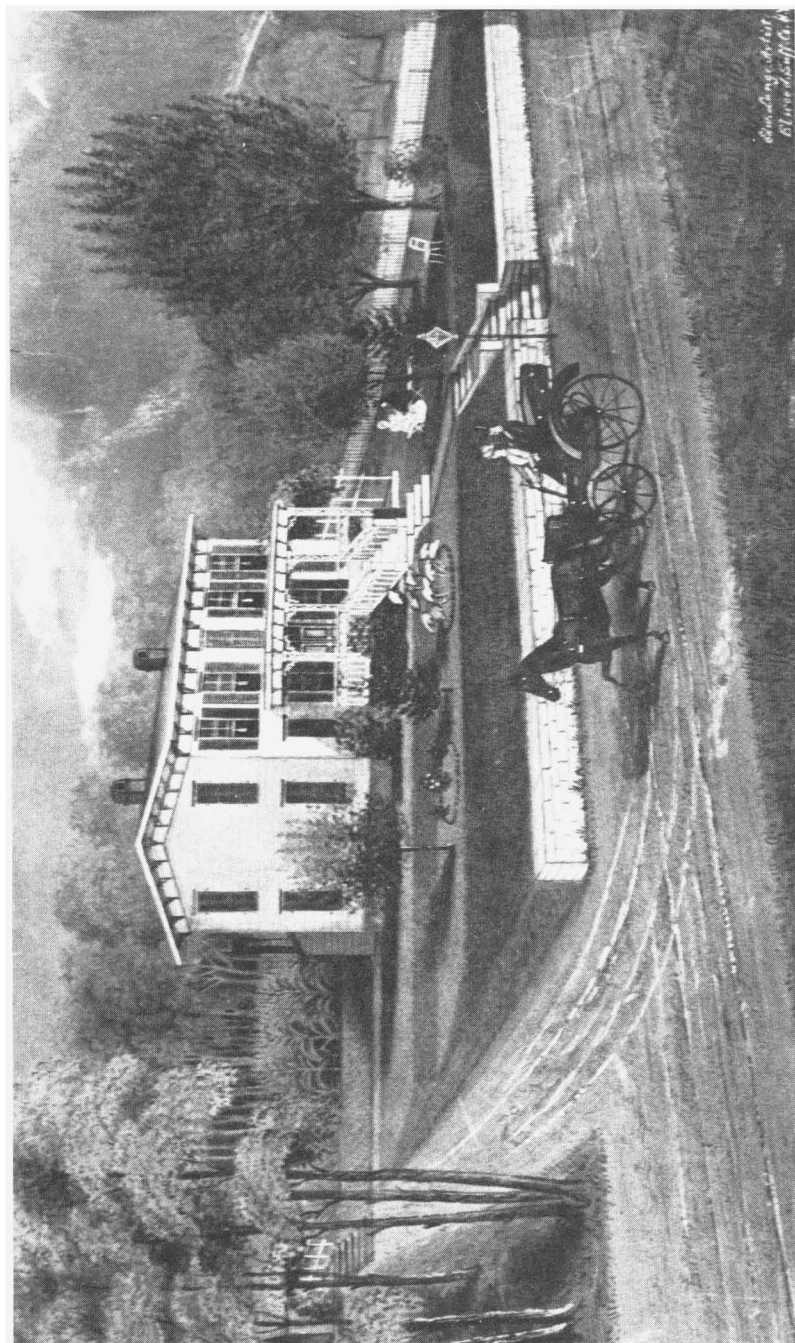


Figure 3. Walker House, Bayview Avenue, Northport, no date. Courtesy of Dorothy Walker.

gardening and architecture tapped into this expanding market for self-betterment. While the United States had no large class of hereditary wealthy men who might wish to imitate the “splendid examples of landscape gardens” which existed in Europe, it did have “a large class of independent landholders who are able to assemble around them not only the useful and convenient, but the agreeable and beautiful.” Downing’s writings were directed to this class and members of the classes below it who might care to emulate their “betters.” His barely concealed snobbery and condescension earned Downing criticism from some reviewers, one of whom observed that while “the high character and adaptability of Mr. Downing’s works [applied] to ‘the upper ten thousand,’ the wants of the ‘lower ten hundred thousand’ [were] not satisfied.”¹⁹

However true a statement, it is too simple a dismissal. It was precisely that larger segment of the population whose sentiments and taste Downing was helping to foster. His untimely death in 1852, at the age of thirty-seven, meant that he did not see the outcome. With the post-Civil War return to prosperity, a flurry of garden books and journals appeared. In part they reflected a shift in emphasis from rural to suburban landscapes. Typical of them is Frank J. Scott’s *Art of Beautifying Suburban Home Grounds* (1870). Scott had studied with Downing, and his book supplemented his past master’s work as it related to the home garden. Scott defined landscape gardening, or “decorative gardening” as he preferred to call it, as the art of picture making and picture framing in which the family was the central point of interest.²¹ As we move into the realm of the “ten hundred thousand,” so the echoes of high-flown aesthetic debate fade but do not die.

The gardens of dwellings and homesteads depicted by Edward Lange are squarely set in this realm of the “ten hundred thousand,” and to them we now turn. Although only a limited number of Lange’s works can be shown and discussed in this article, those chosen do indicate something of the range of his subject matter and the often contradictory notions highlighted by them.

Figure 1 is an undated, untitled scene of a hotel or spa probably located in the Hudson River Valley. Greek Revival elements include the pedimented portico and architraves at the second story windows. This architectural style swept the country from the 1820s through the 1860s, but style aside, such spas were popular retreats from New York City’s summer heat. Carriages would meet boats coming up the Hudson and bring passengers to the hotels on the heights overlooking the river.

The layout of the spa’s public garden recalls Downing’s definition of the antique style of landscape gardening, as well as highlighting its antithesis—the modern or natural style. The antique style displayed what are essentially architectural qualities: regularity, symmetry, geometry. Its use was to be reserved mainly for public spaces. By contrast, the natural style was patterned on the estates of the English landed gentry—grassy sweeps extending into the countryside, no perceptible boundaries, views framed by judiciously planted clumps of trees.

Figure 1 offers *an* interpretation of the antique style. The classically



Figure 4. Sketches from the Republic Camp, Ferry County, Washington, 1899. Courtesy of Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities.

detailed structure, incongruously set down amidst the densely wooded, mountainous terrain, imposes order on at least part of the landscape. The central block, flanked by its supporting buildings, frames a rather formally set out pleasure garden. The enormous, circular, fenced-in plot on line with the portico translates visually into a reflecting pool with central jet. Here, an architectural element of classical garden design has been wrought in plant material. However, while paths do center on this feature, none functions adequately as a central axis; instead, transverse axes dominate. It is our viewpoint which takes the place of such an organizing line. Symmetry is compromised by the additional, curving path leading to the bridge over the stream. Trees and shrubs conform neither to the antique style (clipped, symmetrically disposed, etc.), nor to the natural (grouped in small clumps obscuring the endpoint of pathways, etc.). While there is "Variety" of height, mix of deciduous and evergreen, and of form—columnar, bushy, pendulous, broad-crowned, there is no "Unity." In this Downing would not have been well pleased. What Thomas Cole might have made of this incursion on (let us say) the Hudson Highlands would probably have been an eloquent and supremely sad indictment.

Figure 2, Frederick G. Sammis's *East Neck Farm*, overlooking Huntington Bay (1880), may at first not appear to have much in common with figure 1. However, if considered as a domestic version of the former, then a relationship occurs. Here we have farmstead, field, and garden, laid out in patterns also foreign to the American paradise. This, indeed, is a landscape conquered by man, not merely intruded upon as in the previous case. It is dominated by symbols of domestic prosperity; farmhouse and outbuildings are bounded round by a productive landscape extending to the horizon. It is only in the far distance that wooded hills appear. Nearby is a tamed woodlot and what may be a small orchard. The element of struggle is over: the "besom of destruction" has passed, in its place are civilization and cultivation. A mark of cultivation (in its non-agricultural sense) is, of course, the watercolor itself. Not only was the home farm's importance marked by being recorded, but its view outward was significant. In this appropriation of the distant landscape there is something of the natural or picturesque. *East Neck Farm* could well stand as our illustration of Eden transformed (or deformed, depending on one's own stance) into the agricultural vision of Garden.

Figure 3, the undated *Walker House*, Bayview Avenue, Northport, shows a modest garden set out with terraced lawns, foundation plantings to unite house and garden, a few fine trees, and beds of flowering plants. Both Downing and Scott warned against too many embellishments, which only ended up disfiguring a place. Here the two flower beds are cut directly into the lawn, which Scott considered to be aesthetically superior to beds outlined by gravel paths. A small grouping of trees of different species exhibits unity and variety while providing shade for the few items of garden furniture. A vine-covered walk is set along one side of the house. A couple sits in the garden and, despite the proximity of the working landscape, an air of

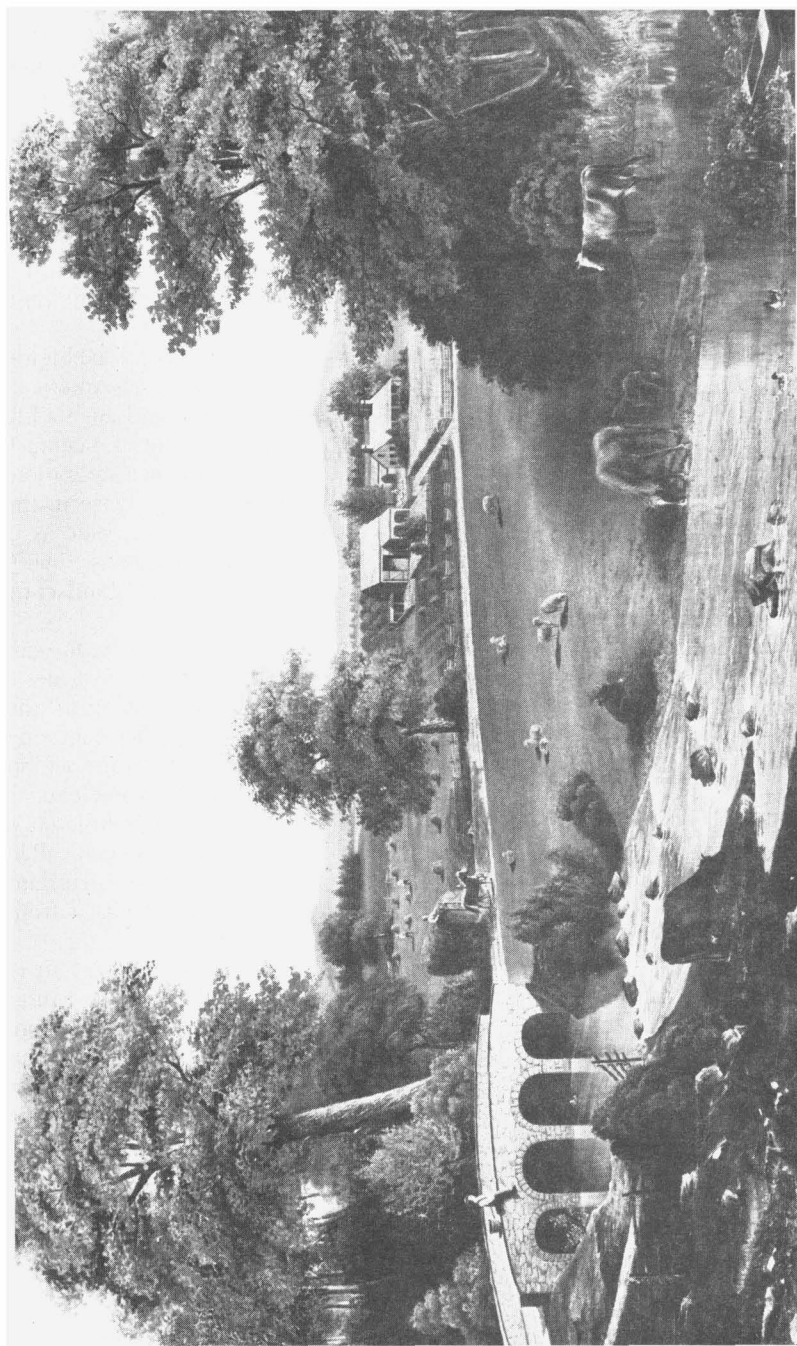


Figure 5. Landscape, no date. Courtesy of Mrs. Carl S. Burr

tranquility has been achieved. The energy dedicated to setting out the garden and the ability to enjoy garden activities (such as sitting out in the afternoon) are indicators of social and economic status. They are the externalized manifestations of Downing's "refinement of manners" which distinguishes civilized society. The garden is the counterpart to the civilizing influence of the domestic interior, itself mirrored in the actual form of the dwelling. In Lange's *Walker House* we see Scott's "art of picture making and picture framing," not only as it was literally played-out on the land, but also as it was then signaled in the act of the artist. The fact of the illustration's commissioning is confirmation and reinforcement of the "sentiment" and "taste" underlying the garden design.

Figure 4, *Sketches from the Republic Camp*, Ferry County, Washington (1899), depicts another aspect of the destruction of the pristine American landscape. This illustration of a gold mining camp, made late in Lange's life when he had moved to Olympia, Washington, comes at the end of a century of highly successful promotional literature intended to influence migration, investment, and, eventually, travel for pleasure. It was in response to the rapacious development of the interior and coastal western states, such as is depicted in this picture, that the national park system had its origins, finally putting into physical form what the early nineteenth-century landscape painters had put into artistic form.

Lastly, we come to figure 5, an undated, untitled landscape suffused with contentment and well-being. Sheep safely graze, cows wade at the water's margin, the stream is alive with fish—assuming that the man fishing off the bridge is doing more than simply killing time. Men work together gathering in the harvest while the feeding of livestock goes on in the farmyard behind the vine-clad farmhouse. All structures are in good repair. The scene exudes peace and prosperity. Of the two major themes running through America's viewing of itself, this work of Lange's is securely set in what has been called the Garden of the World, the pastoralism of agrarian cultivation. Luxuriant nature frames the view; man's order and the bringing forth of goodness from the land is central—literally and metaphorically.²¹

As we are losing our view of the remnants of this pastoral image, it is interesting to note the growing popular involvement in wilderness and rural conservation. Environmentalism is taking on the mantle of a new religion, reformatting at least the link between man and nature, if not man and God. John Ruskin is being taken down from the shelf, dusted off, and a renewed interest taken in his ideas. In approaching Lange's works as I have, it seems to me that they are no longer simply static, documentary representations of specific locales. They have become access points to a cultural landscape, both the larger, literal landscape and the landscape of ideas.

NOTES

1. See Dean F. Failey and Zachary N. Studenroth, *Edward Lange's Long Island* (Setauket: Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities (SPLIA), 1979 (the catalog for SPLIA's original Lange exhibition), and Alison Cornish, *Edward Lange Revisited* (Setauket: SPLIA,

1990), the supplement to the original catalog, issued for the exhibit that marked the debut of SPLIA's Cold Spring Harbor gallery.

2. His major works include: Andrew Jackson Downing, *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, Adapted to North America* (New York: Wiley & Putnam, 1841); *Cottage Residences* (New York: Wiley & Putnam, 1842); *The Architecture of Country Houses* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1850).

3. For a succinct study of the idea of order in seventeenth-century England, its classical and medieval antecedents, see E. M. W. Tillyard, *The Elizabethan World Picture* (1943; reprint, New York: Random House, Vintage Books, 1959).

4. For a full treatment of the relationship between the landscape of nineteenth-century America and American painters, see Barbara Novak, *Nature and Culture; American Landscape Painting 1825-1875* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1980).

5. John 1:1; John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government* (1690), paragraph 49, cited in Novak, *Nature and Culture*, 3.

6. James Stuart, *Three Years in North America* (Edinburgh: R. Cadell, 1833) 2: 518.

7. Peter Fuller, "The Geography of Mother Nature," in Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, eds. *The Iconography of Landscape* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1988), 21.

8. Stephen Hahn and Jonathan Prude, eds., *The Countryside in the Age of Capitalist Transformation: Essays in the Social History of Rural America* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1985), 3.

9. H. H., "Pleasures and Profits of Ornamental and Forest Trees," *New York Farmer and American Gardener's Magazine* (January 1835), 2.

10. Humphrey Repton (1752-1818), *Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (London: J. Taylor, 1816); Uvedale Price (1747-1829), *An Essay on the Picturesque* (London: J. Robson, 1794); John Claudius Loudon (1783-1843), *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Village Architecture and Furniture* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green & Longman, 1833), and *An Encyclopaedia of Gardening* (London: Longman, 1835).

11. Roger B. Stein, *John Ruskin and Aesthetic Thought in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1967), 32; Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, "Introduction: Iconography and Landscape," in Cosgrove and Daniels, eds., *Iconography of Landscape*, 5.

12. Stein, *John Ruskin*, 47, 52-53, 56.

13. Andrew Jackson Downing, "Ornamental Trees," *New-York Farmer and American Gardener's Magazine*, 1834 Appendix, 18, and *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, Adapted to North America* (1859; reprint, New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1967), 35, 58.

14. Norman Newton, *Design on the Land* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1971), 263.

15. Stein, *John Ruskin*, 40.

16. Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses* (1850; reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1969), xix-xx.

17. Stein, *John Ruskin*, 38.

18. Newton, *Design*, 263.

19. Downing, *Treatise*, 23; Solon Robinson, review of *Cottage Residences*, by Andrew Jackson Downing, cited in David P. Handlin, *The American Home: Architecture and Society, 1815-1915* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1979), 43.

20. Frank J. Scott, *The Art of Beautifying Suburban Home Grounds of Small Estates...* (1870; reprint, Watkins Glen, NY: American Life Foundation, 1982), 18.

21. For the conception of the West as agrarian utopia, see Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (1950; reprint, Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1970).

Whitman and the Women: The Poet as Feminist

By Kate H. Winter

There are roughly two hundred and thirty references to women in *Leaves of Grass*. The profusion of females in the poems and the power of the feminine images—including “Democracy...ma femme!”—is testimony to the reverence and love Whitman felt for women. The poet Karl Shapiro, in language that acknowledges the erotic element in the poems, noted:

Even Whitman’s tendency to view Democracy is penetrating. He would not be surprised to discover in America that woman is slightly out of harness; he would approve it. Walt was the first great American feminist.¹

While we may argue Shapiro’s estimation, it is clear that Whitman can be called a feminist in some sense because of his public endorsement of the equality of women with men, and the publication of women’s value through the images in his poems. His espousal of political, social, economic, and sexual equality for women surely makes him a feminist of sorts, though he was not an activist but an advocate.

That advocacy perhaps began in his often expressed affinity for and empathy with the woman reader. Late in his life he confessed to Horace Traubel:

Leaves of Grass is essentially a woman’s book: the women do not know it, but every now and then a woman shows that she knows it: it speaks out the necessities, its cry is the cry of the right and wrong of the woman sex—of the woman first of all, of the facts of creation first of all—of the feminine: speaks out loud: warns, encourages, persuades, points the way.

He valued and courted his women readers, insisting that “I always say that it is significant when a woman accepts me.”² Furthermore, there was a kind of female identification in Whitman that may have been a part of his curious connection with his female audience. He acknowledged that women have the ability to decipher the secrets in *Leaves of Grass*, and that he as a creator was rather like a female himself:

What lies behind “*Leaves of Grass*” is something that few, very few, only one here and there, perhaps oftenest women, are at all in a position to seize.... There is something in my nature *furtive* like an old hen! You see

a hen wandering up and down in a hedgerow, looking apparently quite unconcerned, but presently she finds a concealed spot, and furtively lays an egg, and comes away as though nothing had happened!³

His biographer, Gay Wilson Allen, notes this and concludes that Whitman had a “great mother-soul concealed by his huge lumbering body and bearded face.”⁴ Whitman’s friend John Burroughs noted the feminine in him—his voice, his delicate skin, his gentle touch.⁵ That Whitman had some feminine qualities does not surprise a woman reader. It accounts somewhat for the accuracy of his recording of female emotions and sensibility. He recognized privately the feminine nature of some of his actions, for example his nursing in New York and Washington. As a youth he had assumed some of the care of his younger siblings from his mother and taken over her role as peacemaker in the family. Late in life he would claim the procreative function for himself by identifying his works as his sons and daughters, linking himself with the great mother-women he created in the poems. He seems to have identified with the women in his family, even writing to his mother, “I am not sure but the Whitman breed gives better women than men.”⁶

Sandra Gilbert describes the poet as “sexually ambiguous,”⁷ and it may be that androgyny, and the resulting identification with the female self he experienced, that appealed to women readers. What, then, do we make of the mythic male created in the poems? Reconciling the exaggerated persona of the rough, crude, lusty male with the inventory of feminine images requires that we simply accept Whitman’s construction of the mythical male principle as a balance and fit mate for the woman the poet celebrated. Whitman intended to introduce a new image of woman that would contrast the accepted literary heroine who was dainty, frail, idle, and fashionable.⁸ A larger-than-life mate was needed for this powerful new woman.

The poet’s admiration for strong women, particularly feminists, was reciprocated. It has been observed that in Whitman’s own time “most adverse criticism (of his work) and cries of expurgation came from men while ardent admiration came mostly from women.”⁹ There were many women who publicly praised and defended both the poems and the poet. A rush of anonymous, laudatory reviews can be identified as having women authors, and many others have women’s names actually appended. Whitman recognized and appreciated this phenomenon. In his old age he remarked, “It is very curious that the girls have been my sturdiest defenders.”¹⁰ That their defenses and esteem were indeed ardent is evident in the passion of their prose and proclamations. George Eliot attested that *Leaves of Grass* was one of the few modern books she had read, and that it was “good for her soul.”¹¹ Fanny Fern claimed a similar power for the poems in her review of the book. Though she and Whitman had an ambivalent public friendship that ended in malice and animosity, she proclaimed the advent of the poems unreservedly:

Walt Whitman, the effeminate world needed thee.... Where an Emerson and a Howitt have commended, my woman’s voice of praise may not

avail...I confess that I extract no poison from these "Leaves"—to me they have brought only healing. Let him who can do so shroud the eyes of the nursing babe lest it should see its mother's breast.¹²

Juliette Beach, a journalist, had a similar response to the poems. Though a scathing review was published under her name (an attack that concluded that the only future for such a poet was suicide), some days later a correction was printed explaining that the review had, in fact, been written by her husband. Soon afterward her own review appeared, praising the poems and signed simply "A Woman."¹³

A discrepancy like that was not unusual between spouses in the circle of Whitman's friends and admirers. The wives of some of his male friends sometimes became so enamored of the poet and his work that it caused difficulty in their marriages. Mrs. William O'Connor—Nelly—developed a great affection for Walt when he lived with them in Washington; later, she wrote him loving letters. One commentator insists that she was in love with him and that her passion caused the rift between Whitman and O'Connor.¹⁴ The affection of Mrs. John Burroughs—Ursula—was less fraught with overtones of erotic love but was nonetheless intense. She gave Walt a standing invitation to Sunday breakfast, an invitation that he usually accepted but for which he was most often late. The punctual Ursula must have been put out by his tardiness, but she always welcomed him. Her affection and tolerance for him—especially in light of her distaste for his poems—is testimony to the charm Whitman exercised over many of the women who figured in his life. Many women appeared in that life as important, loving figures. An 1862 letter from Ellen Eyre, an actress, seems to say that her passion for Whitman had been consummated the night before, leading to the supposition that they were lovers. There was also a succession of tender, nurturing women who cared for Whitman's bodily comfort as a mother or sister might. These included Susan Stafford, the farm wife who looked after him at Timber Creek after his paralytic stroke, and Mrs. Davis, who moved into his house in Camden to care for him at the sacrifice of her reputation.¹⁵

The most committed of Whitman's women admirers was Anne Gilchrist, the widow of William Blake's biographer and an accomplished intellectual on the English scene. She was part of the circle of friends of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, who introduced her to *Leaves of Grass*. In 1870 she published her estimation of the book in the *Boston Radical* and wrote the poet an explicit love letter offering herself to him as a mate and mother of his children. Their transatlantic correspondence is uneven—hers fervent and yearning, his reticent but affectionate. After seven years, and against his advice, she moved her three children and herself to New Jersey to be near him. Her naive hopes for a transcendent passion must have been dashed when they finally met because by then he was aged and infirm, but they formed a friendship that she nurtured when he made visits to her home from his house nearby and his retreat at Timber Creek. Like others, Anne Gilchrist had confused the persona

in the poems with the poet himself. Whitman plainly tried to deflect her passion in a rather blunt letter:

Let me warn you about myself and yourself also. You must not construct such an unauthorized and imaginary figure and call it W. W., and so devotedly invest your loving nature in it. The actual W. W. is a very plain personage and entirely unworthy such devotion.¹⁶

The impulse to invest the poet with the qualities of supreme lover infected not only women of the imagination, intellect, and station of Gilchrist, but the common working woman as well. Whitman once brandished this letter from a young woman named Susan Garnet Smith, pronouncing it typical of many he had received:

Know Walt Whitman that I am a woman! I am not beautiful, but I love you! I am thirty-two years old. I am one of the workers of the world. A friend carelessly lends me *Leaves of Grass* for a day...I begin to know Walt Whitman. I have not yet see him...What do I behold! oh! blessed eyes! I see the image of the great beloved soul, which has already embraced, encompassed me...(Here she offers to bear his child) I love you, I love you, come, come. Write.¹⁷

Obviously, not all women swooned at the poems or at the poet's presence. One notable rejection came in the spring of 1860 when Whitman was in Boston on business with his publishers. The Concord group of friends—Emerson, Thoreau, and Alcott—wanted to invite the poet to their homes to visit, but “their wives and sisters objected so vehemently that they did not dare to do so.” Generally, some of the transcendentalists rejected Whitman's presence and projects because he was not “ashamed of [his] reproductive organs.”¹⁸

It may have been that very lack of shame that made the poems appeal to women. In 1905, Mabel McCoy Irwin published her defense titled *Whitman, The Poet-Liberator of Woman*, in which she insisted that the poet had “written the songs of woman's deliverance.” She argued that he had set the stage for her liberation by showing her worth: “he flashed upon her transcendent light, that she might discover her own greatness...then left her afraid and abashed at her own unveiling.”¹⁹

As a woman, a feminist, and a writer, I wonder what in the poems generated such fervor in these women of the nineteenth century. Indeed, what stirs my own sensibility? There are in the poems strands of faintly heard music, a vaguely martial strain, that is so striking to me that I can imagine how much more so it must have seemed to my great-grandmother and her sisters.

Whitman began by simply placing women in the poems. He struggled, as contemporary writers do, with the inequality embedded in the language. He introduced a new usage: insisting that he was to be the poet of the woman as well as the man, he discarded the habitual use of generic “man,” replaced it with the construction “man and woman,” and wrestled with other awkward usages such as “he-she,” “he-his,” and “she-hers.” In specifying woman's

where he recounts the pain of woman's repressed sexuality in the vignette of the twenty-eight male bathers. While he describes the bathing boys' sensations with an immediacy that comes from his own experience, he also delineates the woman's feelings in a few strokes that show how well he understood the sad constriction of her life because she was denied her full sexuality:

Twenty-eight years of womanly life and all so lonesome
 She owns the fine house by the rise of the bank,
 She hides handsome and richly dressed aft the blinds of the window.
 Which of the young men does she like the best?
 Ah the homeliest of them is beautiful to her.
 Where are you off to, lady? for I see you,
 You splash in the water there, yet stay stock still in your room.

Again in this poem the poet identifies with the woman, imaginatively joining both the bathers and the woman, participating in the masturbatory union at the poem's close.²⁰ Perhaps this is, as Gilbert suggests, "an encoded fantasy of transsexualism."²¹ Certainly, it is an example of Whitman's identification with woman, a creature like himself who—as radical poet and lover of men—was alienated by the prevailing culture. Whitman's recognition of woman's need to be freed from the restraints of the culture was reflected in the expansive freedom of his verse style and his imagery. His lines insist that woman must be free from a society that decreed restrictions on everything from his meters to her corsets, a mind-set that tried to force prudery and priggishness on poets and women alike. He knew that for the greatest possible development of their potential, women—like poets—must cast off those fetters; their bodies, minds and spirits must be allowed to soar.

Particularly, he focused his attention on freedom for their bodies. His poems abound with tactile images. Whitman revels in touch, from the bustle of the streetcar's crowded intimacy to the lingering kiss of a lover. If it is true that women were apt to indulge in the rituals of touch more than men and so satisfy their erotic needs, in his profusion of tactile images Whitman may have been textually satisfying the perpetual hunger for touch of his female readers. He invited the audience to indulge in this contact: "Touch me, touch the palm of your hand to my body as I pass" he says in "As Adam Early in the Morning." He explored the pleasure of it: "This is the press of a bashful hand, this the float and odor of hair,/ This the touch of my lips to yours, this the murmur of yearning." The reaching out, the consummation and setting free would begin to break the barrier of prudery that had isolated women as objects. Having eliminated that barrier, women and men could engage in the easy companionship that Whitman dreamed of. In his letter to Emerson that introduced the 1856 edition of *Leaves of Grass*, Whitman heralded a new sort of love to replace gentility's romance:

Women in These States approach the day of organic reality with men,
 without which, I see, men cannot have organic equality with
 themselves. This empty dish, gallantry, will then be filled with

something. This tepid wash, this diluted deferential love...is enough to make a man vomit.

Such an “organic” love would yield a new kind of connubial connection. One tenet of the marriage reform movement in the nineteenth century was the recognition that acknowledging female sexuality and its full expression was the first step in the liberation of women. Whitman’s celebration of women’s full-blown sexuality throughout *Leaves of Grass* acknowledges the importance of a woman’s being “without shame,” honoring “the woman who knows and avows the deliciousness of her sex” as she does in “A Woman Waits for Me.” In recognizing that physical vigor was important to a woman’s development and self-worth, and ultimately her fitness for motherhood, Whitman echoes Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Dr. Edward H. Dixon, and John Humphrey Noyes.²² His insistence on woman’s physical equality parallels the arguments of the reformers Mary Wollstonecraft and Frances Wright as well, and in representing the robust sexuality of women, Whitman sounds like the radical thinkers who believed that women had sexual passions that equalled men’s or surpassed them.²³ Rather than advocate licentiousness or free love, the poet urges “chastity,” which was “a code word in reformist literature generally implying a marriage of regulated sexuality” leading to motherhood as a consequence of passionate desire.²⁴ Thus, Whitman keeps the great mother-figure at the center of his vision.

These sentiments may have been partly the consequence of Whitman’s many friendships with women, including feminists, performing artists, literary women, and “homely” women. His sense of women as equal participants in living may have had many sources, but certainly one was the Quakerism with which he was acquainted through his maternal grandmother, his mother, and his early exposure to the preaching of Elias Hicks. He often told Traubel how he admired the “natural independence and strength of Quaker women.” One such woman was Lucretia Mott, a champion of woman’s rights, whom he described as having “a superb gracious character ...which distinguishes most of the Quaker women—seems to appear in them inevitably.” Whitman admired strong feminists of his time. About Mary Smith Costelloe he said, “She’s as radical as any of us...a thorough *Leaves of Grassian*.”²⁵ In Frances Wright he saw the blending of both physical and spiritual worth, saying that “She was beautiful in bodily shape and gifts of soul.”²⁶ His respect for Margaret Fuller, and the impact she had on his thinking, is apparent in his account of her drowning in *Specimen Days* and his comments on her works. In a note on the publication of her *Papers on Literature and Art* (1846), he applauded the arrival of a woman in the arena of criticism:

We think the female mind has peculiarly the capacity, and ought to have the privilege [sic], to enter into discussion of high questions, morals, taste, etc. We therefore welcome Miss Fuller’s papers right heartily.²⁷

Whitman insisted that women were as capable as men in intellectual work and artistic endeavor, though it appears that the freedom with which a woman lived her private life enhanced his appreciation of her work. He particularly followed the careers of Ada Clare, the “Queen of Bohemia,” and the soprano Marietta Alboni. Clare was a poet and actress he had met at Pfaff’s, a woman who bore an illegitimate child openly, translating her life into a poetic freedom of sorts. At her death, Whitman defended her character and her right to have lived by her own rules. Alboni he defended as the equal of male heroes in his inscription poem “To A Certain Cantatrice”:

Here, take this gift,
 I was reserving it for some hero, speaker, or general,
 One who should serve the good old cause, the great idea,
 the progress and freedom of the race,
 Some brave confronter of despots, some daring rebel;
 But I see that what I was reserving belongs to you just as much
 as to any.

In addition to his belief that women should aspire and be as good as men in the other arts, he expected them to accomplish as much as in literature. His disdain for the prose of Fanny Fern was probably a consequence of this expectation, although he seems to have appropriated some of her stylistic devices.²⁸ He thought he recognized greatness in literary women, for example George Sand whom he considered “the brightest woman ever born.” Like Ada Clare, Sand earned some of the reverence he expressed because “she led a peculiar life—obeyed the law of her personal temperament.” Like Marietta Alboni and George Eliot, Sand contradicted the assumption that women could not create in the arts equally with men.²⁹ Anne Gilchrist combined all the attributes Whitman admired—an insightful mind, a bold, independent spirit, a fierce ability to love, and maternity. He saw her life as the ideal composite of private fulfillment and public accomplishment: “she was harmonic, orbic: she was a woman—then more than a woman.”³⁰

These more-than-women are found recreated in the women in the poems and prose, their potency projected onto women who are envisioned as equal participants in the life of the democracy. In *Democratic Vistas* Whitman described his ideal of women accomplishing wonderful things alongside the men but separated from them by their procreative ability, their “divine maternity”:

The idea of women of American (extricated from this daze, this fossil and unhealthy air which hangs about the word lady), develop’d, raised to become robust equals, workers, and it may be, even practical and political deciders with the men—greater than man, we may admit, through their divine maternity, always their towering, emblematical attribute—but great...as man, in all departments.³¹

It may be politically correct for critics to denounce the dominance of the

mother function in Whitman's depiction of women and note that nearly half of the references to women in the poems are to mothers. We might insist that he is relegating women to the status of brood mares, denying them faces and personalities, giving them only wombs. But this notion of motherhood as pinnacle of female experience was popular with his contemporary feminists and allowed them to insist on their sexual rights. Like Margaret Fuller, Whitman suggested that women were "endowed with finer physical faculties and superior sensibilities" because of their maternity.³² To Whitman, giving birth was the essential activity for the women who were to bring forth the shining children of democracy that the poet described. After setting them free to control their fertility, their lives, and their souls, he expected these newly healthy women to bear a generation of beautiful children to populate the dream democracy. As he said, "Produce great Persons, the rest follows." It is true that Whitman "spiritualized the physical state of motherhood by adopting the Victorian commonplace that the woman who becomes a mother...experiences a 'glimpse of divinity.'" Yet this spirituality has a decidedly visceral and sexual aspect: in the mother lies the potential for creating a new world. Woman "gives birth to the male child and then initiates the man into carnal knowledge...the surest and most crucial knowledge."³³ Whitman understood that for women, the body is indeed political, blending the erotic with the maternal in a challenge to the prevailing icons.

Whitman's intimacy with his own mother and his deep reverence for maternal figures and the limitless love they represented emerge in his poems as a kind of mother-worship that blends the mother and matriarch into a powerful maternal figure. His response to older women was powerfully admiring. In Boston in 1881 at a reading, on looking out over his audience, he commented, "I never saw...so many fine-looking gray-haired women...healthy and wifely and motherly, and wonderfully charming and beautiful." The ultimate compliment is accorded these women in the terse poem "Beautiful Women":

Women sit or move to and fro, some old, some young,
The young are beautiful—but the old are more beautiful
than the young.

The poet glorifies the gray-headed women who have endured, birthed, buried, loved, mourned, and yet maintained their strength and steadfastness. Enthralled by a portrayal of the queen mother in a performance of *King John*, he later wrote that if he were "forced to live in a monarchy," he would want to "be ruled by a Queen."³⁴ This sense that maternity and public responsibility were united appeared in the poems when he enjoined young women not to be fools, but to buy "candles and double beds" and to "make [themselves] a reality and do the state a service."

The beautiful mother is highlighted by contrast with the cruel father figure, particularly in "There Was a Child Went Forth." The mother is mild, loving, and sympathetic, while the father is "strong, self-sufficient, manly,

mean, angered, unjust” and deals in “the blow, the quick, loud word.” The fathomless, enduring, protective love Whitman presents is most often a woman’s.

Taken together, the women in the poems form a group of vigorous working people, although Whitman limits the available occupations outside the home to working in the mills, the factories, and the streets. In “A Song for Occupations” he catalogues the jobs that men may do but lists only the “homely” relational careers for women: the kinwork of being wife, daughter, mother, and sister. Women are only defined by housekeeping (“I sing the Body Electric”), sewing, and washing (“I Hear America Singing”). Despite this limited view, in his editorials Whitman advocated better jobs, wages, and opportunities for women workers. He expected women to participate fully and equally in the work and governing of America. The women in “Poem of Procreation” are even permitted symbolic entrance into men’s territory—“the military and its peacetime equivalent, athletics.”³⁵ In “America” he described the country as a “centre of equal daughters, equal sons,” and in “Song of the Broad-Axe” as a place where “women walk in public processions in the streets the same as the men, /Where they enter the public assembly and take places the same as the men.” To accomplish this partnership they must be robust women, the kind described in “I Sing the Body Electric” and “A Woman Waits for Me.”

Whitman’s concern for the physical health of America’s women was an abiding one. In 1880, when he was in Kansas City, he noted the prevalence of weak femininity in the women of the West, the sort of genteel disability he was countering with his images of women. He had expected frontier women to be models of vigor and health, and he expressed his disappointment:

The ladies...are all fashionably drest, and have the look of “gentility” in face, manner and action, but they do not have, either in physique or the mentality appropriate to them, any high native originality of spirit or body (as the men certainly have, appropriate to them). They are “intellectual” and fashionable, but dyspeptic looking and generally doll-like; their ambition evidently is to copy their eastern sisters. Something far different and in advance must appear to tally and complete the superb masculinity of the West, and maintain and continue it.³⁶

This interest in the physical well-being of woman was extended even to the prostitutes Whitman included in his democracy and his poems. His sister-in-law Nancy apparently practiced the trade, and he came to the defense of the profession and its practitioners in his editorials, advocating a system of licensing prostitutes and requiring medical inspections to keep them healthy, and protesting their treatment by police. It appears he knew a good deal about brothels and their women, either from direct experience or observation; the prostitute made her way into the poems “To A Common Prostitute” and “The City Dead-House” as well as “Song of Myself.” She represents the great potential of woman—her sexual being—oppressed and perverted by a society

that has refused her sexual liberty and complete citizenship. She is the obverse of the pedestaled virgin gentility had created. Whitman insists that she should wait for her rebirth in his new society, when she will have her dignity again and her right to sexual expression.

As Killingsworth has pointed out, for Whitman “Democracy begins with the body.”³⁷ What is wrong with society, what is anti-democratic, is what works against the “morality of the body”—for example, slavery and prostitution. The barriers that the culture had created—particularly class and gender—were continuously breached by basic human sexual nature. The sexual impulses of healthy men and women press toward communion and thus deny the artificial differences that society has erected. Women who were allowed to experience their sexuality would lead the assault, right beside the poet, some women carrying their children on their hips.

This catalogue of women does not exhaust feminine presences in *Leaves of Grass*. In addition to democracy, there are other abstractions and objects that assume femininity in the poems. The sea is a woman, specifically a mother. The “savage old mother” crying in “Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking” and the “fierce old mother” moaning in “As I Ebbd with the Ocean of Life” is the same old mother that “sways her to and fro singing her husky song” in “On the Beach at Night Alone.” The earth itself is female, the “eloquent dumb great mother” with her uncut hair, eternally revolving with her sister planets in “A Song of the Rolling Earth.” Finally, there is the Mother-of-All, a ruling principle not unlike democracy. Sometimes she is the “Mother with the equal brood,” a kind of spontaneously fertile, teeming womb. She is also more than that. In “Pensive On Her Dead Gazing” she is the Mother-of-all, beyond time and space, gazing at her war dead, commanding earth to absorb them, anticipating the time when her dead will be given back to her transformed. She is then a deity like those in the ancient mother cults. Whitman’s poems echo the aboriginal chants that catalogue all the inhabitants and features of mother earth to prompt her once again to fertility.³⁸ Thus, Whitman spans the female experience from decaying, perverted womanhood walking the street to an amorphous feminine principle, a female over-soul. He anticipates twentieth-century feminists’ return to worship of the Goddess as alternative to patriarchal religions.

Despite his generosity toward women, Whitman denies them adhesiveness, emotional and sexual bonding with their own sex. It is curious that a poet who celebrated the bonds of brotherhood as well as the physical consummation of men’s love should deny women their corresponding sisterhood and its sexual expression. He even objected to women kissing each other because they could not fully appreciate the meaning of the act.³⁹ According to the poet, woman’s love was incomplete and could not “satisfy the grandest requirements of a manly soul for love and comradeship.”⁴⁰ It is a failure of imagination or experience that in his new society with its independent, intellectual, challenging, healthy, working women there is no room for love among those women. The essential connection for a woman is

still with a man. The poet's new democracy is a glistening garden of erotic heterosexual delight where, at least, woman is no longer subservient to man. She wears her ancient divinity again. The new American Adam invites her to walk with him:

By my side or back of me Eve following,
Or in front, and I following her just the same
(“To the Garden the World”)

Even with its Christian aura and heterosexual focus, Whitman's vision of the new land peopled by divinely beautiful women, men, and children could pass for a feminist's dream. From our twentieth-century perspective, we may scorn the limitations of his vision and condemn the whole as mother worship and patriarchal thinking in disguise, but his hope for a new society based in dignity and equality for women is still at the center of feminist ideology.

NOTES

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John Steinbeck as a Long Islander

By Frances Kestler

This article shows how John Steinbeck, a native Californian, came to choose and love Long Island and finally make it his home. It focuses on his later writing, reflecting his adaptation to the Island and its people, especially those of Sag Harbor.

Sag Harbor is nestled at the southern end of Shelter Island Sound, a deep-water port protected by bays and coves. In the middle-eighteenth century, “when deep-sea whaling supplanted the off-shore type,” it developed into a thriving village of whalers, fishermen, and coastal traders. The first Congress made Sag Harbour and New York City ports of entry and U. S. Collection Districts, with Sag Harbor “then and for some time afterward relatively the more important of the two.” By 1845, when “the business was at its highest point, there were seventy Sag Harbor vessels engaged in whaling.” The whale fishery was a way of life throughout the 1840s and 1850s, when what was first known as “the harbor of Sagg” became Suffolk County’s most populous village, a whaling center second only to Nantucket and New Bedford.¹ The Custom House (1790), the First Presbyterian Church (Old Whalers’-1844), and some of the other handsome buildings that graced this historic village still stand.

During its heyday Sag Harbor provided a haven for whalers, shipbuilders, coopers, sailmakers, carpenters, tradesmen, and visitors, who refreshed themselves at taverns and hostelrys such as the still-operating American Hotel, where James Fenimore Cooper wrote his sea tales. More than a century later, to this village steeped in its colorful past, its friendly port now a yacht basin, came another foremost American writer, John Ernst Steinbeck, Jr. (1902-1968).

A native of the grape and wine country of Salinas, Steinbeck understood and wrote about the problems of the downtrodden, especially during the Depression, in the novels *Tortilla Flat* (1935), *In Dubious Battle* (1936), *Of Mice and Men* (1937), *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939), and *Cannery Row* (1945). Later, as a journalist, war correspondent, script writer, and traveler, his experiences led him over a vast panorama in search of morality in what he perceived to be a dehumanized and materialistic world. His passion for social justice earned him the 1940 Pulitzer Prize in novel for his masterwork, *The Grapes of Wrath*, and international recognition when he was awarded the Nobel Prize in literature in 1962 for his novels, short stories, and sketches.

The theme of Steinbeck’s work was people’s continual longing to extricate

themselves from a maze of conflicting values toward a new vision of life, a design he continued to conceive while writing at Sag Harbor. With the usefulness of symbolism he struck at the heart of human nature, searching for perfection. He became a questor of the Holy Grail, envisioning life as a succession of paths leading to a road of fulfilling promise.

Steinbeck's life at Sag Harbor began in September 1953, when he rented a waterfront cottage for his wife, Elaine, whom he wed in 1950, and his two sons by a previous marriage. After the boys returned to school, he stayed on alone to work on his novel and musical, *Sweet Thursday* (1954) and *Pipe Dreams* (1955), assuring his friend and editor, Elizabeth Otis, that "I couldn't be in a better place (to write) and walk and smell the good wind."²

Writing was Steinbeck's life and true vocation, as he confided in a note from Sag Harbor to Elia "Gadg" Kazan: "I like to write. I like it better than anything."³ He continued to write short stories and other works, including *The Short Reign of Pippin IV* (1957), *Once There Was a War* (1958), *The Winter of Our Discontent* (1961), *Travels With Charley in Search of America* (1962), and *America and Americans* (1966).

He confirmed his affinity for Sag Harbor in a letter to John O'Hara: "I grow into this countryside with a lichen grip." The quietness must have given him the spark he needed, as he wrote to his friend and publisher, Pascal ("Pat") Covici, about the oncoming fall, "Almost my favorite season. For some reason it brings a kind of happy energy back to me. The birds are flocking and flying. The geese go over at night very high. And the air has muscle." When he talked about returning to New York City for the winter, he continued, "This place will be waiting." And to Shirley Fisher, a partner in the literary agency of McIntosh and Otis, he spoke tenderly of Sag Harbor: "Tonight the bay is smooth as milk and little curls of mist...And in this curly thicket the ducks are hidden."⁴ Clearly, Steinbeck, who had traveled the world over, lived most of his life elsewhere, and received international fame, found his Shangri-la in this hamlet. Critics often contend that every writer must have a rise and decline in his or her career. For example, Howard Levant and Warren French assume that Steinbeck's later work is but a recapitulation of his early stories and themes, particularly of *Cup of Gold: A Life of Henry Morgan, Buccaneer* (1929) and *The Grapes of Wrath*. Some also feel that his last major novel, *The Winter of Our Discontent*, was but an expose of economic conditions of the late nineteen-fifties, or merely an extension of his 1956 short story, "How Mr. Hogan Robbed a Bank."⁵

In my judgment, those who imply that Steinbeck only shifted his settings from California to his new home on Long Island are mistaken; in his Introduction to *The Winter of Our Discontent*, Steinbeck insisted that "Readers seeking to identify the fictional people and places here described would do better to inspect their own communities and search their own hearts, for this book is about a large part of America today."⁶ Others, such as Richard Astro, feel that the setting for that novel might be New England, around Nantucket, where Steinbeck worked on *East of Eden* (1952), or

perhaps because the protagonist's name, Ethan Allan Hawley, has a Yankee connotation.⁷ Clearly, these critics neglect the universal appeal factor as the underlying purpose of Steinbeck's message, misunderstanding the "Anytown, USA" concept. They also fail to recognize the familiar Sag Harbor landmarks apparent in this work.

I have no intention of criticizing or analyzing Steinbeck's themes or methods of writing, or to pass judgment on the rise and fall in any author's life. Rather, I submit that Steinbeck sank his roots on Long Island in a village which assuredly is reflected in his writing, particularly in *The Winter Of Our Discontent*.

He first settled in New York City in the winter of 1945. By August 1948, when his wife Gwyndolyn decided she wanted a divorce and custody of their two sons, Thom and John, he became disheartened. He wrote to his friend Webster F. "Toby" Street that New York City was insanity, that he was "looking forward to quiet and some peace," and that his search for himself as a person was heightened.⁸

He returned to Pacific Grove, California, with that hope in mind, as he continually wrote to his confidante, Pat Covici.⁹ In May 1949 he met Elaine Scott, the former wife of the actor, Zachary Scott, and within a short time they became friends, igniting a diary-like correspondence. In December 1950 he married the Texas-born lady and they moved back to New York City.

During the summer of 1951 they rented a house on Nantucket, where he finished *East of Eden*, a novel dedicated to Pat Covici. Perhaps this is why critics felt he was influenced later on to give a New England setting to his novel, *The Winter Of Our Discontent*. In 1952 Steinbeck, while a correspondent for *Collier's* magazine, left with his wife for a six-month tour of North Africa, France, Italy, and Spain. The next year he decided to rent a cottage at Sag Harbor for his family, to be near Cy Feuer and Ernest Martin (who were to produce his musical play, originally entitled *Bear Flag* but later called *Pipe Dreams*), and to work on the novel which he eventually called *Sweet Thursday*.

In September 1953, he wrote to Elizabeth Otis about the advantages of Sag Harbor, adding that "I wouldn't be surprised if this should be one of the most productive times of all."¹⁰ But the following spring he again went abroad for a nine-month tour as correspondent for *Le Figaro*, in Paris, during which he was called upon, as on his previous assignment, to write several short pieces.

Much as he enjoyed Europe, he longed to leave its frenetic ambience; enchanted with Sag Harbor, he decided in spring 1955 to buy a small house in an oak grove on one of the coves. To many of his friends this move signified his acceptance of the East Coast as his permanent home, as he wrote to Toby Street, in July, of his enthusiasm for this part of Long Island:

The Atlantic is very much richer in varieties than the Pacific. Lobsters, clams, crabs, oysters and many kinds of fish. I really love it out here. Am going to winterize this little house so I can come up when it is cold...I haven't felt so good in years.

And again, in September, “We love our little place on Long Island.”¹¹

He informed other friends of Sag Harbor’s enticement. In December 1955, he wrote to Elia Kazan: “We’re going to the country for about three days. I could do with some solitude.” In a letter to Pat Covici next February, he declared that “a kind of peace is settling over me. Out here I get the old sense of peace and wholeness...and it seems to be getting into my work. I approach the table every morning with a sense of joy.” Commenting on his writing, he added that “In the work I am doing, the past is used only in so far as it affects the present.”¹²

His absorption of the town and its people had a strong effect on his writing. In a letter to Peter Benchley (1956), he remarked that “A man who writes a story is forced to put into it the best of his knowledge and the best of his feeling (as) he seeks to establish a relationship of meaning, of feeling, of observing,” which Steinbeck did as he scrutinized his newly discovered surroundings. He was becoming a local, so to speak, as shown in his March 1966 letter to Toby Webster about a snow fall: “I’d better get out and shovel some snow now. Maybe I can get into town tomorrow.” That summer he wrote to James S. Pope that “It is so lovely out here with sun and breeze and water that the flowers in the garden are yawping like coon hounds on a moonlight night,” adding that he was working on a little book.¹³

While laboring on a modern version of Thomas Malory’s *Le Morte d’Arthur* (ca. 1469), he wrote to Elizabeth Otis, in January 1957, that “The bay is nearly frozen over with just a few patches of open water...Charlie (Steinbeck’s dog) is having a wonderful time trying to walk on the ice.” Meanwhile, he read a great deal and did research on the Middle Ages, later going to Rome, “a huge fund of Maloryana,” to collect material. He seemed to be searching for his own Grail, for in March 1958 he confided to Elizabeth Otis about the “solace I get from the new boat (at Sag Harbor). I can move out and anchor and have a little table and a yellow pad and pencil. Nothing can intervene. Isn’t that wonderful?”¹⁴ That fall he poetically commented to Pat Covici that:

We are proprietors. And then the fall comes and... we lose our ownership. We scurry to put things away out of danger, drain water, let the leaves be as they fall. The strong forces creep back and we burrow down like moles to wait it out until we can take control again...the birds are flocking and flying. The geese go over at night very high. And the air has muscles...my life is coming back now...the words are beginning to flock and fly again like the night birds. I wonder where they will go this time.

His letter to Chase Horton in October 1958 revealed that he wanted to write something new, “to try to get the muscles strong on something else, a short thing, perhaps...it had been lying around all the time ready at hand.”¹⁵ His “slight thing,” as he called it, turned out to be present-day America—his Sag Harbor.

Excited as he was in December that year, in New York, he wrote worriedly about money problems and death to Elizabeth Otis: “I must live as

though I were going to live forever and at the same time as though I were going to die tomorrow." Concerned with not publishing fast enough, and with bills piling up, he felt pressure. Perhaps realizing he was getting older, and knowing that he always took a long time with his writing, he began to panic. He even offered to her or her friends the use of his Sag Harbor home while he was in the city. "Would it be a good thing if they could use the Sag place? It's such a wonderful place and it should not be locked up if it could give as much joy to someone else as it gives me." He confided to his friend, Pat, about his writing, that "it isn't a bad book," but apparently was apprehensive about its not being good enough: "It would bear out the serious suggestion that my time for good writing is over."¹⁶

Lonely as he was, he continued with his project until in March 1959, when he and Elaine traveled to England to recapture the Arthurian flavor as he worked on his translation of *Morte*. They stayed in Somerset until November and then returned to Sag Harbor, at which time he wrote to Dag Hammarskjöld that "Cheating people...are symptoms of a general immorality which pervades every level of our national life and perhaps the life of the whole world. It's hard to raise boys to love and respect virtue and learning when the tools of success are self-interest, laziness and cynicism."¹⁷

As in his earlier years, when he wrote about injustice toward his brother, he now felt a renewed urge to write about the perfidious treatment of one individual for another for personal gain, the theme of *The Winter of Our Discontent*. However, late in November 1959, Steinbeck suffered either a mild coronary or a slight stroke, which required hospitalization and then recuperation, first in New York and then at "Joyous Garde," his Sag Harbor home. "In the hospital," he wrote to Elizabeth Otis, "I got over mourning for lost time because I grew to know that time can't be lost, only people can be."¹⁸

Next March he assured James S. Pope that he was "in the middle of a book [*The Winter.....*], and it is going swell, and I wouldn't interrupt it for anything." He was planning the trip around the United States, to commence around Labor Day, which led to *Travels With Charley*. Elaine and others worried about his making it alone, but he ordered a pick-up truck to carry essentials and made his plans. By June he had almost finished his novel and wrote to Elizabeth Otis, "My book is moving rapidly now. It's as though the pressures were removed from it." Later that month he told Pat Covici, "I know you approve of the trip, but there are others who find it so Quixotic so that I am calling it Operation Windmills and have named my truck, Rocinante...[but] I must finish Winter before I start on Windmills." He completed the novel by July 1960, explaining the title to Pat: "I guess it is characteristic that I am writing a book called Winter in July. But maybe it's all right because the line goes, you remember: 'Now is the winter of our discontent made glorious summer by this sun of York'" from the opening lines of *Richard III*.¹⁹ Thus, the tale unraveled, with the setting more than probably being Sag Harbor, as I shall demonstrate.

The story takes place in the fifties as Steinbeck examines a group of

people who are living through a time of material growth but at the same time through a period of moral corruption and weakened ideals. Again, we have the tale of a wasteland, the theme of so many twentieth century writers, caused by avarice and ambition in people's misdirected search for human dignity. Much like William Dean Howells, who coined the term Realism, Steinbeck also delved into the psychological of man, fascinated with the dark recesses of the human conscience. But, like Hawthorne, he felt that all evil stems from the human heart as he reflected on the trends of his own time. The setting, Steinbeck avowed, could be any town in the 1950s, but to such careful readers as Jackson Benson and William Jones his descriptions suggest Sag Harbor, not a town in New England or any other area.²⁰

The revelation of the fall and rise of Ethan Allan Hawley begins at Marullo's (a duplicate of an Italian-owned grocery in Sag Harbor where Steinbeck often shopped), as Ethan opens the store early on a Good Friday morning, a day he feels it should be closed. Earlier that morning he reminisces to his wife Mary about his ancestors' being descendants of whaling captains (appropriate for a Sag Harbor native) and wonders what they would think of his lowly job as a grocery clerk sweeping out "garbage." On his way to the store on High Street, which, like Sag Harbor's Main Street runs into the bay, he looks back at his house on Elm Street with its Adam architecture and widow's walk typical of Sag Harbor houses, flanked with lilac trees in the spring: "The sun had just cleared the bank building and flashed on the silvery gas tower [like the tower right off Main Street in Sag Harbor], starting the kelp and salt smell from the old harbor." Ethan thinks about life as a battle and symbolically discusses the old whaling days, remarking that "A town like this had got myths."²¹

He meets Joey Morphy, a teller at the First National Bank, and, as they stroll along, Steinbeck describes the old hotel, the five-and-ten-cent store, the bar-and-grill, the street lined with elms—exact replicas of buildings on Main Street in Sag Harbor. From the start, the reader knows that Ethan is not exactly happy with his lot in life, especially as he talks with the bank manager, Mr. Baker, who tells him he should invest his wife's savings to get back on his feet. Ethan's father once owned the entire block, including the grocery store, but lost everything in the Depression, as did many long-time property owners in Sag Harbor at the time. His father lost even his ship, his pride and joy, made of Shelter Island oak: "Her keel and false keel are down there now and sound. Shelter Island virgin oak they were." As Baker tempts him, Ethan admits he fears the inevitable and worries about his bills, remarking that the "The Long Island Lighting Company (proof that this could not be New England) might turn off the lights." The seed is planted by Baker for a plan to get Ethan out of the hole, with Ethan becoming angry that a newcomer is making money in a business that he (Ethan) actually runs: "There's some interesting things going to happen here. You can be part of it."²²

On his way home Ethan walks to the bayside, where the pilings of the dock, the smell of the sea, and the sea gulls are similar to Sag Harbor's. After

he is home, his two children ask to go the nearby movies—Sag Harbor has had one small movie theatre for years. In chapter 3 the author adds to his description of “one of the first clear and defined whole towns in America. Its first settlers and my ancestors, were sons of those restless, avaricious seafaring men...” He talks about his forefathers and the history of the town which is closely aligned with Sag Harbor’s whaling history. He calls it a pretty town, with one street leading into the next, and paints an accurate picture of houses from the 1800s, as well as of the antique shops with their Chinese artifacts.²³

Change is inevitable, and Steinbeck in the guise of Ethan speaks of the way things used to be; the old dock is now a municipal pier with new tourist shops and eating establishments, just as Sag Harbor has changed over the years. Even when talking about the old bicycle factory, Steinbeck must have meant the Bulova Watch building, Sag Harbor’s only factory. Bulova closed its doors several years ago but still stands as a red-brick relic, off Main Street.

Ethan reveals meeting Mary, his wife of Boston-Irish heritage, while he was in the Army during World War II. But the femme fatale, the temptress of the story, is the sexy Margie Hunt who propositions Ethan, who seems to ignore her. Another character is Danny Taylor, a childhood friend and later the town drunk. Ethan reminisces about growing up together in the old days, with the old anchorage, shipways, and ropewalks, now all replaced. Ethan has his own “place” near the stone foundation of the old dock, where he likes to sit “taking stock” of himself. He listens to the quiet clammers, and watches a small craft making its way into the channel (resembling the channel at Sag Harbor). He loves living near the harbor, with “no nonsense of Madison Avenue or trimming too many leaves from cauliflowers. A man could breathe.”²⁴

In chapter 6 Ethan fights against a change which he feels coming over him. He thinks about Danny and how they used to fish for porgies, blowfish, and flounders, hunted and swam together, and were boys at the grain and feed store. He ponders the trees—oaks, hickory, and some cedars (all indigenous to Long Island)—and the formal gardens that used to be there. His thoughts address his conscience, appeasing it, so that whatever he might do would be logical and not wrong. Like those of Henry James, Steinbeck’s heroes exhibit renunciation, not as a negative aspect but rather as an awareness associated with wisdom, which indicated the ability to resist temptation and follow one’s road; in short, they attained a fullness of consciousness. For James and Steinbeck, a fine conscience is a virtuous one. Facing oneself and choosing what is right is renunciation.

On Easter, Ethan and the family go to an old, white-steepled church, also a familiar site in Sag Harbor. Mary remarks about Mrs. Baker’s hat that “She must have got it in New York,” indicating the proximity between New York City and Sag Harbor via the Long Island Railroad. Mr. Baker also mentions going to New York on business, as well as to Albany to see the Governor about county and town affairs,²⁵ more evidence that the setting could not be New England.

New York City is mentioned again when Ethan suggests that Marullo go there to see a specialist, and then take a vacation to Montauk—mainly to get Marullo out of the store so he can work out his ingenious robbery. Montauk is mentioned later, when Mary decides to take a two-day vacation there. In planning the trip, Ethan refers to the Montauk area as “that lean spindle end of Long Island.” Other references denoting a New York setting are Ethan’s looking in a Manhattan telephone book for the “Bureau of Immigration” number; when a G-Man later arrives on the scene, he says, “I’ve been driving three hours from New York,”²⁶ the same time it takes to reach Sag Harbor.

When Ethan mentions a bank robbery in Floodhampton, this must be a play on either Southampton or East Hampton. Another reference is to Ridgehampton, where Mary shops, which can be only Bridgehampton, across the South Fork from Sag Harbor. Mr. Biggers, the shrewd salesman who tries to show Ethan how to steal from his boss, comes to the store and says, “I’m staying the weekend out at Montauk. Thought I’d drop in.” Margie decides that she is “going up to Montauk tonight,”²⁷ but does not say with Biggers, yet the statements imply the familiar Route 114 from Sag Harbor to Montauk.

At Easter time Ethan, trying to be nice, suggests to Mary that they go in a rowboat and “fish for porgies,” another reference to fish found in Sag Harbor and Shelter Island waters. Later on Ethan wants to know if Mary wants him to pick up some fish from the store. “Well,” she replies, “if you see some nice flounder. That’s about all that’s running” in April and May and adds that weak fish come in later in the season as do the bluefish. The bridge into town on which some teenagers wreck a car in chapter 4²⁸ sounds like the bridge from Noyac into Sag Harbor. Even Ethan’s description of the alley in back of the store where he works dovetails with the back-alley entrances to places of business in Sag Harbor.

Another clue to the Sag Harbor setting is Danny’s family property, “Taylor Meadow,” a nearby flat land typical of the area around Sag Harbor, which greedy speculators are eyeing to steal and make money by building an airport. The nearest jet airport, Templeton Airfield, forty miles from New Baytown (Sag Harbor), could very well be MacArthur. Another familiar site is the “Foremaster” grill, a restaurant and coffee shop (similar to one on Main Street, recently renovated with bow windows) where Mr. Baker invites Ethan for coffee, and where Margie goes to treat Ethan. Other definite landmarks include the new “Marina” (Baron’s Cove Marina, until lately owned by the Barry brothers), the old Yacht Club (now renovated), and the American Legion Hall with brown-painted machine guns mounted beside its steps.²⁹

When Ethan continues his description of “New Baytown,” anyone familiar with the area perceives that it must be Sag Harbor. “Its harbor, once a great one,” he observes, “is sheltered from the northeast screamers by an offshore island” (Shelter Island), and he reminds us how this old whaling town died somewhat when whaling died while other towns prospered. “The snake of population crawling out from New York passed New Baytown by...The neighboring towns (East Hampton and Southampton) were rich, spilled over

with loot from tourists.” But Ethan and other natives know that sooner or later their community, too, would be engulfed with new buyers because of its “fine inland waters,” fowl (mallards, ospreys, cock pheasants, and blue herons), animals (rabbits, squirrels, muskrats, and otters), clams, scallops, and all kinds of fish; they hated to see it spoiled, but, at the same time, they wanted to make money themselves.³⁰

The essence of the plot unfolds in chapter 13, as Ethan dwells on the morality of getting rich through the downfall of others. Yet the temptation for wealth is overpowering, even though he reminds himself of loyalty to friends, especially Danny with whom he used to catch porgies, blacks, dogfish, and “blows” in the good old days of growing up. Suspense heightens, but in the end Ethan can not go through with his intricate plans of robbery and hurting friends and family to get ahead. He feels lost and suicidal as he walks past the fire station, turns at the monument toward the old harbor, and goes to his “place” near the piles and the warm sea he loves.

Complete with exquisite symbolism, the story reveals a man’s desires and ambitions along with his struggle against temptation in the effort to discover his light at the end of the tunnel. As for the characters’ resembling people who lived in Sag Harbor in Steinbeck’s time, they probably represent a compilation of persons Steinbeck met along the Eastern seaboard, rather than particular individuals. Certainly, he knew many of Sag Harbor’s townspeople after living there so long, and felt at home with them as he shopped in their stores and patronized their restaurants and bars.

One such acquaintance, Frank C. Barry—whose father, Hathaway “Hap” Barry, served as mayor in the nineteen-fifties—recalled that “John was a friendly guy, a laid back, pleasant sort of person who liked his Scotch...He would be living here still if he hadn’t gotten sick.” Bob Friedah, a friend of Barry’s and Steinbeck’s, agrees that he was “a wonderful guy.”³¹

With his colorful characters and vivid setting Steinbeck exhibited the spirit of renunciation, producing a poignant heart-warming tale of suspense and drama which could have unfolded in any town at any time, but, because of similarities and other conspicuous suggestions, the observant reader can only conclude that the author had Sag Harbor in mind. At any rate, Steinbeck appeared more than satisfied at the completion of his book, and was ready to begin his trip to see the United States. He left in September 1960, taking the double-ferry to Shelter Island and Greenport, another ferry from Orient Point to New London, and on to Massachusetts, Maine, Minnesota, North Dakota, and the West Coast, then back through Texas and Louisiana and finally, New York.

Once more in Sag Harbor in June 1961, he was upset with an unfavorable comment on *The Winter of Our Discontent*, but eventually accepted the critics’ good with the bad as a matter of course. He and Elaine embarked on a ten-month around-the-world trip with his two teen-age sons and a tutor. In November, while in Milan, he suffered congestive heart failure. Although he seemed to recover, they rearranged the itinerary to end the trip in Italy and the Greek Islands, and return to his beloved Sag Harbor where he heard the

news of his being awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature.³²

After an avalanche of congratulatory letters and other honors, life went on for John Steinbeck, now sixty years old. He proudly wrote his acceptance speech to be read at Stockholm, and tried to resume his quiet routine of writing. In 1962 he published *Travels With Charley*, his odyssey of rediscovering his native land, accompanied only by his French poodle. His account of his remarkable journey, which took him through almost forty states, brought only praise. The *Chicago Sun-Times* called it "A New Vision of America"; the *Boston Herald* said it was "one of the best books John Steinbeck has ever written...a vibrant and remarkable illuminating panorama of our land and its people"; and the *Miami Herald* reported it as "delightful, leisurely reading, full of the sights and sounds of the land and rich with color and salty humor." Steinbeck spoke of his tour as "an entity, different from all other journeys. It has personality, temperament, individuality, uniqueness. A journey is a person in itself; no two are alike."³³

In June 1963, a detached retina required surgery at Southampton Hospital, from which he returned to Sag Harbor to recuperate. At the suggestion of President John F. Kennedy, Steinbeck made a good-will trip behind the Iron Curtain. Cheerfully, he wrote to Elizabeth Otis on 18 October 1963 from Moscow that a play version of *The Winter* was going into rehearsal at the Moscow Art Theatre.³⁴ En route home, while at Warsaw, the shocking news of Kennedy's assassination reached Elaine and John. They continued their tour to Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and West Berlin before reaching New York just before Christmas. Another shock came in fall 1964—the death of Pascal Covici, and still another one year later when Steinbeck's younger sister, May Bekker, died at the age of sixty. However, the thought of completing the *Morte d'Arthur* plagued him; after his sister's death, he resumed his work on it even though he had been concentrating on *The Americans*, the last chapter of which he completed in August 1965 at Sag Harbor.

In 1966 *America and Americans* was published, about which he wrote to John Huston that "I am taking 'the American' apart like a watch to see what makes him tick and some curious things are emerging."³⁵ An essay about the America he loved, it came at an opportune time when the United States was involved in the Vietnam confrontation. Later that year, he began a five-month trip through Southeast Asia as a correspondent for *Newsday*.

When he returned to Sag Harbor, during the summer of 1967, a recurring back pain led to surgery for a spinal fusion at University Hospital, in Manhattan. Still in hopeful spirits, he looked forward to planting in the spring, especially an oak tree. He went back to Sag Harbor, but a small stroke resulted in a short stay at Southampton Hospital, on Memorial Day, 1968. In July he again had congestive heart failure, for which he was treated first at Southampton and then at The New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center, where he suffered a more severe attack. Against medical advice, he returned to Sag Harbor in August; he wanted to be there so badly that no one could stop him. His last letter, written to Elizabeth Otis in October 1968,

apologized because his “fingers have avoided the pencil as though it were an old and poisoned tool.”³⁶

He would never admit his condition, although undoubtedly he knew how critically ill he was. Seven years earlier, thinking about the ebbing of life’s adventure, he wrote from Sag Harbor to his boyhood friend, John Murphy, about reaching the Holy Grail:

You see, Launcelot was imperfect and so he never got to see the Holy Grail. So it is with all of us. The Grail is always one generation ahead of us. But it is there and so we can go on bearing sons who will bear sons who may see the Grail. This is a most profound set of symbols.³⁷

Steinbeck dedicated *The Winter Of Our Discontent* to his sister, “whose light burns clear.” Surely, the vision of a light was foremost in his mind as he fashioned a man such as Hawley, who, having fallen into the pit of despair, ultimately finds the symbolic “light” (the symbol of life) as he gazes towards the harbor lights and determines to live.

A superb and perceptive storyteller, Steinbeck investigated the conflicting moral codes of his fellows in his continual search of permanent ideals. He accomplished his goal in this, his last novel written at Sag Harbor, while penetrating the meaning of his own life. With the use of symbols his message was thus imparted in the immense canon he left when he died, in December 1968. In his journey in search of his personal Grail, John Steinbeck indeed found a haven called Sag Harbor.

NOTES

1. Ralph Henry Gabriel, *The Evolution of Long Island: A Story of Land and Sea* (1929; reprint, Port Washington: Ira J. Friedman, 1960, 1968), 67; Henry A. Reeves, “Commerce, Navigation, and Fisheries,” in *Bi-Centennial: A History of Suffolk County* (Babylon, 1885), 61; William S. Pelletreau, “Southampton,” in *History of Suffolk County* (New York: W. W. Munsell, 1882), 37 [for Sag Harbor, see 35-39]. See also Floris Barnett Cash, “African American Whalers: Images and Reality,” *LIHJ* 2: Fall 1990: 41-52 (with detailed information on Sag Harbor, Greenport, and Cold Spring Harbor whaling); John A. Strong, “Shinnecock and Montauk Whalers,” *LIHJ* 2 (Fall 1990), 29-41; Harry Dering Sleight, *The Whale Fishery on Long Island* (Bridgehampton: Hampton Press, 1931); Frederick P. Schmitt, *Mark Well the Whale! Long Island Ships to Distant Seas*, 2nd ed. (Cold Spring Harbor: Whaling Museum Society, 1986); and the collections of the Whaling Museums in Sag Harbor, Cold Spring Harbor, and Mystic Seaport.
2. Elaine Steinbeck and Robert Wallsten, eds., *A Life in Letters* (New York: Viking, 1975), 472.
3. *Ibid.*, 596.
4. *Ibid.*, 597.
5. See Howard Levant, *The Novels of John Steinbeck* (Columbus, MI: Univ. of Missouri, 1974), and Warren French, *John Steinbeck* (New York: Twayne, 1961, 1975); James Woodress, “John Steinbeck: Hostage to Fortune,” *South Atlantic Quarterly* 63 (Summer 1964): 395-56; French, “Steinbeck’s Winter Tale,” *Modern Fiction Studies* 11 (Spring 1965), 66.
6. John Steinbeck, “Introduction,” *The Winter Of Our Discontent* (New York: Viking, 1961).
7. Richard Astro, *John Steinbeck and Edward F. Ricketts. The Shaping of A Novelist* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota, 1973), 214.
8. Steinbeck and Wallsten, *A Life*, 325.

9. Thomas Fensch, ed., *Steinbeck and Covici: The Story of a Friendship* (Middlebury, VT: Paul S. Eriksson, 1979).
10. Steinbeck and Wallsten, *A Life*, 473.
11. *Ibid.*, 505-506, 511.
12. *Ibid.*, 518, 521.
13. *Ibid.*, 523, 524, 525.
14. *Ibid.*, 543, 545; letter to Elizabeth Otis and Chase Horton, *ibid.*, 552; *ibid.*, 575. Steinbeck's *The Acts of King Arthur and His Noble Knights: From the Winchester Manuscript of Thomas Malory, and Other Sources*, ed. Chase Horton (New York: Farrar, Straus) was published in 1976, eight years after Steinbeck's death.
15. *Ibid.*, 596-97, 599.
16. *Ibid.*, 607, 608, 609.
17. *Ibid.*, 653.
18. *Ibid.*, 657.
19. *Ibid.*, 664, 670, 672, 676; William Shakespeare, *Richard III*, act 1, sc. 1, lines 1-2.
20. Jackson Benson, *Looking for Steinbeck's Ghost* (Norman, OK: Univ. of Oklahoma, 1988), 153-54; William Jones, *John Steinbeck*. (Charlottesville, N.Y.: SamHar Press, 1982), 23.
21. Steinbeck, *The Winter Of Our Discontent*, 3, 4.
22. *Ibid.*, 249, 13, 14.
23. *Ibid.*, 38-39.
24. *Ibid.*, 44, 46.
25. *Ibid.*, 102, 184.
26. *Ibid.*, 187, 238, 165, 224.
27. *Ibid.*, 53, 144, 62, 84.
28. *Ibid.*, 101, 146, 53.
29. *Ibid.*, 147.
30. *Ibid.*, 159, 160.
31. Frank. C. Barry, interview with author, Sag Harbor, 21 June and 13 September 1990; Robert Freidah, telephone conversations with author, 18 June and 5 September 1990.
32. Stanley E. Hyman, quoted by Benson, *Looking for Steinbeck's Ghost*, 188; Steinbeck and Wallsten, *A Life*, note, 742.
33. John Steinbeck. *Travels With Charley* (New York: Viking, 1962), 4.
34. Steinbeck and Wallsten, *A Life*, 780.
35. *Ibid.*, 807.
36. *Ibid.*, 861.
37. *Ibid.*, 859.

The People and Their Schools

By Edith L. Gordon

New York State has continuously given direction and aid to its local school authorities. The public schools of Long Island, especially since the enactment of the Common School Law of 1812,¹ have been shaped by this interest; by the tensions and conflicts between the different levels of government; and by demographic changes and economic fluctuations. This article addresses the effect of these relationships and factors, focusing on the school systems of Stony Brook and Setauket as paradigms.

Early efforts by Suffolk towns to champion education included stipends for schoolmasters and authorization to use the towns' meeting houses as the first schools. For example, the town of Huntington's "school proprietors" built a combined school and home for its teacher and gave him land surrounding it, firewood, butter, corn, and more, up to the value of 25 pounds.² After the Revolution, the "New York State Law for the Encouragement of Schools," passed in 1795, offered financial aid to districts supporting their own schools.³ During his Long Island visit of April 1790, President George Washington is said to have witnessed the raising of Cold Spring Harbor school's rafter.⁴ A surviving "Account [*sic*] of Money paid to build the School in the Local School District," Setauket, dated 1797, indicates the general interest in erecting the first educational institutions.⁵ As Suffolk County's population almost tripled from 13,793 in 1786 to 34,579 in 1845, small communities like Lake Grove, in 1800, and Stony Brook, in 1801, built one-room schools.⁶

The Common School Law of 1812, in which the state legislature assumed responsibility for a system of public education, was the first state education law in the nation. It established political or geographical divisions within the state for the purpose of supporting public education, with town commissioners "empowered to divide their respective towns into a suitable and convenient number of districts, for keeping their schools, and to alter and regulate the same from time to time..."⁷ The local school districts provided by this law have been the basic structure of the American public school systems ever since. The act also created the New York State Education Department, which has taken an active interest in the economic efficiency and educational effectiveness of local school units. The department has used its powers of persuasion, its authority to supervise redrawing of district lines,

and its funding ability to induce local school districts to consolidate. By 1845, outside of the state's six largest cities, local "common" one-room schools provided for public education of children in grades one through eight, taught by one teacher answerable to a local school board. These schoolhouses were "plain box-like affairs about 20 by 24 feet in size." Pupils stood at a high, slanting desk attached to the wall and extending around the sides and end of the room. Seats were "sawed slabs of wood without backs, two legs stuck in each end."⁸ Children wrote with graphite sticks on slates that could be wiped clean for the next lesson. Behind the building was the "necessary," or outdoor privy.

In the winter, when farm fields lay dormant and older boys attended school regularly, male teachers kept their students—some of them robust, teenage boys—on task, administering corporal punishment when necessary. A birch rod stood in the corner as a warning of the whipping that awaited a misbehavior. At first, all teachers were men. In 1843, when the West Setauket school trustees hired Miss Nancy Cleaves to teach the summer session, the parents expressed consternation, but by mid-century women, commanding smaller salaries than their male counterparts, were frequently hired to teach the younger children in spring and fall.⁹

In 1850, New York had been divided into 11,397 school districts, one school for every four square miles. As village populations expanded, new common school districts broke away from the older ones, as did Center Moriches from Moriches, and Lower from Upper Stony Brook, in 1824.¹⁰ To curb this proliferation, the legislature enacted the Union Free School Act in 1853. The aim of "union," or combination of two or more smaller districts, was to provide larger school-tax bases, more students per school, the possibility of an enriched curriculum, and the formation of high schools. In 1896, after seventy-two years of separation, the hope for more economical management and a modern building provided the impetus for the Upper and Lower Stony Brook districts to reunite and form Union Free School District 1; the three Setauket districts became UFSD 2 in 1910.

State initiative reduced the number of school districts to 9,961 by 1904, 1,436 fewer than fifty years earlier; of these, 690 were Union Free School Districts. In 1867, New York increased state taxes to abolish rate bills issued to parents of school pupils, and insure free public schooling. The cost and character of local education continued to be a concern in the first half of the twentieth century. The legislature passed a series of ineffectual or unpopular laws aimed to bring about change. In 1938, a Board of Regents standard-setting inquiry concluded that central school districts should have a minimum average daily attendance (ADA) of 600 pupils; an ADA of 1,200 pupils was considered optimum, but no plan for reorganization was set up.

The first statewide Master Plan for school district reorganization, set up in 1942 by a Joint Legislative Committee on the State Education System, was approved by the full legislature in 1947. The plan provided a pattern for laying out central school districts, and consolidating the state educational system. The success of this and other state actions may be assessed in the

light of these facts: from 1914 to 1957, the number of school districts declined sharply, from 7,017 to 1,281; the average number of students per school district rose from 335 to 1,889; and the true valuation, per million, of each school district increased from \$2.2 to \$41.8.¹¹

In 1956, the Heald Commission recommended that school districts with small enrollments be offered aid incentives to form consolidated school districts, and that the Master Plan be revised.¹² To provide adequate secondary schooling (grades 7-12) for children of each school district, the new Master Plan of 1958, summed up in table 1, recommended that central school districts have a minimum average daily attendance of 600 pupils, 1,200 for optimum schooling of grades 7-12. It also proposed a minimum and optimum class size of twenty-to-thirty students for efficient utilization of staff-teacher time and talents to achieve the foundation program at reasonable cost.

According to some studies of the 1950s and 1960s, centralization solved the problem of very small districts that provided insufficient curriculum offerings at the high school level. A larger high school student body required more high school course offerings and teacher subject specialization, resulting in superior teaching and reduced scheduling conflicts. As long as the students were drawn from a reasonably compact geographic area, costs were reduced through efficient use of building space.¹³ The state assumed 90 percent of the expense of busing school children beyond one and one-half miles. Conversely, below a certain density, sparse population unavoidably meant small schools. The state provided financial incentives for districts to conform to its plan, and argued that when school districts replaced aging

Table 1: 1958 MASTER PLAN SCHOOL RECOMMENDATIONS

1. *Optimum Number of Pupils per Grade Level*

Grades Pupils

K-6 140-210 (maximum 420-630)

7-9 700

9-12 700

10-12 1,400 for reasonable vocational offerings

2. An adequate base of financial support within the S.D.

3. Necessary community lay interest and leadership.

4. Efficient, economical use of specialized and administrative personnel;

5. A transportation system geared to the density of the pupil population in any given district.

Source: New York State Education Department, *Master Plan for School District Reorganization in New York State* (1947) Revised, Education Law of 1956, Chap. 723.

schools and provided better facilities, the public perception of such communities as good places to live and work was enhanced.

Some studies showed tax benefits accruing to district property owners, through the elimination of administrative duplication. However, a National Education Association (NEA) study found that larger districts almost always spent more money than the supplanted districts had done.¹⁴ Certainly, expanded building and staff needs, and negotiated salaries and benefits to teachers after World War II elevated costs.

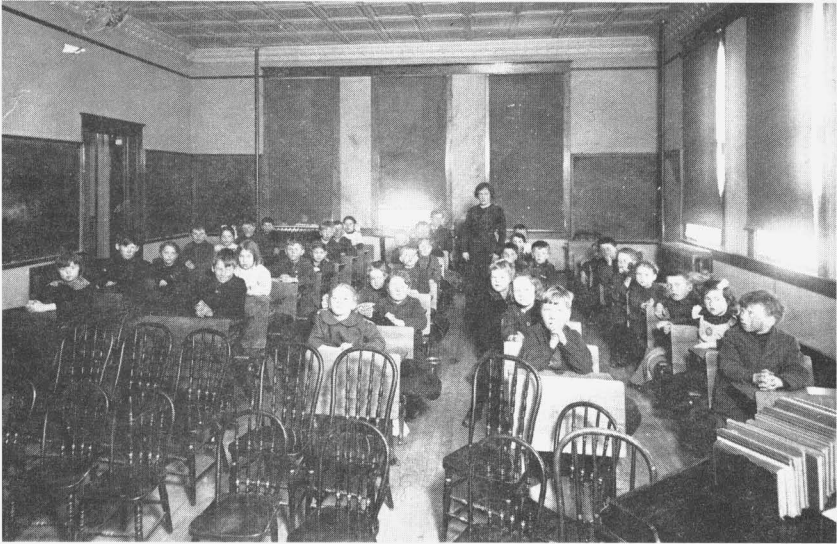
Critics of very large districts worried that, when course sections are added to accommodate larger student populations, the teachers tend to duplicate basic course offerings rather than broaden and enrich subject topics. The critics were also concerned that children in a large high school may lose their sense of identity amid the multitude; that opportunities for young people to participate, and develop leadership potentials, are fewer. Parents worry about the wear and tear of extensive busing on their children, and contend that administration becomes top heavy and unnecessarily expensive.

In small school districts, every parent of a child of school age, or owner of a house, has a direct interest in the system and places intangible value on the community's homogeneous culture and stability. The right to vote for school board members and budgets enables citizens to enjoy a sense of power over educational policy. Implementing broad state policies becomes very difficult when the state government fails to consider community attitudes.¹⁵

The history of the Setauket and Stony Brook schools is illustrative of many in Suffolk County. Public support for schooling in the hamlet of Setauket first appears in the town records of Brookhaven in 1678. After passage of the State Education Law of 1812, the West Setauket board hired a school master to teach the thirty scholars in the "elegant" school on the green. In early nineteenth-century West and South Setauket, and later in East Setauket, the schools assessed the students' families to pay a teacher's annual salary of approximately \$30.04¹⁶ (each Setauket district had one school to serve its children).

Nineteenth-century school attendance rolls record names of descendants of early white settlers, and a few African Americans, some of whom were the offspring of African and Native American intermarriages.¹⁷ Work in ship building, whaling, and cording wood waned after 1850, but the area's good farmland drew European immigrant families to grow potatoes, grapes, and other fruits and vegetables. In 1876, entrepreneurs took over the failed piano factory building on the hill overlooking East Setauket and opened a rubber factory. The owners imported Irish families, and, by 1892, Russian and Hungarian Jews to work alongside local townspeople, white and black. In the East Setauket school register, children named Goldberg, Radnisky, Schermerhorn, Warchatzky, and Buehrman were enrolled along with the old-time Hallocks, Smiths, Harts, Wests, Van Brunts, and Bryants.¹⁸

In a school photograph, circa 1869, West Setauket teacher George Hawkins, sporting a handlebar mustache and wearing a bowler hat, stands



Teachers and students in Setauket classroom, circa 1900. Photo gift of Betty Griffith to Edith L. Gordon.

with his pupils, most of whom wear high-topped shoes, their legs stocking clad. They have a working-class look. A few girls wear pinafores over their dark dresses. Hawkins earned \$60 a month, and then \$70. When a female teacher was hired, her pay was \$40 a month, later raised to \$50.¹⁹

Stony Brook successfully petitioned Brookhaven's trustees in 1801 "for Lebery [sic] to Build a School House Northward and westward of Isaac Davises [sic] Blacksmiths Shop in Stony Brook." The small, one-room, one-story school house, with windows on each side and separate front entrances for boys and girls, had a "necessary" separated from the school by a stockade fence. Schoolmaster Henry Hudson taught forty to seventy-three scholars there, among them William Sidney Mount, later a celebrated genre artist. Hudson described Stony Brook as "a place calculated to make time pleasant and life joyfull [sic]..."²⁰

In 1897, the residents of School Districts 1 and 4 voted to consolidate. They constructed a large, wooden, two-story schoolhouse costing \$6,500, paid for with voter-approved bonds at 4 percent. The school's plans and construction were monitored by a District School Commissioner. New features included wall blackboards of slate and two second-floor classrooms separated by a roll-down partition, which, when raised, created a large assembly room. A coal furnace in the full basement provided central heating. In the first years, girls and boys entered through separate doors.²¹

The Stony Brook trustees were willing enough to incur financial obligations to build the new school, but when dealing with the teaching staff they were so firmly penurious that many teachers stayed only a year or two.

In 1896-97, a twenty-five-year-old mathematics and Latin teacher, Louis Fralick, was hired at a salary of \$500; a female teacher, engaged the same year, earned only \$350. The following year, schoolmaster M. Patrick requested \$800 when offered \$650 to be principal of both Stony Brook schools. Instead, the trustees appointed Fralick at \$500, with an added \$100 in exchange for janitorial services.²²

For fifty years the bell on a stanchion outside the schoolhouse summoned to school the children of local farmers, professionals, boatmen, mechanics, crafts people, shopkeepers, and tourist-related workers. Frank Jicinsky, a Stony Brook resident who attended this school, recalls that he and his "colored" classmate, Theodore Treadwell, took the first eighth-grade State Regents examinations under the stern eye of principal Fralick. According to Mr. Jicinsky, although Treadwell scored 99 percent, the young black man was fortunate to find employment as chauffeur and house man to a wealthy widow.²³

In 1922, Alyne Snover was hired to teach fifty third- and fourth-graders arithmetic, reading and writing standard English, geography, and civics, which she did, in a firm and caring manner, for thirty-five years.²⁴ It was all in a day's work for a teacher to stay after school to help a child to convert a potential red ink (failing) grade to blue ink (passing).

By daily classroom calisthenics at open windows, teachers augmented the once-a-week visit of an itinerant physical education teacher, who worked with each intermediate class in the basement. On the playground, the younger pupils pumped sturdy swings and climbed on a great boundary rock. Teachers organized soccer and baseball games played against a wooden backstop, and took boys' teams to play those of nearby schools. On snowy days, children sledged down the school's side slopes while older children swooped down the front hill, sailing over the retaining wall and onto the road. Some boys waxed the bottom of barrel staves, hammered in two nails between which to wedge their boots, and skied down the hill.²⁵

In 1910, the residents of the three Setauket school districts also acquiesced to the state's urging to consolidate, voting formation of Union Free School District 2. A new, two-story, eight-classroom, wooden school building was constructed on a hilltop site, at a cost of \$32,000.²⁶ The elementary department was on the first floor, while the junior and senior high school classes occupied the second. There were no kindergarten, cafeteria, gymnasium, auditorium, or other special subject rooms. The school's toilets, now located indoors in the basement, had to be cleaned out every weekend.

Setauket's principal, drawing a salary of \$850, had only administrative duties: to oversee his seven teachers; dispense discipline, initiate new programs; and set the tone of the school. Some of the teachers, earning \$500 for a school year of 197 days, taught the same grade for dozens of years. Favorite motivating techniques were spelling bees, exercises in mental arithmetic, and daily read-aloud sessions.²⁷

Lacking an auditorium, the Setauket school utilized community halls for after-school commercial movies, class performances, and the all-important

graduations—for most of the youngsters, their eighth-grade graduation was the final academic milestone. However, in 1927, the Board of Regents granted Setauket a full four-year high school charter. Setauket's trustees and district superintendent had fulfilled the state's requirements for academic and business curriculum, and added eleven high school teachers to the faculty. Each high school department had one teacher who taught all the subjects in his or her curriculum area.²⁸ With average high school classes—even grades—of only seven or eight students, there was no hiding from instruction.

Six seniors graduated in 1929. Senior high boys took the four-year college preparatory course, girls took the general business curriculum. Rarely, a girl petitioned successfully to take science courses. Secondary school teachers received higher salaries than primary teachers well into the 1950s.²⁹ A slow or recalcitrant child might be disciplined by a rap on the knuckles with a ruler or slap across the face, or be sent to the principal for a more severe paddling. High school culprits were commonly ordered to “write lines” such as “I will not whisper in class,” as many as 500 times.

In the thirties, as in Stony Brook, one Setauket teacher coached boys and girls in outdoor sports such as hardball, softball, soccer, and track, in addition to his teaching load. He also sponsored the Science Club, and organized a science fair. During the half-hour lunch break, the children rushed to make time for a quick game of hardball or soccer. Such popular extra-curricular educational trends of the 1930s as teacher-sponsored charm clubs to introduce teenage girls to proper etiquette and grooming, dancing classes, and debating teams reached even to rural Long Island. Parents made glee club members glamorous red capes, and helped with proms. The school nurse-social worker saw to it that each child partook of a cracker and cod-liver oil each day. She and the Parent-Teachers Association initiated a school hot-lunch program. Many children walked to school and went home for lunch. As recently as the 1940s, one farmer's son occasionally rode to school on a horse, and tethered her on the ball field, as an alternative to riding the school bus which picked up children living at a distance.³⁰

With the start of World War II, school children took part in the war effort with patriotic fervor. They filled books with ten-cent war stamps redeemable as “Victory Bonds” and, boys and girls alike, knit woolen squares into afghans to send to military hospitals and the besieged British. Eventually, graduates of Long Island schools served in every far-flung theater of war.

Since the Civil War, Setauket and Stony Brook school enrollments have included a small minority of African American children. Race was rarely an overt issue. In the 1940s, however, when the music teacher, leading her chorus in a rousing spiritual, admonished, “Come on all you darkies and SING!” her behavior was challenged at a school board meeting by an African American grandfather; the authorities instructed the teacher to apologize to the black children before the whole chorus.³¹

Suffolk high schools' traditional senior class trip to Washington, D.C. became another issue. Until 1949, Setauket's African American senior

students were given money in lieu of accompanying their classmates to the nation's segregated capital. In that year, two African American students elected to go on the trip, and the principal agreed that they should. Because of Jim-Crow rules in the District of Columbia, the black youngsters stayed at Howard University.³² Fifteen years later, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, making such discrimination in public accommodations illegal.

Young families from the metropolitan area moved to Long Island in swelling waves during the mid-1940s and throughout the 1950s. Long Island Lighting Company figures document a 300-percent growth in Suffolk County from 1949 to 1954. Suffolk school districts urgently needed to replace antiquated wooden school buildings, delayed by constraints of the Depression and then by war-time shortages of material and manpower. New elementary schools were safer and easily-maintained one-story, brick or cinder-block buildings. Walls of windows, and florescent lighting protected children's eyesight. Kindergartens were big and sunny; rooms were designed for specialized instruction in health education, music, and art. Clean oil heat, forced air ventilation, and zone heating systems were other innovations. However, they seldom were designed to expand to accommodate the nascent population explosion.

Stony Brook in 1951 and Setauket in 1953 each tore down its old, shingled structure. Stony Brook's cautious citizens elected to replace its 1897 school with a "campus" school on the same narrow hillside property. In the case of Setauket, the state Education Department had, since 1939, considered the school population too small to support the high school the district wanted. Therefore, on a large farm site it acquired, Setauket built a K-9 school with a central hall and wings jutting forward and back.

For a vast area of central Suffolk, only the Port Jefferson and Bay Shore's Sayville High Schools met both the state's standards and the heightened educational expectations of parents. When Port Jefferson, with federal aid, completed a modern brick high school in 1938, sixteen small nearby districts, among them Stony Brook, opted to pay tuition and bus their few junior- and senior-high school students to it. In 1949, Setauket's post-ninth-grade students joined them.

The legislature developed a state Master Plan in 1947, which envisioned reducing the number of Suffolk school districts from 116 to twenty-three. However, although the state Education Commission urged local Long Island school districts to consolidate, Governor Thomas E. Dewey vetoed Ronkonkoma's petition to form a Central High School District with Sayville High School. At the same time, Walter Ormsby, the superintendent of the Board of Cooperative Educational Services (BOCES), District 2, proposed a variety of merger plans for Holbrook, Ronkonkoma, Holtsville, Farmingville, Lake Ronkonkoma, Lake Grove, Selden, Terryville, Setauket, and Stony Brook.³³ When, in 1951, over-crowded Sayville High School raised out-of-district tuition from \$125 to \$160, the Bayport and Bluepoint School Districts agreed to consolidate. These two districts had common socio-economic status, different from the more "blue-collar" Holtsville and Farmingville. In

1952, Sayville raised its per-pupil tuition to \$240; despite the lengthy bus trip involved, this moved Lake Ronkonkoma to transfer its children to Port Jefferson, where tuition was \$135 per pupil. By 1953, Port Jefferson High School was accepting some eight hundred tuition students, and receiving \$274 per out-of-town student from the state. Farmingville, Holbrook, Holtsville, and Lake Ronkonkoma consolidated as Sachem Central School District in 1955; two years later, Port Jefferson's enrollment of 1,010 included 880 tuition students and only 130 Port Jeffersonians.

State Education Commissioner James E. Allen and his deputy, Walter Crewson, pressed for a nine-district North Shore consolidation from Stony Brook to Wading River, but the local school boards received their proposals with varying degrees of apathy and antagonism. There was friction between the old-timers on local school boards and the post-World War II professionals, airline pilots, scientists, and technical personnel moving into the Three Village area—Stony Brook, Old Field, and Setauket. The newcomers' interest in high educational quality did not necessarily include historic loyalties. Nevertheless, no one could ignore the influx of children registering daily. Within twelve months of completing its new school, Setauket needed additional classrooms, and Stony Brook had to rent space in the fire house, a church basement, a former plastics factory, and a private home.

The enormity of postwar development sweeping over western Suffolk had not been anticipated in the New York Education Department's 1947 Master Plan. In the town of Brookhaven, the Brookhaven National Laboratory opened in 1947; Grumman Aviation Corporation built a plant and airfield in Calverton; and high-tech, growth industries followed. In addition, the Board of Regents designated 478 acres (now SUNY at Stony Brook) as the site of one of four statewide University Centers.³⁴ Nevertheless, BOCES II Superintendent Ormsby met with school officials and residents all over his jurisdiction to advocate, with some success, the state Master Plan's recommendations.

Middle-income housing developments of the 1950s in the Three Village area were but forerunners of a colossal William Levitt and Sons development. In the early 1960s, hundreds of acres of former cabbage and potato fields, scrub oak, and pine barrens in Setauket and Stony Brook became the location of thousands of inexpensive homes, mass-produced on concrete slabs. Armed forces veterans in New York State utilized government-insured mortgage loans, tax benefits, and 5-percent mortgage rates to purchase the attractive new homes in Levitt & Sons' "Strathmore." Young couples flocked to the area, beckoned by job openings, affordable housing, and a college that could meet their educational needs. With more children per household than the on-site population, they strained the educational systems to a disproportional degree.

In 1958, Commissioner Allen helped to update the state's master plan, hoping to use it as a tool to improve education for all children, including the disadvantaged. Associate Education Commissioner Walter S. Crewson had complete authority to implement it in Suffolk County. The plan proposed to

merge the nine North Shore districts of Stony Brook, Setauket, Port Jefferson, Port Jefferson Station, Mount Sinai, Miller Place, Rocky Point, Shoreham, and Wading River, a seventy-five-square mile area along the Long Island Sound.

Stony Brook and Setauket argued that the Master Plan had not anticipated suburban growth, especially in the Setauket and Stony Brook UFSDs and in less affluent Port Jefferson Station and Terryville. Crewson believed that "Stony Brook and Setauket were determined not to have anything to do with the poorer areas." When debating the merits of merger, the North Shore districts took some account of the experience of already centralized nearby districts. In a 1960 study, for example, Stony Brook and Setauket cited statistics on five Suffolk districts, centralized between 1955 and 1960, as evidence of the feasibility of their two districts centralizing.³⁵

While the earlier statistics were somewhat relevant, the North Shore demographics after 1960 were growing much more rapidly. Stony Brook and Setauket had been back-water communities to their thriving neighbor, Port Jefferson, a compact commercial village with a deep-water port, a sense of community, and a new Long Island Lighting Company plant to enrich its tax base. Although 1,375 tuition pupils were paying maximum allowable yearly tuition in 1959-60, the Port Jefferson School Board felt that the residential explosion in the Three Villages area was overtaxing its Vandermuelen High School. Adamantly opposed to combining with any other district, Port Jefferson began pressuring its tuition school districts to make other arrangements for their high school students.

Despite their need for state aid to expand their educational facilities to keep pace with growth, Setauket and Stony Brook School Districts fought against the nine-district merger for ten years. Setauket School Board President Ward Melville had the business expertise and connections, financial resources and confidence to lead the charge. Antithetical to the functional architectural design of many post-war schools, Melville had his own architect design the district's first Georgian-style brick school, and personally funded elegant if non-essential features such as outside bas reliefs denoting local history and auditorium murals.

To defuse the prolonged opposition of Setauket and Stony Brook, the state proposed a three-district merger with Port Jefferson Station-Terryville, a large district with a low tax base because of its inexpensive houses and lack of industry. The Stony Brook and Setauket school boards opposed this merger as vigorously as they had the nine-district plan. School authorities in the two communities privately expressed concern that merger with Port Jefferson Station-Terryville would endanger their particular quality of education.³⁶

In spite of state-offered incentives, the nine North Shore districts were not induced to consolidate. The Stony Brook and Setauket school boards complained that the state authority was "dictatorial and unconsiderate [*sic*] of the rapidly changing nature of their area."³⁷ Contributing to the stalemate was the disinclination of Ormsby, the state's liaison to BOCES districts, to

support Setauket and Stony Brook's position in favor of a two-district merger. Finally, in fall 1964, the Joint Legislative Committee on the New York State Education Department's Master Plan held a public hearing in Westhampton. Setauket's school board president, William Crawford, spelled out the facts as he saw them, and Stony Brook's Monda Roberts related her constituents' dissatisfaction with the state's position.

Subsequently, two Long Island legislators—Assembly Minority Leader Perry B. Duryea, and Senator Elisha T. Barrett—led a successful move to amend the state education law to give local districts wider latitude to appeal master plan provisions. The arguments for home rule had won; the state Department of Education reluctantly assumed a more conciliatory position; as the retiring Ormsby's replacement, William F. Phelan willingly facilitated the Stony Brook-Setauket merger. On 21 January 1966, voters created Central School District 1 and elected a seven-member board of education. Like many such boards in new districts, the Three Village Central School District (TVCS), realized that its expenses would be high for the foreseeable future, and chose, as much as possible, to hire beginning teachers at the lowest salary step. As teachers moved up the salary scale, this economy of the 1960s became a financial albatross in the 1980s.³⁸

Meanwhile, one after another of the districts sending tuition students to Port Jefferson High School established its own secondary school. Mount Sinai, the only remaining district in the 1980s, experienced such large scale development that "its students constituted a majority of Port Jefferson High School's enrollment." The two districts considered continuation of the status quo, merger, or separation. Merger would have raised tax rates sharply, because of New York's outdated formula for calculating state aid. Based on the sum of property values, incomes, expenditures, and aid-eligible pupil units of each district, the state aid formula defeated its own policy of encouraging consolidation. District population growth and the expanding economy, with no limit in view, led the two districts to decide on separation. Mount Sinai built a high school in 1989, leaving Port Jefferson, with a secondary enrollment of less than 400 students, to ponder ways to maintain home rule and educational excellence.³⁹

During the sixties, American children were thrilled by the scientific and technological developments leading to man's first ventures beyond the stratosphere. As the exploration of space became a high national priority, the federal government's National Science Foundation (NSF) supported regional conferences of scientists, teachers, school administrators and psychologists to discuss better ways of developing competent scientific and technological personnel. Their conclusions, reported in 1961, led to formation of study groups at universities around the nation. Their studies indicated the value of instructing children at the pre-high school level. With NSF backing these groups designed classroom projects covering the broad scope of elementary school science, stressing the spirit of discovery characteristic of science itself. The diverse natural and physical science programs developed all encouraged

children to experiment, formulate hypotheses, observe and record data, analyze results and ask questions. Finally, the NSF paid teachers to become learners and acquire a working knowledge of modern mathematics and the skills to use the new techniques and programs effectively.⁴⁰

Over the same period, modern technology so improved and simplified audio-visual equipment that school districts had to expend funds to provide teachers with the latest machinery. Posters, photographs, and charts gave way first to silent movies, and then to sound movies, filmstrips, and loops. Audio and video apparatus using reels was the next innovation; by 1980, audio and video cassettes made older equipment obsolete.

Another aspect of the technology revolution was the computer, processing information faster than had been humanly possible. When solid-state electronics made miniaturization of components possible, personal computers were introduced into the classroom. This new educational and business resource compelled school districts to introduce "computer specialists" to their staffs to devise and select educationally sound utilization of computers and software.

After World War II, professional teachers strengthened their bargaining position by unionizing, and, helped by the shortage of teachers, negotiated higher salaries and improved health and retirement benefits. Morale tended to be high among young members of expanding staffs, working in growing districts, often in new schools. By helping to formulate educational policies and introduce modern teaching methods, they felt empowered.

The 1960s' prosperity of Long Island, a center of technology, aviation, and defense industries, was deflated early in the seventies by the curtailment of defense spending in general, and the phasing out of Grumman's Lunar Module and F-111 programs in particular; "Grumman was forced into sweeping and traumatic layoffs. By 1972, 10,000 workers were lopped from the payroll of 37,000, a level never reached again."⁴¹ Economic dislocation came at a time of government scandals, climaxed by the resignation of President Richard Nixon, in 1973. The same year, the cutback in oil supplies by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) sent domestic fuel prices escalating. As a consequence, the price of heating schools in the northeast increased precipitously, contributing to rising budgets of school districts. Coincidentally, the large classes of post war "baby boomers" began graduating from high school in the 1970s. The nation's birth rate crested, followed by a decline in school enrollments beginning at the kindergarten level. The number of teachers and classes needed was shrinking as well. Year by year, as the young teachers of the sixties matured, they moved up the salary scale.

On the heels of the 1973 recession, voters examined public school expenditures ever more critically, noting that costs, since centralization, had risen annually, sometimes dramatically. In the TVCSD, the yearly budget increase was more than one million dollars.⁴² As a result of new state-mandated programs, the cost of installing new technologies, rising salaries, benefits and material, maturing debt service, and spiraling inflation, districts' per pupil cost continued to escalate. Hard-pressed taxpayers voted down

budgets. School authorities grew cautious. Return to “traditional educational values” became a rallying cry on Long Island and all across the country. Books like *Why Johnny Can't Read* (1953) became best sellers.⁴³ New programs tended to evaluate academic success at grade norms through frequent testing. Some schools established dress and behavior standards. Where programs for academically gifted students were established, criteria for admission were debated. Sophisticated tests for giftedness were expensive to administer, so, most often, admissions were based on teacher recommendations and standard group test scores.

Whatever a school district's strengths, its residents asked for educational and fiscal accountability. As a result, annual, standardized, group aptitude and achievement tests were administered by school personnel to children five years old through the twelfth grade. As much as a diagnostic tool to identify children who need special help in enriched mathematics and reading programs, the standard achievement test results are cited as a measure of a district's success in educating its children.

When Long Island's baby-boom children graduated from high school in the 1970s, the homes which they left had gained as much as 29 percent each year in value. The resulting high-priced real estate tended to belong to older inhabitants, with fewer and older school-age children. At the same time, New York State mandated that children with intellectual, emotional, and physical needs, who had been sent to BOCES special classes and schools, now become the responsibility of the local school; the demand for special education instructors increased, even as regular classroom teachers were being laid off. In the 1980s, despite limited state support and the cut-back in available federal grants, the high price tag of special programs was manageable, as long as the economy continued to expand.

School enrollments, down 33 percent since 1972 in Suffolk County, showed evidence of an upturn in 1991. However, economic recession and reduction of federal and state aid have forced local school districts to increase their pupil/teacher ratio, and curtail programs. Young college graduates pursuing a career in education are finding few openings in Long Island school districts west of Port Jefferson-to-Patchogue Route 112. East of this line, although pupil enrollments are increasing, the wealth of school districts is not. The Miller Place, Rocky Point, Middle Island, and South Country districts need capital construction which the tax base is inadequate to support. Between 1973 and 1983, anachronistic state education laws and inadequate incentive aid formulas discouraged all but two school districts in the state to explore consolidation. In 1983, the state increased incentives, and since 1987, four Suffolk districts have merged. However, the \$240-million cut in state aid to Long Island schools in 1991, along with the possibility of more cuts as every level of government seeks to hold the line on taxes while balancing budgets, has rekindled interest in the structure and expenses of local school districts. Local districts may expect increased state consolidation incentives. It all adds up to increased pressure.⁴⁴

The Suffolk County government, which is not legally responsible for its school districts' budgets, is studying the elimination of waste and duplication by school districts. In 1989, a Suffolk County Committee on Education released a study proposing the centralizing *at least* of the school districts' purchasing and administrative function. The report recommends reorganization of the county's seventy school districts into from thirty to thirty-five, with student enrollments of 5,000 or more, except in the sparsely populated East End. The report proposes "that Suffolk County be used as a pilot area to test whether they can encourage consolidation and provide the educational quality and tax savings its citizens want and deserve."⁴⁵

Careful combination of smaller districts for merger could ease the burden on districts like Comsewogue, Longwood, and Wyandanch, which, because of small tax bases, have high tax rates yet under-funded schools. Jonathan Kozol, a provocative thinker on educational issues, contends that as long as school financing is based on real estate taxes, the discrete drawing of school district lines creates the glaring disparity of affluent school districts and other, wholly inadequate educational systems of poor and minority populations. New factors are the aging of the population of the United States, the nationwide increase since 1960 in childhood problems, and lower Student Achievement Test scores.⁴⁶

The issues centering on the cost and quality of education are as relevant today as they were thirty or even one hundred years ago: small versus big; lay vs. professional leadership; state vs. local control; innovative vs. traditional education; humanistic evaluation vs. standardized testing of student achievement; accountability vs. fiscal irresponsibility; a homogeneous vs. a heterogeneous district-school-class population; simplicity vs. bureaucracy. Each generation faces its needs with its own values and resources, proposes and pursues its own solutions, and influences present and future generations of citizens.

NOTES

1. "An Act for the Establishment of Common Schools," *Laws of New York State, 35th Session*, Chapter 242, Sec. VII, passed 19 June 1812, 490-96; for the definition of "school district," see "Improvement of Small High Schools Through Reorganization," NEA of the U.S., May 1963; for an excellent account of successive state education laws, see Kenneth Brady, *The History of the Consolidation of the Sachem Schools, Part I, 1800-1947, Part II, 1948-1955* (Holbrook: Local Studies Committee of the Sachem Schools, 1956).
2. *Huntington Town Records*, 22 September 1663; Harriet G. Valentine and Andrus T. Valentine, *An Island's People: One Foot in the Sea, One on Shore* (Huntington: Peterson Press, 1976), 14; the Huntington proprietors' school system, established by town meeting 11 February 1657, continued until 1796.
3. "An Act for the Encouragement of Schools," *Laws of New York State, 18th Session*, Chapter 75, passed 9 April 1795, 626.
4. "The story goes that President Washington and his company stopped long enough to assist in raising one of the rafters, gave three cheers for the school and left a dollar with which to treat the workmen" (Jacqueline Overton, *Long Island's Story* (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran, 1929), 173).
5. "For a total of 87 pounds 6 shillings 6 pence, giving particulars as to timber, lime, glass, 20 pounds of 8 penny nails, half day's tending mason work and bonding, chair and table, services of

William Satterly, the builder, painting sash, 2,000 shingles, hinges and lock" (Autograph account, 1797, Rhodes Collection of Three Village Historical Society, Emma S. Clark Library, Setauket).

6. Nathaniel S. Prime, *History of Long Island: From its First Settlement by Europeans to the Year 1845* (New York: Robert Carter, 1846), 121.

7. "An Act for the Establishment of Common Schools," 494.

8. Richard Mather Bayles, *Historical and Descriptive Sketches of Suffolk County* (Port Jefferson: the author, 1874), 11, 240; Overton, Long Island's Story, 83.

9. "Minutes of Common School District 1," 28 August 1888, Archives, Three Village School District; Lorenzo Mills recalled "how they taught school when I was a boy, when the birch rod stood in the corner for use" (Kate Strong, "School Days of Long Ago," *Long Island Forum* 17 [April 1954]), 73; for the schooling of Selah Strong, Kate's father, see Kate Strong, "Boyhood Recollections," *Long Island Forum* 6 (Sept. 1943), 165; John Elderkin, address at the dedication of Emma S. Clark Library, Setauket, 3 October 1892, in which he remembered his former teacher, Nancy Cleaves.

10. Brady, *Sachem Schools*, 6; see also Stony Brook School Board minutes, in Three Village Central School District archives.

11. New York State Education Department, *Master Plan for School District Reorganization in New York State* (1947) Revised, Education Law of 1956, Chap. 723.

12. The Heald Commission was headed by Henry T. Heald, Chancellor of New York University; the five types of New York school districts were city, village superintendency, central, union free, and common.

13. See Clayton D. Hutchins and Albert R. Munse, "Expenditures for Education in Various Sizes of School Districts," *School Life* 5: 127-28, May 1953; Hugh A. Livingston, "Is There an Optimum Size High School?" *Progressive Education* 33: 156-59, Sept. 1956.

14. American Association of School Administrators (a department of the National Education Association), *School District Organization*, 1958, 130.

15. This applies whether or not the right is exercised (William C. Sayres, "Recurring Reasons for Resistance to Centralization," Univ. of the State of New York, State Education Department, Division of Research, April 1960; Memo 1963-65, "Efficient School Size," rev., David Iwamoto (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association Research Division, Feb. 1963).

16. *Brookhaven Town Records* I:1662-1679 (New York: Tobias A. Wright, 1924), 68; Kate Strong, "Early Schools—Setauket, 1827-1864," *Long Island Forum* 4 (1941), 33.

17. Strong, "School Days," *Long Island Forum* 17 (April 1954), 73; Strong reports that her father, Selah Strong, attended school with two sons of the "colored" gardener.

18. Marc Stern, "The Social Utility of Failure: Long Island's Rubber Industry and the Setauket Shtetle, 1876-1911," *LIHJ* 4 (Fall 1991): 25; Alice Evans, teacher, "Daily School Register of School District No. 3, Town of Brookhaven, County of Suffolk, for the Year Commencing August 1, 1896 and ending July 31, 1897," in Collection of Beverly Tyler, Setauket.

19. 1880s' photograph of school population, School District 2, on the village green, Rhodes Collection; George D. Lee, *Account Book, 1875-1907*, *ibid*.

20. *Brookhaven Town Records*, 357; photograph of 1801 school, Rhodes Collection; Henry Hudson's diary is in the possession of Beverly Tyler, who quoted from it in articles in the *Three Village Herald*, 3 Sept. 1981 and 13 Jan. 1988.

21. For the planning and building of this school, see Union Free School District 1, school board minutes for 1897; for information on the original lower and upper Stony Brook school buildings, see Howard Klein, *Three Village Guidebook: The Setaukets, Poquott, Old Field and Stony Brook*, 2nd ed. (East Setauket: Three Village Historical Society, 1986), 140.

22. The minutes of Stony Brook School District 1 for 1896 record that several women teachers bargained unsuccessfully for higher pay than the pittance offered.

23. Frank Jicinsky, interview with author, 29 March 1990.

24. Interview with Alyne Snover Darling, 6 Feb. 1989, who earned a first-year salary of \$1100 in 1922-1923; when she retired in 1957, her salary was \$7000.
25. Violetta T. Webber and Dudley Philhower, interviews with author, August 1990.
26. The school was to be built of brick, the maintenance costs of which were low; however, Jacob Satterly, the president of the school board, feared the appearance of impropriety because his brother was in the brick business; ethical consideration prevailed, and the school was constructed of wood (William Minuse, great-grand-nephew of Satterly, interview with the author).
27. *Records*, Setauket Union Free School District 2, 1 August 1911-31 July 1912; "Item VI, Teachers," listing teachers, their salaries and days worked, was sent annually to N.Y. State; Interview with Patricia Twomey Strong and Helen Stralecki Bubka, 1 August 1990.
28. The business curriculum included typing, shorthand, business arithmetic, and business law; the science teacher taught general science, physics, chemistry, and even mathematics.
29. *The Sachem*, first Setauket High School Year Book, 1929, 5, published to gain the community's interest in, and support of, its school, and to raise money to defray the cost of the seniors' annual Washington trip; Barbara Peterson, who planned to be a nurse, was one of the rare female students permitted to take science. According to Setauket's 1922 Record, the principal earned \$2000, and faculty salaries ranged from \$1050 to \$1506, for 196 school days; in 1936, the principal earned \$4000, and teachers from \$1300 to \$1800 for 190 school days, with only elementary school teachers earning less than \$1500. The salary differential applied to New Jersey as well, in the author's experience.
30. Ruth Rothermel (an alumna) to Setauket School Reunion Committee, Sept. 1990; Alan Denton, interview with author, 7 August 1989 (Denton's mother, the president of the Setauket P.T.A., was instrumental in the hot-lunch endeavor); Ben Werner to author, 25 Oct. 1989.
31. This famous incident was told to the author by a number of Setauket graduates; the grandfather in question was Edward G. Calvin.
32. Barbara Peterson Treadwell, interview with author, 8 January 1990.
33. Long Island Lighting Co., Annual Statistical Reports, 1949-1953.
34. Originally, 100 acres were donated by the wealthy shoe manufacturer and civic leader, Ward Melville, for a "small liberal arts and science college" with 10,000 students. Melville was helpless to influence the state's determination to create a university center with a projected enrollment of 20,000 students.
35. Francis X. Clines, "Stony Brook Area Supports Schools," *New York Times*, 3 April 1966; "Some Data on the Consolidation and Centralization of the Setauket and Stony Brook School Districts," 19 Dec. 1960. The new CSDs were Sachem, 1955; Bellport (South Country), 1956; Centereach-Selden, 1957; Middle Island, 1959; and Oakdale-Bohemia, 1960.
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*; author's interviews Monda Roberts, 9 June 1989, and William Crawford, 7 July 1989.
38. Francis J. Roberts, Three Village Central School District Superintendent, 1966-1973, interview with author, 25 July 1989.
39. *School Consolidation Report of the Committee of Education*, by Arthur J. Kremer, Chairman (Hauppauge: County of Suffolk, 1989), chap. 2: 4; *Port Jefferson Report on Educational Alternatives* by Kenneth Gaul, Chairman, Long-Range Planning Committee (Port Jefferson: Port Jefferson Board of Education, 1991).
40. Two such programs in vogue on Long Island were the Elementary Science Study (ESS), and the Science Curriculum Improvement Study (SCIS), of the Univ. of California, Berkeley; Robert Karplus and Herbert D. Thier, *A New Look at Elementary School Science* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1967), 3.
41. Joshua Stoff, "Grumman versus Republic: Success and Failure in the Aviation Industry on Long Island," *LIHJ* 1 (Spring 1989): 121.

42. Based on the author's study of twenty-five Three Village School District's budgets, 1966 to 1991.
43. Rudolph F. Flesch, *Why Johnny Can't Read* (New York: Harper & Row, 1953).
44. James Winkler, Chairman, Financial Sub-Committee, "Preliminary Report of the Port Jefferson School District Long Range Planning Committee" (Port Jefferson, August, 1991), a summary of the financial alternatives open to Port Jefferson as a result of Mount Sinai's withdrawal of its tuition students; see also "Facing Losses, School Boards Are Moving to Consolidate," *New York Times*, 1 December 1991, sec. 12, 1.
45. Kremer, *Report*, chap. V passim; chap. VI: 9.
46. Jonathan Kozol, speech at the Staller Center for the Arts, SUNY at Stony Brook, 15 Sept. 1991; *Newsday*, 30 August 1991.

Lost and Found

George Frederick Hummel of Southhold: The Novelist as Social Historian

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

By *Antonia Booth*

George Frederick Hummel (1882-1952) could serve as the very model of a prophet honored everywhere but in his own country. His fictional portrayals of Southhold predicted how drastically life on the North Fork would be altered by technology, waves of newcomers, and a real estate boom that changed utilitarian sand beach and salt marsh into suddenly precious "water front."

Yet Hummel is remembered, if at all, as a scandal-monger, the cause of passionate controversy. Although his novels *Heritage*, *Tradition*, and *Joshua Moore, American*, and his short-story collection *Subsoil, The Chronicle of A Village*, are virtual social histories of Southhold from its founding in 1640 through the first half of the twentieth century, they only recently have become popular, and then as collectors' items.¹ Although Hummel's death in Manhattan was widely publicized, only three people from his hometown attended his funeral;² the Southhold Free Library still does not own a copy of *Subsoil*, the book that caused the most local discord.

George Frederick Hummel, familiarly known as Fred, clearly drew upon his family for his characters. In the novels *Tradition* and *Heritage*, his father Gottlieb Hummel becomes Gottlob Weller; Anna Hummel, Gottlieb's wife and Fred's mother, becomes Barbara Weller; and Fred's sister Minna becomes Anna Weller. Fred Hummel also used the names and experiences of his closest friends, at times with audacity; for instance, he detailed a married crony's affair with the public health nurse (although not in a book about Southhold).³ Even more rashly, Hummel inserted incidents and names easily recognizable to Southolders. Although the names were transposed, many discussions and arguments took place in Southold as attempts were made to fix the correct actors into the proper scenes.

Hummel's works were published from forty to fifty-odd years ago, but there are people still living in Southhold who can identify the families in his description of a three-day Polish wedding, or who know the real name of the man who sent to Connecticut for a mail-order bride. Among Irish and some Catholic German locals, the finger-pointing became so bitter that the pastor of St. Patrick's church forbade the congregation to read any of Hummel's works. Far worse for his social standing was Hummel's use of Yankee names

and scandals. He not only used real happenings, but often revealed the narrow-mindedness and prejudice of some of the old families. *Heritage* begins with a description of these families, as of 1846, as

with few exceptions, the families which had founded the village in the sixteen-forties. Everybody, except by accident or intrusion, was everybody else's uncle, cousin, a'nt, gramper, gramma, heir-apparent. Everybody knew everybody else's family history for at least four generations back.⁴

Because he admired, perhaps envied many of them, it was a sad disappointment to Hummel when many members of these families stopped speaking to him.

The narrator's voice in Hummel's books articulates an ideal of perfect freedom, equality, and brotherhood. The characters worry about the specter of unemployment and its effect on workingmen. Lengthy conversations explore the possibility of frustrated and out-of-work Americans turning Bolshevik. The author uses the idle shipyards of Greenport (Eastport in the books) as examples of the production of a disgruntled proletariat. The few intellectuals in Norwold (Hummel's name for Southold) espouse a fuzzy sort of internationalism. In a perfect world, they believe, Norwold would be "right next door, in spirit, to Moscow and Hong Kong." The Southold novels express a sort of diffuse utopianism; the author turns from his earlier preoccupation with the extreme right (while in Italy in the early 1930s, Hummel spoke gleefully of his friendship with many shapers of the fascist state) to flirtation with the left. Friends he made while living in New York City may have helped to shape his social and political views.

Fred Hummel was born in Southold on 3 September 1882, the son of German immigrants who came to the North Fork as children.⁵ Fred, the youngest child, shared a house on Railroad Avenue with his parents, sister, and three brothers. For a time, he attended Southold Academy, founded in 1834 to educate the children of privileged Southolders, where most of his classmates were members of founding families. When he turned to writing, Fred richly peopled his books with these classmates and their families, whose lives and persons so closely resembled their forbears, the "hardheaded pioneers of 1640":

A Beebe, a Howell, a Booth, a Conklin, a Corwin, a Wells, a Horton, a Reeves, a Davis, lived, for the most part, on their ancestral homestead, worked their ancestral acres, worshipped their ancestral God and jealously guarded their ancestral tradition.⁶

After Fred was expelled from Southold Academy, his sister Minna prepared the "worst boy in Southold" for college. Accepted at Williams College on a scholarship, the tall, athletic, young man completed four years of work in three, made Phi Beta Kappa, and received the prestigious Graves prize for his senior essay, "Fichte: The German Patriot." After graduation, Hummel came home



Patsy Martin, Charcoal and oil sketch of newspaper photo of George Frederick Hummel, 1935. Courtesy Dr. and Mrs. Edward C. Booth.

and purchased the old Union schoolhouse, on the Main Road, with the idea of turning it into a summer hotel. As he began moving it north toward a bluff on the Sound, part of the schoolhouse fell off and eventually was made into a house on Hummel Avenue. The rest of the building made it to the Sound, was enlarged and renovated, and operated successfully as the Paumanok Inn for several years. A 1910-11 register of Southold lists G. F. Hummel as living with his widowed mother, his occupation "hotel proprietor." However, it did not take long for Fred to find life in Southold too constricting. Again on a scholarship, he moved to New York City to do graduate work at Columbia University in German and English literature.⁷

Soon after he earned his master's degree, incipient tuberculosis caused Hummel to move to Texas, where he worked for a year and one-half as a

cowboy on the King ranch. There he helped to drive more than 8,000 head of cattle across the border to Mexico, lectured to womens' groups on Shakespeare, composed cowboy songs, and palled around with the "infamous" Pitts Hill gang on the Chisholm Trail.⁸

Restored to health, he returned to Columbia for a Ph.D., but, when a promised fellowship fell through, turned to promoting oil ventures, fertilizer companies, and motion pictures for the Triangle Film Corporation. Soon Fred was a millionaire, if only on paper.⁹ After losing most of his money, he married the former Lillie Conrad Busch, a young widow with three teen-aged sons, in 1916. A grand-daughter remembers "Lulu" as a "beautiful, lively woman" who lived a Bohemian, "wildly romantic" life with Fred in the house near Horton's Point Lighthouse that he named "Villa Lillie" in her honor. Until the advent of Prohibition, the income from Lulu's inherited shares in Anheuser-Busch helped support a comfortable life style. Once Fred began writing in earnest, the couple divided their time between Capri and Southold. Lillie typed her husbands manuscripts and otherwise took an active part in promoting his career. Before the publication of *Heritage*, she wrote to a group of friends that, "it seems that the success of a novel depends largely upon stirring up conversation before publication." She described her "little personal campaign" for getting lists of prospective buyers of the book to whom the publisher could send announcements—her friends obliged with names and addresses.¹⁰

Overlooking a pond on Soundview Avenue (now known as Hummel's Pond), the comfortable house boasted a veranda, a porte-cochere, and a large, richly furnished library which held Hummel's extensive collection of books. The walls of the house were hung with exquisite paintings and drawings by Japanese artists. Even closer to the water, clinging to a bluff overlooking the Sound, was a cottage with an outside privy that Hummel used as studio and office.

In 1921, Fred began to write seriously and, with the help of former college classmates, was accepted by the publishing house of Boni and Liveright. Hummel became a close friend of Horace Liveright's, and in 1929 was named vice-president of the firm. He and Lillie spent much of their time abroad at their home on Capri, where he wrote his first novel, *After All*, a financial success. In short order came *Subsoil*, *A Good Man*, *Evelyn Grainger*, *Lazy Isle*, and *Summer Lightning* (only *Subsoil* [1924] was about Southold).¹¹

Fred Hummel was well suited to write about Southold, the small East End farming and fishing community he depicted as Norwold. He could remember when all the town's business was done at annual town meetings, held in either the Presbyterian or Universalist church. In later years, he enjoyed telling of oil-skin-clad families coming by boat from remote Fisher's Island (part of Southold since 1879) to participate in the annual ritual. In *Heritage* and *Tradition*, Hummel's persona is that of an American of German heritage, but in *Joshua Moore, American*, he assumes the voice of one of Southold's first settlers. He not only knew local history well, but was also a friend of the town historian, Wayland Jefferson, a descendant both of former slaves and an

old local family, who surely suggested events and their interpretations to him.

Although Hummel wrote with sentiment, affection, and insight about his hometown, he was ambivalent both about life and living in Southold. It is not surprising, therefore, that he spent a good deal of time away from Southold before returning to write about it. The two strands of his consciousness were reflected in the dual protagonists of *Heritage* and *Tradition*, the twin sons of the German butcher, Gottlob Weller.¹²

Subsoil is his most gracefully written, evocative book, possibly because the short-story form imposed limitations on his customary verbosity. The appropriate title, explained both in the "Foreword" and "Afterword," reflects the image of a farmer plowing a fallow field. Suddenly, an obstruction forces the nose of his plow deep into the earth, and from under rich brown furrows of newly plowed dirt roils up "a streak of tawny subsoil." To Hummel, these stories represented the "conflict of unseen forces changeless, eternally changing" beneath the placid surface of village life. The emotions under the surface were strong, sometimes violent, and often resulted in agonizing denouements.

The first story, "The Apotheosis of Anzy Ward," shows the redemptive power of love. It tells of two sisters, Anzy and Temperance, who take up the cult of spiritualism (as did many real-life Southolders). After Tempie's death, Anzy daily sets places at the table for her and their long-dead mother and brother. The poverty and insularity of rural life are evoked as clearly as the neighborly gifts of molasses cookies and baked beans, and the paper flowers and china knickknacks on the 'whatnot.'

In "Tilly May's Revenge," Tilly May, a mail-order bride from Connecticut, marries a shiftless Norwold farmer. The family, suffering from the effects of "too much salt pork and too little fresh water," have missing teeth and are afflicted with typhoid, "grippe," and scurvy. For six generations, they

had grubbed among the rocks of their two-hundred-acre tract, raising scanty crops of corn and potatoes, pressing their cider and butchering their three hogs in the fall, carting their manure and killing their two calves in the spring, swinging slowly, year in and year out, around the inexorable fixed and narrow orbit of the East End farmer.¹³

When a prosperous farmer offers Tilly May money for sex, her cowardly husband refuses to confront the lecher. By way of revenge, Tilly May eventually develops a relationship with another farmer, a well-mannered widower, and experiences passionate sex with him.

Hummel asked Ella B. Hallock, the wife of Southold's newspaper publisher, to write a review of *Subsoil*. After doing so, she wrote to him that she found the first story "a little masterpiece, *difficult*, but done with consummate art," and the last "very lovely indeed...[but] I wish with all my heart you had omitted two of the stories (you know which two, probably)."¹⁴ The reader, of course, does not know which two Mrs. Hallock found offensive. While the stories depict lives brightened by fairs and visits to the county seat (Riverhead), twenty miles west, they also tell of insanity, the

asylum, and of "Polack" Joe's running a still in his barn. Along with folksy details like gifts of elderberry wine and jars of home-made marmalade from neighbor to neighbor, *Subsoil* deals with death, drunken violence, and mortgage foreclosures.

Initially, *Subsoil* was largely ignored by Southolders, even though its frontispiece and end papers contained a slightly rearranged map of the hamlet. Not until the publication of *Heritage* (1935), which Hummel called his "most serious writing," did it become evident he was using his boyhood experiences, and those of his family and friends, as material for his books. Harold Strauss reviewed it in the *New York Times*, Lewis Gannett in the *Herald Tribune*, and Clifton Fadiman in the *New Yorker*. Gannett called it "the essence of American history," while to Fadiman it was "an exercise in the recollection of the spirit of place."¹⁵

Heritage covers the fifty-six years from the coming of the Long Island Railroad to Greenport, in 1844, through the end of the century. A leading New York daily described it as "a novel of roots in America...a full-bodied, leisurely, old-fashioned novel of people in the last half of the century."¹⁶ As an author, Hummel was nothing if not prolix. Thinned of everything but the plot outline, *Heritage* is the story of immigrants in a Yankee town. Gottlob Weller, from Germany, and Mike McCarthy, from Ireland, arrive in Norwold together and go to work on local farms, Gottlob for "Lucky John" Beebe, whose family had owned the same land since 1640. In time, Gottlob becomes the town butcher. He is a small, fussy man who, like his earnest and loving wife Barbara, has trouble with the English language. At first Barbara suffers from the coldness of the Norwolders but, in the end, she earns their trust and admiration. Gottlob helps to prove his Americanism by serving in the Civil War, along with his employer.

The Wellers only daughter, Anna, who is deaf from scarlet fever, is awkward, and timid with strangers. One of the Wellers' twin sons, Henry, loves Norwold, the beautiful town between Long Island Sound and Peconic Bay, where he founds a successful oyster company and becomes engaged to Lucky John Beebe's daughter Beth. Beth loves Henry, but finds him too concerned with making money; she falls for his identical, but more physically attractive, twin George, who gets her pregnant but then leaves Norwold for college. He stays away for years, while earning a doctorate and becoming a world famous thinker, writer, and president of a famous university in New York.

Beth bears George's daughter Helen. She avoids village life while living in seclusion at her parents' home. "Lucky John" never forgives her, and, although they eat together three times a day, he speaks neither to her nor his illegitimate grand-child. Despite the almost unbearable tension in the Beebe household, Helen grows up to be a beautiful, happy young woman, engaged to the Cornell-educated son of Norwold's most successful farmer. She never gets to know her German relatives, even though her wealthy uncle Henry has an estate near her grandparents' farm. Her father, George Weller, does not return to Norwold until Helen is nineteen, and about to marry.

The engine that moves the plot in *Heritage*, *Tradition*, and *Joshua Moore, American* is celebrations of the founding of Norwold in 1640. Just as in real life, these commemorations take place in 1890, 1915, and 1940, with almost the whole town involved in planning and taking part in them. The proceedings of all three of Southold's real anniversary celebrations were recorded in cloth-bound publications (now collectors' items), which Hummel used in his research. Readers of *Heritage* can almost hear the cornet bands, taste the ice cream and lemonade, stroll on cool, shady Oak Lawn, or sit in a pew in the spare and graceful First Presbyterian Church. A permanent outcome—a town hall or community center—is planned, as hundreds of out-of-towners swarm to Norwold to enjoy the success of ceremonies well-covered in the press.¹⁷ In *Heritage*, the permanent outcome is the construction of a magnificent new Town Hall and a Civil War monument, built with the help of the now wealthy Henry Weller and some of his city friends. The committee planning the celebration of the 250th anniversary of Norwold's founding invites the brilliant college president, George Weller, to be the main speaker at the dedication on 24 August 1890. His acceptance marks his first visit home since abandoning Beth. Hummel's delineation of his characters is so skillful that toward the end of *Heritage* we care about George's reunion with his mother, hope the brothers will reconcile, and want George to redeem himself with his about-to-be married daughter.

Conflict in Hummel's first two Southold novels comes from differences in the natures of the Weller twin brothers, who also represent two strands of Fred Hummel's own temperament. On the positive side, both George and Henry find beautiful Norwold overflowing with nature's bounty. All three novels describe the pleasures of ice boating, hay rides, quilting parties, choir practice, sewing societies, beach plumming, and crabbing expeditions (Fred Hummel loved to cook the crabs he caught and share them with friends, along with beer and theatrical recitation of German poetry). In fictional Norwold, as in nineteenth century Southold, people need and depend on each other; there is a strong sense of family and community. Henry is confident that new technology, hard work, and clever investment strategy can make almost any Norwolder healthy, wealthy, and wise. Ironically, the future of Norwold as a "sort of rural appendage to New York" is seen in *Heritage* as a positive outcome.

On the negative side, however, George Weller views Norwold as a place where people know everyone else's business, are prejudiced, insular, inadequately educated, and lack the imagination and knowledge to plan for the future. There is little contact with brilliant intellects, and none of the inspiration that can come from travel and new ideas. One hardly wonders at the negative reaction of native Norwolders to phrases describing the atmosphere as one of "mephitic mists of puritanic dogmatism and provincial bigotry," or the town as an "ingrown little microcosm." Although Fred Hummel was confirmed in the First Presbyterian Church of Southold, he did not hesitate to write of "stiff-backed Presbyterians [with] no real life in them."¹⁸

Henry invests in Mr. Edison's power and light company for himself and

his aging parents. When the promise of the Wizard of Menlo Park comes true, Henry buys an estate on one of the necks that jut out from Norwold proper. "Hawk's Nest" sits on land that was common pasturage for Norwold (as for Southold). In *Heritage* and *Tradition*, Hog Neck becomes Fair Haven, boasting the South Downs Country Club. Hummel meant to show, through these name changes, the influence of wealthy summer residents on the town. In real life Hog Neck was prettied-up to Bay View, and the club became The Reydon Country Club.

Hummel describes better than he analyzes. Readers disappointed with unimaginative plot resolution are rewarded with a wealth of factual details. They learn the importance of fishing for "bunkers" (menhaden), and how nineteenth-century farmers plowed, harrowed, and seeded their acreage. In addition, the reader relives the arrival of the first train to Eastport (Greenport), and the coming of German and Irish immigrant families. As the machine invades Norwold, *Heritage* documents change in a world of corn husking, hog killings, and Presbyterian "sociables." By the end of the book, readers know why farmers changed from raising grain to growing produce for city markets; they can visualize overnight trips on the steamer *Manhansett* (its real name), replacing a five-day journey by packet sloop up Long Island Sound to New York City; and they will find parallels between problems faced by baymen today, and threats to the nineteenth-century seafood industry both from over-fishing and destructive starfish.

The first novel dealt with only two immigrant groups, and their integration into the host culture. As Hummel saw it, Germans gave a much needed warmth to dour Norwold and helped to soften the rough edges of social intercourse. Irish Catholics, "a strange breed who were allowed on earth, but didn't really belong there," made life in Norwold more vivid and exciting.¹⁹

Soon after *Heritage* came *Tradition*. *Tradition* is *Heritage* with automobiles, washing-machines, radios, and electric ice-boxes. The author uses the same plot device, but carries the twin Weller brothers, now multi-millionaires, through an era of tumultuous change. George is the president of prestigious Northeastern University, while Henry divides his time between New York City and Norwold. The town is overrun with the "pretentious estates of part-time residents." To real Norwolders, the newcomers will "never be more than unfamiliar and unwelcome barbarians." In real life, this was the period when wealthy city people established themselves in large homes in Southold near the bay or the Sound. Now, in addition to Germans and Irish, there are Poles, Lithuanians, Italians, Portuguese, and Jews, many of whom are involved in rum-running and bootlegging. Because of hard times, many in Norwold are on "the Relief." Henry Weller gives the town a beautiful civic center on the occasion of its 275th anniversary (in Southold, newcomers virtually took over the 1915 celebration).

Toward the end of *Tradition*, the Weller brothers improbably reconcile their differences. Eighty-year-old George retires and comes back to Norwold to end his days at "Hawks' Nest," the estate of his twin brother Henry. Virtually

unaffected by the nation's economic downturn, the twins establish the Weller Foundation for Social and Economic Research, a foundation that will be dissolved should America choose communism as the solution to its problems. As their joint venture is publicized, both brothers die on the same day.

Hummel's final Southhold novel, published in 1943, is most valuable for its historically correct recreation of the town's founding. In *Joshua Moore, American*, the saga of one family through three hundred years, Hummel uses real names and occupations, as well as actual incidents. Only the name of the protagonist, Joshua Moore, is transposed. The story follows generations of Moores across the continent until, just before World War II, yet another Joshua Moore returns to Norwold.

After Lillie Hummel died, in 1946, her husband spent several years in "rather charming quarters" on St. Vincent, in the British West Indies. There he wrote *Adriatic Interlude*, a book he called "a war's end episode [of] our gallant heroes stuck in Europe after hostilities ended with little to do...in life except to kill time and raise hell."²⁰ After this interval, Hummel returned to New York and Southhold, and was at work on another novel, *The Eternal Mother*, when he died in his apartment on Central Park West, on 20 December 1952. *The New York Times* devoted ten column inches and a photograph to mark the end of Hummel's career as cowpuncher, teacher, businessman, and novelist. A brief notice in the *Williams Alumni Review* of May 1953 identified Hummel as a novelist, but did little to evoke the brilliance and singularity of the young Long Islander who graduated almost fifty years earlier, and whose greatest legacy was the preservation of the history of Southhold and its people.²¹

NOTES

For help with factual evidence with which to flesh out the Southhold legend of George Frederick Hummel, I owe a debt to Jo Ann Brooks, Suffolk County Historical Society; Edana Cichanowicz, Riverhead Free Library; Lynne K. Fonteneau, Williams College; and Signe Youngberg, Southhold Free Library.

1. Hummel's Southhold books are: *Heritage* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1935); *Tradition*, (New York: Coward-McCann, 1936; *Joshua Moore, American* (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran, 1943; and *Subsoil: The Chronicle of a Village* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1924);

2. Personal recollection of C. Whitney Booth, Jr. During his lifetime, Hummel made and lost several fortunes; to augment his income during a low period, he tutored two Southhold brothers, Whitney Booth, Jr. and Edward C. Booth, for two years in sessions that Hummel dubbed "Norwold Academy."

3. Fred's father was a shoemaker, as was his father, from Württemberg; although the novels hint at a political reason for the "Wellers'" emigration, it probably was economic; Hummel's first six books were published by Boni & Liveright, but after Horace B. Liveright died in 1933, almost every book of Hummel's had a different publisher.

4. In addition to the late Clement Whitney Booth and his sons Whitney and Edward, some of the few local people who remember Fred Hummel were interviewed for this article; they are Margery Dickinson Burns, Wesley R. Dickinson, Francis L. Thompson, and Cora Stoll; Hummel, *Heritage*, 5.

5. For Hummel's life see Stanley J. Kunitz and Howard Maycraft, eds., *Twentieth Century Authors: A Biographical Dictionary of Modern Literature* (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1942), s.v.

"Hummel, George Frederick"; *New York Times*, 22 December 1952; Lawton Company *Southold-Shelter Island Register of 1910-1911*; N. H. Cleveland Supplement of the *Salmon Record*, 1880; records of the Southold Town Clerk.

6. Hummel, *Tradition*, 4-5.

7. *New York Times*, 5 November 1933; Williams College Archives and Special Collections, Williamstown, MA; Rosalind Case Newell, *Rose Remembers* (Southold: Academy Printing Services, 1976), 109-110; Southold-Shelter Island Register, 1910-1911; *Williams College Yearbook of 1902*;

8. *New York Times*, 5 November 1933.

9. *Ibid.*

10. Edmee B. Reit, granddaughter of Lillie Busch Hummel, recalls that "Fred was absolutely marvelous to us children...and treated us as grown-ups, which we loved...In many ways he was the male counterpart to 'Auntie Mame'" (interview with author, 21 April 1988); G. F. Hummel to Lillie Hummel, n. d., Lillie C. Hummel to Edna Cahoon Booth and Edna Cahoon Booth to G. F. Hummel, Whitaker Collection, Southold Free Library.

11. *New York Times*, 5 November 1933 (an interview in the drama section after Brooks Atkinson's 26 October 1933 review of Hummel's only play, *The World Waits*, produced with lukewarm success in New York in 1933, and more cordially received in London two years later); *Williams Alumni Bulletin*, December, 1933. All of them published in New York by Boni & Liveright, *After All* (1923) and *Evelyn Grainger* (1927) are based on Hummel's love for and marriage to Lillie Conrad Busch; *A Good Man* (1925) honors Horace B. Liveright, "that friend who, more than any other, has encouraged my attempts at life-interpretation,"; and *Lazy Isle* (1927) is "a picture of Capri which is perhaps intentionally reminiscent of Normal Douglas's *South Wind*" (Kunitz and Maycraft, *Twentieth Century Authors*, s.v. "Hummel").

12. Recollection of Margery Dickinson Burns, eight years old when she met Fred Hummel; the two became lifelong friends.

13. Hummel, *Subsoil*, 31.

14. Ella B. Hallock to Fred Hummel, Whitaker Collection of Southold Free Library.

15. Harold Strauss, *New York Times* review quoted in *Williams Alumni Review*, June 1935; Lewis Gannett, review in "Books and Things," *New York Herald Tribune*, undated clipping, collection of Southold Town Historian; Clifton Fadiman, *The New Yorker*, 20 April 1935.

16. Cited by Lewis Gannett in "Books and Things," undated clipping, Southold Town Historian. for the early history of the Long Island Railroad, which Hummel capsulizes in *Heritage*, 20-21, see Edwin L. Dunbaugh, "New York to Boston via the Long Island Railroad," in Joan P. Krieg, ed., *Evoking A Sense of Place* (Interlaken, NY: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1988), 75-84.

17. See *Celebration of the 250th Anniversary of the Formation of The Town and The Church of Southold, L I., August 27, 1890* (Southold, 1890); Ella B. Hallock, *The Story of the 275th Anniversary Celebration of the Founding of Southold Town, July 21-25* (Garden City: Doubleday, Page, 1915); Ann Hallock Currie-Bell, *Old Southold Town* (Garden City: Country Life Press, 1910).

18. Hummel, *Heritage*, 409, 567, 648; Carol de Long, secretary, First Presbyterian Church, Southold.

19. The Whitaker Collection boasts the author's special copy of *Tradition*, bound in red leather embossed with gold. On the cover are the initials "G. F. H."; the inscription reads, "To Fred Hummel from his friend & publisher Tim Coward, Xmas 1936."

20. Fred Hummel to his agent in New York City.

21. For Hummel's obituaries, see *New York Times*, 22 December 1952, 25; *Long Island Traveler-Mattituck Watchman*, 25 December 1952; *Publisher's Weekly*, 17 January 1953, 203; *Wilson Library Bulletin*, February 1953, 410; "Report, Class of 1907," *Williams College Alumni Review*, May 1953, 30;

Reviews

Charles L. Sachs. *The Blessed Isle: Hal B. Fullerton and His Image of Long Island, 1897-1927*. Interlaken, NY: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1991. Pp.99. Illustrations, notes, index. \$15.95. 8 1/4" x 10" paperback. A joint publication of Hofstra University's Long Island Studies Institute and the Suffolk County Historical Society.

Hal B. Fullerton was a true "Renaissance Man" in his age, which was a progressive time, indeed. Possessed of myriad talents (writing, artistic, photography, public relations), an orderly and logical scientific mind, and a forceful personality balanced with a sometimes corny—but immensely delightful—sense of humor and deep-rooted American ideals of hard work, fidelity and progressivism, Fullerton left an indelible influence on modern Long Island. When he went to work as a Special Agent (with vaguely defined portfolio) for the Long Island Rail Road in 1897, it was a classic case of "the right man in the right place at the right time." All concerned—Fullerton, the railroad, the region, and world agriculture—were beneficiaries, even into the present time.

This reviewer had the distinction of being the first author-researcher to "discover" the photographic heritage left by Fullerton. While working on the LIRR history *Steel Rails to the Sunrise*, in 1963, he and George H. Foster rummaged through the dusty glass-plate negatives then stored in the basement of the Suffolk County Historical Society, and the nearly 200 plates of LIRR scenes at the St. James General Store. In recent times, with the realization of the historical significance of Fullerton's surviving work, great pains have been taken to see that the fragile plates are properly preserved. After scores of Fullerton's images, a brief biography, and other references to him appeared in *Steel Rails*, other authors, newspapers, archivists, and historians began to delve deeper into the more than 2,500 of his surviving glass-plate negatives.

Charles Sachs does not attempt to write THE definitive biography of Hal Fullerton, but does an excellent job of sketching his remarkable life and putting the reader on speaking terms with the pioneer publicist and master of several diverse professions. Fortunately for the author, both of Fullerton's daughters—then in their eighties—were still alive and, as always, most helpful in providing information, documents, and recollections. In his research, Sachs visited many historical organizations, libraries, and individuals who had some distant connection with Fullerton, mostly through photography or his agricultural and railroad work.

The Blessed Isle is illustrated with moderately-good reproductions of Fullerton's photography. They are not always the best of his work, but, of course, anyone familiar with the collection would find fault with a selection that did not include his or her favorites! In the past quarter-century, several other photo anthologies have utilized extensive Fullertonia in books which will familiarize readers with the bulk of the surviving plates. The first reaction of most historians is to lament the loss of perhaps three-quarters of the plates, but most of the best negatives apparently were saved; more than twenty-five years ago, Eleanor Fullerton Ferguson (the younger daughter) assured this writer that most of the discarded plates were things like close-ups of the largest sugar beet grown at the Medford Farm in 1919, and so forth.

Sachs's summary of Hal Fullerton's life reveals the personality, accomplishments, and human relationships of the protagonist and his times. The book is a useful research tool, explaining where to find information and the plates, which are scattered over several public and private collections. Extensive footnotes document sources.

Hal B. Fullerton came to Long Island in the early 1890s and went to work for the railroad as a Special Agent in 1897. When looking at the Long Island Rail Road today—bland, uninspiring, managed by the tax-squandering MTA in New York City, woefully inefficient, and scandalously off-schedule—it is difficult to imagine the vibrant, exciting, innovative, and important outfit the LIRR was in the three decades (1897-1927) that Fullerton worked for it. Indeed, the LIRR could claim sole responsibility for transforming Long Island from a sparsely-populated stretch of isolated and economically independent rural communities into the vast, integrated, and increasingly industrial society that it became after World War I. As the leader in the development of the region (for better or worse), the LIRR was a public relations Goliath in the infancy of that field. Its innovative instincts were brought into sharp focus (the pun is intended) by Fullerton as he capitalized on the natural beauty, health, and recreational values, commercial and industrial possibilities, and living desirability of his adopted "Blessed Isle." He promoted the new rages of bicycling and the automobile, as well as golf, tennis, and the old standbys of farming and boating. His campaigns were always in the interest of the railroad which, once it acquired the Montauk Steamboat Company in 1898, was the only fast, convenient, and inexpensive way to travel around the Island, especially beyond those portions of Nassau County served by trolley lines (some of them owned by the LIRR).

Hal Fullerton deserves a great deal of credit for his audacious, enlightened promotion of Long Island, and his exploits in establishing the world-renowned LIRR Experimental Farms. However, his success would have been greatly diminished had it not been for his "Lifelong Partner," his wife Edith Loring Fullerton. She administered the farms, kept detailed records and journals, wrote the text of the publications illustrated by her husband's superb photography, and was closely consulted by him. Edith was a "liberated" woman early on. She was a forceful speaker for suffrage, and a champion of

the advancement of women in society and business. Indeed, when Theodore Roosevelt visited the Fullertons in 1910, it was Edith who drove the automobile that transported her husband, herself, LIRR President Ralph Peters, and T. R. on a day-long tour of the farms at Wading River and Medford. And when Hal retired as Director of Agriculture for the railroad in 1927, Edith was to be his logical successor, her most melancholy duty being to close the department a few years later.

Perhaps the great irony of Fullerton's life lay in his promotion of paving roadways. He and the LIRR management surmised that better roads meant freer access to the railroad by people in outlying areas, so "Good Roads" Fullerton cajoled local government officials, businessmen, and the citizenry into turning roads from mudholes and dust bowls into smoothly paved—at least, oiled—thoroughfares. By the time of his death in 1935, Fullerton must have seen how the automobile was severely competing with the railroad; it is probably better that he is not around today to see the horrendous end result of what began with his public-spirited efforts. Fortunately, the final irony has not come to pass—nobody has proposed renaming the Long Island Expressway the "Fullerton Freeway"!

RON ZIEL
Water Mill, NY

Natalie A. Naylor, ed. *Exploring African-American History*. Hempstead: Long Island Studies Institute, 1991. Illustrations, bibliographies. Pp. 64. \$5 (8½" x 11" paperback).

Exploring African-American History is a collection of essays presented at two symposia sponsored in 1990 and 1991 by the Long Island Studies Institute at Hofstra University, of which the editor, Natalie A. Naylor, is the director. While originally positioned within the larger context of multiculturalism on Long Island, the essays stand alone as insights into the history of African-American life on the Island. They appear orientated toward teachers at the elementary and junior high school levels, although much of the information presented is useful for scholars in the field of African-American history.

The lead essay, "Discovering the African-American Experience on Long Island," by Grania Bolton Marcus, presents an overview of the early history of Long Island's African population (with data primarily from Suffolk County) between the institutionalization (1654) and the aftermath of slavery (1845). The essay provides important background information for those later essays which discuss more specific features of the experience of African-Americans on the Island, as well as for those primarily concerned with incorporating facts about African-Americans into the curriculum of elementary schools.

Marcus starts with the significant point that while slavery in the United States was primarily in the South, it was not confined to that region. She describes a situation in which slaves were valuable property for Long Islanders,

although held in small numbers by only a minority of property owners. The number of African-Americans in Suffolk County was always small, with a pre-twentieth-century peak of 2,236 (13.6 percent of the total population) in 1790, about half of them free. Despite the small number, however, there were regional clusters of slaveholdings. In 1776, 40 percent of Smithtown's white families owned slaves, 18.5 percent of Shelter Island's, and 14.1 percent of Huntington's (p.3). Unlike in the South, the combination of few slaves and their small number per property owner on Long Island meant that African-Americans lived in relative isolation from each other. Therefore, violent resistance or collective action was rare, although individuals did run away and engage in "day-to-day resistance" (p.4).

Slaves primarily engaged in agricultural work, but also performed skilled tasks such as farm management, carpentry, and weaving. Although family members often worked on separate farms, strong family bonds existed despite the typical powerlessness of the African population under conditions of slavery; although physically separated, those enslaved resisted psychological separation.

Slaves generally had a room in the master's house, or a cabin behind the main house. Their food was similar to, but less nutritious, than that of the master. Religion was available at African Methodist Episcopal (AME) churches, or by attending a settlers' church. Despite the 1810 New York State law providing that children of emancipated slaves be taught to read the Bible, most African-Americans, slave or free, were illiterate in the nineteenth century.

Gradual emancipation began in New York in the late eighteenth century, with all slaves on Long Island freed by 1845. One negative consequence of this was the paucity of opportunity, which, along with low wages and lack of health care, resulted in a precarious living for freed people. On the other hand, the whaling, shipbuilding, fishing, and brickmaking industries furnished work for some. Within this context of limited opportunity, after the end of slavery a few African-Americans became large property owners. A significant result of the process of emancipation was the development of small communities of free African-Americans, routinely focused around the church. However, as emancipation progressed, there was a continued decline of the Island's black population. The reason is not fully known, observes Marcus: did the black population maintain a low birth rate, or migrate to other regions? Some former slaves "experienced freedom only briefly before they were kidnapped and re-sold to the South or West Indies." (p.10).

The size of this population, and its decline after emancipation, provide additional angles of understanding its place within the society. In addition, the similarity between the Long Island and Southern experiences is inherently meaningful, because of the tendency to view the North as more enlightened than the South in its treatment of people of African descent. Marcus demonstrates that African-Americans had a significant hand in the development of Long Island, but were not able to benefit from their contributions; they were not allowed to partake fully as human beings in the social, economic, and political life of the United States. Her work at least

attempts to redress the intellectual ills of the past.

"Weeksville," by Joan Maynard, briefly describes the context within which an African-American community developed in nineteenth-century Brooklyn. After the English ousted the Dutch in 1664, freed blacks were re-enslaved. "By 1790, a third of the population of the county were slaves and Kings County was the largest slave owning county in New York State"(P.22). By 1838, however, free blacks again had developed to the point of being able to purchase land, and to build the community of Weeksville. The essay, which focuses on the preservation and restoration of Weeksville as a museum of African-American history, outlines the continual movement towards freedom and the establishment of independent communities by Brooklyn's African-Americans.

"Lewis Latimer," by Alan Singer, sums up the life of an African-American inventor with links to Long Island. By 1913, black inventors held patents for over 1,000 inventions. Latimer (1848-1928), who held a number of those patents, worked with Alexander Graham Bell under conditions of equality. His life reflects the positive social contributions which can be made to society when individuals, regardless of race, receive the opportunity to participate in the creative life of society.

"Long Island's African-American Women," by Floris Barnett Cash, looks at women who made significant contributions to African-American life. Cash's primary concern, however, is to illumine an often overlooked segment of society. Each woman discussed resembled Lewis Latimer by being fortunate enough to develop as a creative, intellectual, and productive individual. Sarah Smith Tompkins-Garnet (1831-1911), the daughter of a Weeksville landowner and community leader, was the first black woman principal of a New York City public school. A lifelong fighter against racial discrimination, she organized the Equal Suffrage League, an early civil rights organization in Brooklyn. Her sister and fellow advocate of woman's rights, Susan Smith McKinney-Steward (1847-1911) graduated from New York Medical College for Women, as valedictorian of her class, in 1870; she was the first African-American woman in New York State, and the third in the United States, to earn an M.D. degree.

Cash summarizes the history of the Howard Orphan Asylum, founded in the Manhattan home of Mrs. Sara A. Tillman in 1866, and moved to Brooklyn in 1868. Lack of funds and increasing shortages, especially of fuel, caused it to go bankrupt during World War I, having by then moved to Suffolk County, first to St. James and then to Kings Park. The orphanage provided child care support for many working parents, as well as a home for large numbers of boys and girls. Cash also profiles Victoria Earle Matthews (1861-1907) and Verina Morton Jones (1857-1943), who developed support for urban African-Americans, particularly recent immigrants from the South, and Josephine Silone Yates (1859-1912), a leader in the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs and its president from 1901 until 1906.

The remainder of the collection is divided into three sections. "Manuscripts, Census Data, and Articles on African-American History: Samples and

Suggestions for Using in the Classroom," by Natalie A. Naylor and Dorothy B. Ruetters, offers interesting census data, newspaper clippings, and other documents relevant to African-American history on Long Island. The concern is with developing a series of classroom discussions based on the wealth of material from the collection of the Long Island Studies Institute. "Incorporating African-American History into the Elementary Curriculum," by Jeanne Murray, consists of questions for fourth graders, guides for further study of African-Americans on Long Island, a calendar of important dates, and a list of the "Fifty most Important Persons in Black American History." The last section presents five well-selected bibliographies on diverse aspects of African-American life, selected by Lynda Day, Natalie A. Naylor, Floris Barnett Cash, Vivian Wood, and Luetta Smith-Black.

Exploring African-American History is an excellent start to understanding a neglected aspect of Long Island history. As Grania Marcus points out, slavery on Long Island was all but eliminated by 1845. While that was earlier than in the Southern states, it was later than in most of the Northern states. The cause of the disparity is worthy of future discussion. One hopes that the information contained in this book becomes available to every one of the Island's school systems. If that happens, the exploration of the links between African-American and Long Island history may become a routine aspect of the lives of the children it touches.

RICHARD WILLIAMS
SUNY at Stony Brook

Kenneth M. Price. *Whitman and Tradition: The Poet in His Century*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1990. Notes, index. Pp. 179. \$16.00.

Kenneth Price writes clear, direct prose. In the great, heavy body of Walt Whitman criticism, Price's 150-page book is a bright light shining, showing the paths of some major arteries. Chief among the book's many virtues is the way Price presents the difference between Walter Whitman, human being, man, and writer, and Walt Whitman, "Myself," persona, and "yawper."

So much time and space has been devoted to beating Walter psychologically and morally with the epic poem he wrote, that it seems, at least for some, that poor Walter Whitman is being asked posthumously (as he was when he was living) to bear the whole weight of his puritan, voyeuristic country's fascination with sex and sensuality; that he has been condemned to an eternity of walking through Boston Common with Emerson, listening to his carping, prudish censor's voice. This aspect of prurient digging into Whitman's "real" life is only matched by the misunderstanding of Edgar Poe, as Rufus Griswold and generations following him tried to force Poe to assume the insanity of his country, which he satirized, as his own.

Clearly, simply and quickly, Price separates Whitman and his creation, "Walt," freeing Whitman's readers to see his work free and of itself, the way

Whitman intended. What Price brings new to the ongoing discussion of Whitman's transformative process—creating in the persona a composite man of all the things that the man was not—is the context of the process.

By briefly and concisely describing the circumstances of the thesis (Whitman the man), Price clarifies the reason for the magnitude of the difference between it (him) and the antithesis (the persona). For instance, if Whitman's family were dissolute, chronically and disastrously ill, "Myself" was in robust and sensual good health and a prodigious begetter of children. With syphilitic, alcoholic, and retarded siblings, Walter created a hand-holding mob of democratic and healthy Americans—an America of brothers and sisters—as "Myself's" family of man. A private life that led to, as Price puts it, "radical swings between despair and elation," could also lead to the compensatory singer of human/American triumphs and possibilities. "Walt Whitman," the persona of *Leaves of Grass*, is the idealized white male citizen of the Republic in the nineteenth Century, looking around himself and finding himself magnificent in a world of unlimited progress. He, "Walt," is the ideal Emersonian self-fulfilled man, save for the fact that Whitman, when he creates him, creates him with full sensual appetites and appreciations, which was not what Emerson had in mind.

The fact that "Myself," and, as a result, *Leaves of Grass*, is uncensored in his response to his and America's life, means that what he has to say has to be uncensored as well. This freedom of the individual in a free society is part of an explanation for what led to Whitman's radical experiments in verse forms and rhythms.

Whitman felt that, just as he was free to re-invent himself and his world, he could have metric freedom in his epic. A democratic man promoting a democratic world should have access to and the right to use the language and the vocal rhythms of the democratic people who were the readers and part of the self/subject of his democratic poem. Price does a good job in presenting material along this line. He talks about Whitman's development of free verse and breath pattern lines, not as an angry rejection of traditional English metrics but as a series of responses to tradition—as though Walt were having a series of dialogues with his predecessors.

Price also puts Emerson and his influence into perspective in relation to Whitman and his work. Whitman was not Emerson's protege (nor was Henry Thoreau); he felt he needed a "blessing" from Emerson on his first edition, but he also felt—and knew—that what he wanted and what Emerson wanted from him were two different things. Emerson, acting as the aesthetic and moral conscience of America, became a victim of his role, of the position he imagined he held in the Republic. When this happened, Emerson, in relation to Whitman, turned into an editor/censor, telling Walt to take the sex and sensuality out of his poem. Walt, as we all know, simply said: "No." He knew that he and Emerson, no matter how great his admiration for Waldo, were simply about different things. Emerson, Whitman felt, had made American poetry respectable; Whitman wanted to make it real. No crisis of

conscience for Whitman, just a further verification that he was right in doing what he was doing in *Leaves of Grass*.

Finally, in order to find a proper place for Whitman in the extraordinary circumstances of his posthumous reputation and influence, Price brings Whitman the man and "Myself" the persona back together again. Saying that both texts and the individuals who write them may be canonized, Price says: "He [Whitman] managed to intertwine forces of literary prestige and anti-literary counterculturalism by becoming himself a center of power while giving the impression that he stood outside all privileged positions." It's a nice picture of the man and his art; Whitman finding both his independence and his patrimony in giving voice to a position to which all non-traditional interests could respond, while turning that rebellious stance into a valid way to tell America's stories.

GERALD BRIAN NELSON
SUNY at Stony Brook

Elly Shodell, ed. *In the Service: Workers on the Grand Estates of Long Island 1890's-1940's*. Port Washington: Port Washington Public Library, 1991. Illustrations, notes, bibliography. Pp. xv, 66. \$14.95 (paper), from Publications Dept., Port Washington Public Library, One Library Drive, Port Washington, NY 11050 (add \$1.50 per order for shipping and handling).

Long Island's Gold Coast has fascinated writers and historians, from F. Scott Fitzgerald (*The Great Gatsby*) to Dennis P. Sobin (*Dynamics of Community Change: The Case of Long Island's Declining "Gold Coast"*) and Monica Randall (*The Mansions of Long Island's Gold Coast*). The emphasis, however, almost always has been exclusively on the wealthy families, their impressive estates, and elegant lifestyles. As Lorraine Gilligan, Chief Operating Officer and Curator of Coe Hall, appropriately notes in her foreword to *In The Service*, "Often overlooked is the enormous time and energy of the countless staff required to create idyllic settings both indoors and out" (vii).

To fill this gap Elly Shodell elicited memories from workers on the "grand estates" and their families as part of the Port Washington Library's oral history program. For more than a decade, Shodell has been preserving twentieth-century local history by interviewing and taping "memorists." Past projects have included workers in Port Washington's sand mines and African-American community. The indexed and transcribed tapes are in the Library archives and exhibits have reached a larger audience. *In The Service* is the most ambitious publication from this model oral history program which makes the information available in a more permanent and easily accessible form.

The origins of this publication in an oral history exhibit are reflected in the book's format. It is lavishly illustrated with some eighty photographs. The chapters are arranged thematically, and much of the text is devoted to short quotations from the interviews with the memorists. Elly Shodell is more than

just an editor of these snippets of primary sources. She has put the information she has gathered into the broader context of the Gilded Age, Gold Coast, and Long Island history.

The great estates flourished during and following the years of pre-quota mass immigration to the United States. Not surprisingly, many of the workers were immigrants. As Shodell notes, they often came from families which "had 'worked in service' for generations" (xiii). It is interesting to note the ethnic divisions, with British and Irish predominating among the inside servants and Italians, Poles, Germans, and Scandinavians outside, with accompanying class distinctions. Living arrangements differed as well. The house servants lived in the mansions or on the grounds, while the outside workers often lived in nearby communities (xiv, 18). It is inaccurate, however, to imply that all the estate workers were immigrants. An examination of the 1915 New York State manuscript census indicates more than a scattering of native-born workers filling a variety of occupations, including, the superintendents on the Pulitzer and Mackay estates, the chauffeur on the Payne Whitney estate, and also garden helpers and nurse maids. When the 1920 manuscript federal census is released in spring 1992, more demographic information will be available on estate workers. Historical investigation of such systematic data would supplement the rich texture of the anecdotal material provided here from the oral history interviews.

The numerous single workers on the estates are underrepresented in these oral history interviews, some of which are with sons and daughters who grew up on the estates. Many of the memorists were those at the higher echelon of the service hierarchy—the inside rather than outside staff or chauffeurs and superintendents who had direct contact with the "master." These factors may skew the historical record presented here. Moreover, nostalgia, time, perhaps discretion, and no doubt the strong traditions of deference have blotted out most of the negative memories. This is overwhelmingly a positive image of working on the estates. Indeed, Shodell indicates "pride in service is the pervasive thread" (xiv).

The thematic format of chapters unfortunately means that most of the individuals themselves do not "come alive" for readers. This problem is compounded when some of the photographs do not identify individuals or give only first names. Curiously, information on the work itself on the estates is rather sparse, despite chapters entitled "Outside Workers," "Inside Workers," and "Chauffeurs." The "Day to Day Work" chapter is devoted primarily to a listing of job titles and names of workers at Clarence Mackay's Harbor Hill estate. One of the most interesting chapters is on "The World the Workers Made," which describes the self-contained world of the estate. Certain areas on the estate were set aside for the staff's use during their limited leisure time and they had some interaction with staff on neighboring estates.

The final chapter, "Mansions and Memories," recounts the decline of the estates, the demolition of most, and the preservation of some through adaptive re-use or as museums. The few open to the public as historic house

museums include Nassau County's Falaise, Suffolk County's Vanderbilt Mansion, Coe Hall in New York State's Planting Fields Arboretum, and the Phipps estate at Old Westbury Gardens. Yet visitors see very little evidence in these estates of the servants. Theodore Roosevelt's more modest Sagamore Hill is one of the few house museums where the servants' rooms are on view. This book should remind and enable curators and visitors to give more attention to the lives and experiences of those whose work made the great estates possible. Elly Shodell and the Port Washington Library are to be congratulated on publication of this attractive book and the on-going oral history program which made it possible. *In The Service* is a significant contribution to the historical record which should bring further attention to an important aspect of our social history.

NATALIE A. NAYLOR
Hofstra University

Jonathan Rieder, *Canarsie: The Jews and Italians of Brooklyn against Liberalism*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1985. Notes, index. Pp. 290. \$8.95 (paper).

In the half-dozen years since Jonathan Rieder's book first appeared, Canarsie's notoriety for racial and ethnic conflict has been eclipsed by the agonies of Crown Heights, Bensonhurst, Howard Beach, and too many other New York neighborhoods. But Canarsie, arguably, is still the most representative of the country as a whole, and Jonathan Rieder's richly-detailed account of its revolt against liberalism in the 1970s remains required reading for anyone wondering what will happen to American political life in the nineties.

Canarsie is divided into three parts. In Part One ("History"), Rieder describes the post-World War II influx of Jews and Italians that transformed Canarsie from a gritty wasteland on the shores of Jamaica Bay into a bastion of middle- and lower-middle-class respectability. These two groups had been the heart and soul of New Deal liberalism in the city during the 1930s and 1940s. During the fifties, however, their allegiance to the Democratic coalition began to wear thin as the Cold War intensified. Italian voters led the retreat, flocking to Eisenhower in 1952 and 1956. Not even the prospect of a Roman Catholic president could bring them back: in 1960 a clear majority of Canarsie's Italians supported Nixon. Canarsie's Jews were not so quick to abandon the Democrats, but they, too, were wavering.

Push came to shove in the 1960s and 1970s. The second part of *Canarsie* ("Territorial, Social, and Cultural Threats") portrays a community suddenly under attack on all sides. Muggers and street toughs swarmed (or so it was said) out of the nearby black neighborhoods of Brownsville and East New York. Canarsie needed help; what it got was higher taxes and programs—busing, welfare, quotas, civilian review boards, bilingual education, affirmative action. The media meanwhile hammered residents with alien, world-turned-upside-

down images of bra-burners, ghetto rioters, campus marchers, anti-war demonstrators, drug freaks, long-haired rock musicians, and the like. "Canarsie's chief attraction was the immunity it promised from the dangerous classes," observes Rieder (p.75). By 1980 that immunity had clearly evaporated, and embittered white Canarsians, Jews now as well as Italians, fixed the blame squarely on a remote, unresponsive, gutless, and morally bankrupt "liberalism." All of which, as Rieder says, tends to confirm the old adage that a conservative is a liberal who's been mugged.

Part Three ("Reactions to Threat") explains that while some residents of Canarsie simply picked up and left, most dug in their heels and fought back. Acts of extraordinary meanness and violence convulsed the community, exposing what Rieder calls the "dark, demonic underside of Canarsie life" (p.171). At the same time, there was a revival of grass-roots political action in which average men and women transformed themselves from "private residents" into "public citizens." This "revolutionary surge," Rieder declares, "shook ordinary politics, toppled the local dons, and forged a culture of resistance in the streets" (p.216). A "new breed of political entrepreneurs" emerged—small-homeowner radicals, as it were—whose tough, no-nonsense style appealed to the growing suspicion in Canarsie that "democracy might be too dangerous in a volatile, plural society" (pp.189, 233). Their uprising against the Democratic machine was turned back by Assemblyman Stanley Fink's successful re-election campaign in 1976. The real denouement came four years later, however, when Canarsie's Jews and Italians turned out en masse for Ronald Reagan: home-grown, old-fashioned liberal Democrats, it seemed, could still win them over in local or state contests, but for President they wanted a red-blooded, flag-waving, conservative Republican able to articulate their accumulated resentments.

Although Rieder ends with the 1980 election, Canarsie's story leaves haunting questions. Will liberalism make a comeback in national politics? Not under Democratic auspices, if the mood in Canarsie is any indication. Liberal Democrats went down to defeat again in 1984 and yet again in 1988; if the party intends to win in 1992 it must move to the right. But how far to the right?

And who, ultimately, bears responsibility for this state of affairs? Besieged liberals have condemned the people of Canarsie and other such places as benighted racists, petty-bourgeois chauvinists, cultural reactionaries, know-nothings, and worse. But in some of his book's wisest and most refreshing passages, Rieder rejects these accusations as far too glib. If Canarsians abandoned liberalism, he says, perhaps it was because liberals in City Hall, Albany, and Washington abandoned them first.

Canarsie is not flawless. Consisting for the most part of Rieder's own observations and interviews with residents of the community, it is, like any such work, disturbingly beyond verification. Perhaps because of this, he often attempts to anchor the narrative with tendentious, unfailingly pompous references to academic and other authorities (e.g., his remark that one woman he talked to "was not referring, of course, to Jean-Paul Sartre's definition of

the 'other' as 'projected evil'" [p.127]). Readers may also wonder at Rieder's sometimes facile, not to say insensitive ethnic characterizations (e.g., his comment that "racial feuding remained primarily an Italian passion.") On balance, though, Canarsie is a persuasive and provocative study.

EDWIN G. BURROWS

Brooklyn College

Caroline Seabury. *The Diary of Caroline Seabury, 1854-1863*. Edited with an Introduction by Suzanne Bunkers. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991. \$30.00. \$10.95 (paper).

In October 1854, Caroline Seabury of Brooklyn, age twenty-seven, left her family home to teach French at the Columbia Female Institute in Columbia, Mississippi. She remained in the South for most of the next nine years, through secession and the beginning of the Civil War. Although she lost her job at the Institute in 1862, she was able to obtain a position as governess at a nearby plantation until she could arrange her escape through the army lines to the North in July of the following year. She arrived back in Brooklyn in August 1863 (and finding "the house shut up" [p. 116], had to borrow a key from the neighbors!).

Seabury kept a diary of these years which eventually was left in the possession of her brother Channing's family, and, with Channing's other papers, was donated to the Minnesota Historical Society in 1955. Suzanne Bunkers discovered the diary there, edited it for publication, and further researched Seabury's life. Bunkers was intrigued by the record of a Northern woman's sojourn in the Confederacy, and by the travails of an unmarried woman who needed to support herself in the nineteenth century.

Though appalled by what she observed of slavery, Caroline Seabury remained in Mississippi as long as she could, apparently unwilling to sacrifice the independence of her position, however irksome, for dependence on her family. "I will keep a sort of journal," she wrote, "perhaps not [to] be seen once in three months, but when I feel like scribbling it may help to while away time, perhaps now & then something may happen which I will like to look over in later years" (p. 37). Thus the diary begins.

Seabury was highly selective in what she recorded. There is practically no mention of the Female Institute after the day of her arrival, nor of the young girls who were her pupils. Fully half the material concerns her journeys to and from Mississippi, with acute observations on the people and the country she passed through, and accounts of her adventures. The Columbus portion of the diary includes only four main subjects or themes: shrewd observations of slavery and other features of Southern life, such as a duel and a revival meeting; political and, later on, war news, with local reactions; her nursing activities, first of a young boy with smallpox, later of wounded soldiers; and, most poignant of all, her relationship with her sister Martha. Martha also came to teach in

Columbus, arriving later in 1854, and died there in the spring of 1858.

The people of Mississippi who were Seabury's friends are mentioned warmly, but only in passing. Yet it is clear that they must have been important to her. Southerners expressed official and unofficial gratitude to Seabury when she undertook to nurse the sick boy: they tended her when she herself became ill; provided a burial plot for Martha; helped her find work and a home when she was discharged from the Female Institute; and, finally, helped her arrange her flight North. But Seabury described people only to point a moral or illustrate a situation. Even Martha appears as little more than an object of tender devotion. Yet, as she was about to leave the South, she wrote, "none but those whose treasures of friendship are divided, can realize how a woman's heart and judgment are divided with them" (p. 80).

About Caroline herself we learn much more, but indirectly. She used her own story, as well, to draw moral conclusions about faith, the evils of slavery, the horrors of war, the importance of a woman's duty, and the need of a woman for friends and family. We come to realize that she was a woman of strong character, a person who attracted and endeared others to her. But Seabury's intention was not to write about herself or her relationships. Instead, she adapted a quasi-reportorial stance to observe the people around her and the unfolding of events.

Bunkers comments on Seabury's "startling obliviousness to the realities of slavery" (p. 8) before she traveled South, but her absorption with slavery in the early part of the diary proves that she was hardly an "oblivious" tourist taken unawares. Rather, she attempted to act as "objective" observer, allowing the evils of the situations to speak effectively for themselves. She continued this stance throughout the diary, hardly writing at all except when there was something to be described of interest beyond its personal importance to Caroline Seabury. The events she chose to describe, as in her account of the revival meeting, were clearly selected to present a specific, less than favorable, view of Southern life.

In such a context, the personal feelings that she did allow to emerge briefly—her grief over Martha's death, her loneliness, her divided loyalties between Northern family and Southern friends—are all the more poignant. Why did Seabury, in a personal diary never read by anyone else (as far as we know), choose to subordinate her own thoughts and feelings to her observations of the South? Was she consciously distancing herself from her own unhappiness? Did she see herself of value only as teacher, reporter, exemplar of duty, not as an individual? Was she troubled by her sympathy for Southern friends and unwillingness to probe it in writing? Or was she, after all, simply thinking of possible publication?

This slight volume is therefore two stories: a compelling, well-drawn picture of a Southern community in crisis; and the enigmatic autobiography of a nineteenth-century woman who saw herself and her own position clearly, but refused to bare her soul even in her own diary. An interesting contribution to both Southern and women's history, *The Diary of Caroline*

Seabury well merits the reader's attention.

MARCIA MELDRUM
SUNY at Stony Brook

Matthew Bessel. *Caumsett: The Home of Marshall Field III in Lloyd Harbor, New York*. Huntington: Office of Town Historian, 1991. Illustrations, notes. Pp. 58. \$19.50 (8 1/2" x 11" paper).

Matthew Bessel's *Caumsett: The Home of Marshall Field III in Lloyd Harbor, New York* is an honest effort to portray the architectural and historical significance of one of Long Island's great country estates within the context of its original construction and later evolution. Armed with an impressive bibliography and the first-hand recollections of several individuals who lived or worked on the property, the author traces the history of the area and the estate in its heyday while informing the reader that the ravages of time have taken their toll. Bessel concludes his account with a biography of Marshall Field III, providing the reader with an insight into the man whose life found creative expression at Caumsett, the "place by sharp rock." Contemporary color photographs of the house and grounds are interspersed with some from the 1950s that evoke an image of days gone by. All in all, *Caumsett* achieves its goal of introducing this unique historic resource to the reader, who is encouraged "to work towards exploring creative options to preserve and maintain Caumsett as a historical repository of a bygone era."

Begun as an undergraduate thesis in 1982, the book reveals the author's obvious enthusiasm for his subject while it reaches, at times, beyond his area of expertise. Thorough in its account of the Field family and its occupancy of the estate between 1926 and 1956, the book is less certain in its evaluation of the architecture itself. Bessel's assertion, for example, that "Field's choice of an architect for Caumsett was simply based on his appreciation for Pope's work" is unsubstantiated, and the Georgian architecture that surrounded Field during his college days in England provides only a vague and tenuous connection with the later project. For one of Long Island's most ambitious architectural undertakings of the period, the reader wants a more conclusive link between client and architect...Who among Field's friends and business associates had used Pope before, what buildings had he admired or wished to replicate, and what were the special circumstances that may have led to such a large-scaled project in the first place? A direct comparison might have been made with one or more of Pope's other notable Long Island designs, and the contributions of Alfred Hopkins to the farm group deserve more description as well.

Bessel is more comfortable in his discussion of the Fields themselves, their children and friends, and the social context in which the estate flourished for three decades prior to the death of Marshall Field III in 1956. Here the recollections of those interviewed and quotations from other sources are useful and appropriate except, perhaps, for Monica Randall's "dramatic

description" of the Gold Coast era whose poetic passage seems oddly out of place in this application.

Bessel is confident in his evaluation of the estate's recent history (post-1956), however, and does not mince words in assessing the failure of the state's Park Commission to provide proper care for the property. And he is insightful when linking the decline of Caumsett to social factors that brought the Estate Era in general to a close. Although more contemporary photographs of the house and outbuildings, and historical views of the estate during its construction would have interested this reader, Bessel's narrative serves as a useful introduction to the subject and may indeed inspire others to work toward the preservation of this endangered Long Island resource.

ZACHARY N. STUDENROTH
Huntington Historical Society

Book Notes

The *Sherrill Sentinel* is an informative, eight-page bulletin of East Hampton history, the August and November 1991 issues of which are obtainable free of charge from the editor, Sherrill Foster, 4 Fire Place Road, East Hampton, NY 11937. The first two issues (more will follow) provide well-researched background material for the "Maidstone Revisited" conference organized by Ms. Sherrill, to be held on Friday and Saturday, 5 and 6 June 1992, at the Fine Arts Theatre, Southampton College of L.I.U.

Raymond E. Spinzia, Judith A. Spinzia, and Kathryn E. Spinzia. *Long Island: A Guide to New York's Suffolk and Nassau Counties*. New York: Hippocrene Press, 1991. Index, cross-references, maps. Pp. 464. \$17.50 (paper). This is the expanded and updated second edition of the scholarly Spinzia family's informative guide to historic sites, museums, and other places of interest in Nassau and Suffolk counties. The 431 entries, ranging from fish hatcheries to tide mills to grand estates, include ninety-three Tiffany windows, fifty-nine of which until now had been lost to art historians.

Elizabeth L. Watson. *Houses for Science: A Pictorial History of Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory, with Landmarks in Twentieth Century Genetics, A Series of Essays by James D. Watson*. Cold Spring Harbor: Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory Press, 1991. Illustrations, glossary, bibliography, index. Pp. xiii, 351. \$75.00, plus \$4 domestic postage, \$7 foreign, from Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory Press, 10 Skyline Drive, Plainview, NY 11803; to be reviewed in our Fall 1992 issue.

Mary Jane Capozzoli. *Three Generations of Italian-American Women in Nassau County, 1925-1981*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1990. Bibliography. \$67. This ethnic study presents a comprehensive collection of interviews, effectively analyzed by the author to show the evolving attitudes

and perceptions of Italian immigrant mothers, daughters, and granddaughters in the milieu of Nassau County.

The Association of Nassau County Historical Organizations (ANCHO) has published a free-of-charge, four-page list of its member groups. To obtain a copy, write to Muriel Tatem, Pinetree Lane, P. O. Box 122, Old Westbury, NY 11568.

Communications

To the Editor, *LIHJ*
“In Memoriam”

Paul Brorstrom was born in Sweden in 1859, came to New York City in 1882, moved to Great Neck in 1893, became an American citizen in 1894, died in 1932, and is buried in the All Saints Church graveyard near his long-time home on the W. R. Grace estate, where he was superintendent. Later he was a builder. That is the merest outline of the history of this unusual adopted citizen, who achieved recognition for his unique memorializing of President Theodore Roosevelt, his benefactor and friend.

Paul Brorstrom grew up in the parish of Borrbj, Provence of Shane...He became a teacher in the Provence Holland Agriculture College, which may explain his love of trees as memorials, and as enhancements of the environment (for example, one year he planted 300 trees to beautify Great Neck)... In the same month in which he and Bernhardine Wennstrom married, they emigrated to New York City, arriving 31 March 1882. For eight years Paul took care of Rosedale, the John Roosevelt estate in Poughkeepsie, before coming to Great Neck in 1893 to manage Gracefield, the 200-acre estate of W. R. Grace, where he worked through 1921. He also supervised the construction of numerous W. R. Grace buildings near the railroad station in Great Neck, as well as the Great Neck and Manhasset sewer systems, and many roads.

While attending the ground breaking of the Nassau County Courthouse in Mineola, in 1900, Paul met Theodore Roosevelt, with whom he developed a lasting friendship.... On Palm Sunday, 1919, he planted an oak tree on his property on Hampshire Road in memory of the former president, who died that year, in January. Paul enclosed the area with an iron picket fence, erected a flagpole, and placed a large stone with a memorial plaque....

In 1920, Paul started his collection of rocks from sites significant in Theodore Roosevelt's history, beginning with one from the place in the Adirondacks where the then-Vice President happened to be when President William McKinley expired. Paul spent five years of correspondence and travel in obtaining and authenticating the rocks, and in the arduous physical work of arranging them in the Memorial Park; among the twenty-four ultimately collected were bricks from Roosevelt's New York City birthplace and the State House in Albany, and boulders from San Juan Hill and the

Panama Canal Zone. In his memoir, Paul refers to the Roosevelt rocks he assembled as “Chapters in the Life of this Great American.”

On 10 June 1922, the Great Neck “Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Tree and Rocks” was dedicated. On 6 March 1932, Bernhardine and Paul Brorstrom, in the company of their seven children and their spouses, and their thirteen grandchildren, celebrated their golden wedding anniversary. Less than three weeks later Bernhardine died, to be followed in April by Paul. The rocks were moved to Oyster Bay in 1947, where a rededication ceremony was held.

On 23 June 1991, the fourth and fifth generations of his descendants gathered to honor Paul Brorstrom’s memory, rededicate the collection once more, and, for the first time, publish his memoir describing his motivation and furnishing details and correspondence (write to the undersigned for a copy of *Adopted Citizen Paul Brorstrom*). The memoir includes Paul’s admonition to perpetuate the memorial to Theodore Roosevelt as “a story that would forever remain with my children and grandchildren’s children that this Great American had not only done one, but many favors to their father, only an adopted son of the U.S.”....

An immigrant patriot, a devoted friend of a great president, a caring, responsible father, a civic-minded philosopher concerned for future generations, and an articulate communicator in his second language, adopted citizen Paul Brorstrom, too, was a “Great American.”

Paul Brorstrom Townsend

Grandson of Paul Brorstrom, and Editor, *Long Island Business News*
2150 Smithtown Ave., Ronkonkoma, NY 11779

To Roger Wunderlich, Richard P. Harmond, Thomas D. Beal, and Associates:

Wow! What an edition! *The Long Island Historical Journal* Fall 1991, Volume 4, Number 1, is the best edition yet...David Y. Allen’s “Dutch and English Mapping of Seventeenth-Century Long Island” will have a permanent space in the Cedar Swamp Historical Society, and Kathryn St. John’s *Dutchman: The Tale of New Netherland* is a book that will be in our library, thanks to the review by Mildred DeRiggi. These Journals will be read by Long Islanders forever. Thank you all for your effort.

John G. Peterkin, Cedar Swamp Historical Society
P.S. Keep up the good work...

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