

FINAL REPORT

Ethnographic Overview and Assessment Fire Island National Seashore

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SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Fire Island National Seashore (FIIS) commissioned this Ethnographic Overview and Assessment pursuant to Park Service policies that require parks to consult with groups and communities having continuing ecological, cultural, and historical relationships with park resources. The research will have immediate and specific application in the development of a General Management Plan for the park. The Ethnographic Overview and Assessment reviews the state of knowledge and documentation on the groups and communities thought to have important and continuing cultural relationships with the Seashore's natural and cultural resources. Part history and part ethnography, the EO&A traces the history of each of these groups and communities with regard to their use of and attachments to the lands, waters, fish and wildlife, and other resources within the FIIS boundary. Information in this EO&A will help managers evaluate requests for access to resources, as well as identify park resources that may require special treatment or protection.

Research Phases and Methods

The six months from October 2003 through early April 2004 constituted the ethnohistorical research phase of the project. The project team reviewed books and historical journals, Park Service reports, other published documents, literature and archival material.

The project team worked to identify all materials that pertain to the history and traditional uses of the Great South Bay region. Key-informant interviews were completed with key park personnel; the Project Director also made telephone contact with Nancy Solomon, a Long Island folklorist, and other experts for guidance and advice. The EO&A included a phase of ethnographic fieldwork on Fire Island during the summer months of June and July 2004. This

involved participant observation, key-informant interviews, and behavioral mapping within the 17 identified communities and at Lighthouse Beach.

Research was conducted on culturally associated groups both on and off the island. Off-island groups include Native Americans, Baymen, Hunters and Fishermen, Floyd family descendants, and the Mastic Beach community. Culturally associated groups on the island include 17 discrete residential communities and the nude bathers at Lighthouse Beach.

Ethnohistory Summary

The original inhabitants of the Great South Bay region were Algonquian peoples who lived in nomadic, egalitarian, hunting and gathering societies. The coastal environment provided a year-round supply of food—ducks, geese, fish and shellfish, and deer. During the colonization period, Native peoples entered into many land transactions with Europeans, granting the purchasers certain rights in return for goods, foodstuffs, weapons, and other possessions. The European concept of real estate as a finite personal possession was foreign to the Native understanding of land as a common resource. This cultural difference worked to the disadvantage of Native peoples, who found themselves increasingly constrained by bounded property by the close of the seventeenth century. The Floyd family assembled its estate through transactions with other Europeans who had acquired their rights to the land from transactions with Natives.

Among Native Americans, the EO&A focuses on the Unkechaug, or Poosepatuck, because that group has continuing presence in the region through its state-recognized Poosepatuck Reservation in Mastic. Specific ethnohistorical relationships of the Unkechaug to park resources include whaling, wampum manufacture from bay quahogs, and wage labor and indentured servitude for the Floyd family.

Historically, few considered Fire Island a hospitable environment to live in. Native peoples never lived on the island, but would use it for whaling from the beach. Even after European settlement, the island remained mostly uninhabited until well into the 19th century. Until the resort era, rights to the beach related to the harvesting of resources. Long Island farmers used the Great South Beach for grazing cattle and harvesting salt meadow grasses; other uses included shipwreck salvage, slave running, and whaling. There is little or no evidence of settlement before the resort era began in the 1850s, partly because the unstable, ever changing terrestrial environment of a barrier tends to obliterate archaeological evidence.

Resort development on Fire Island grew rapidly after the Civil War. The 19th century saw the construction of a number of hotels along the beach. Subdivision of land for house lots became common in the early 20th century. By the 1960s there were over 17 communities and private resorts on the island. Fire Island National Seashore was established in 1964 in part to preserve the island's existing roadless character—threatened at the time by road-building forces led by Robert Moses. Moses had first proposed a parkway running the length of the island in 1930. After a series of damaging winter storms in 1962, Moses re-presented the ocean parkway as an environmental remedy for beach and dune erosion. Fire Islanders for the first time banded together to oppose the plan, eventually by bringing the island within the National Park System. Their efforts were met with a favorable policy toward national seashores at the federal level which had been building for 20 years.

Summary of Current Ethnographic Relationships with Park Resources

We use the term “ethnographic relationship” here to refer generally to cultural ties between groups and communities and the material resources of Fire Island and the William

Floyd Estate. An ethnographic relationship does not necessarily involve a traditional association, or a traditionally associated people or community; and the resource referred to does not necessarily meet the NPS-defined criteria for “ethnographic resource.” Our research data indicate that such large-scale elements of the environment as the Fire Island beach and the Great South Bay have critical importance to the sense of place of residents of Fire Island and the region around Great South Bay. It may not be appropriate to designate them as “ethnographic resources,” which are typically precise, spatially discrete locations rather than pieces of the large-scale environment, and have cultural significance to a particular traditionally associated group. On Fire Island, beach and bay are significant to everyone, although perhaps more so to those having traditional associations with these resources. The groups considered to have ethnographic relationships with park resources were identified at the outset of the project in collaboration with NPS staff. Listed below on page 5, they include one ethnic group (Native Americans), the Floyd family, groups identifiable by traditional livelihood or recreational activity, and 17 spatial communities.

Off-Island Groups

Request for Privileged Access

The Unkechaug are reviving wampum manufacture and clam harvesting, for which they would like to acquire a site on Fire Island within the Smith Point County Park. The Unkechaug Chief, Harry Wallace, requested privileged access to Pattersquash Island for ceremonial purposes and construction there of a sweat lodge.

Naturalistic Interpretation

Although the Floyd family’s use of natural and cultural resources at the William Floyd Estate has ceased in most respects, the estate continues to hold importance for the family. Based on our interview with Floyd descendant John Nichols, the state of wild nature preserved within

the 613 acres is of greater importance to the family than the cultural resources contained in the house and the archive. Mr. Nichols said that the major intention in donating the estate was to preserve the terrain as a wild place amid the suburban development all around it.

On-Island Groups

All the Fire Island communities have ethnographic relationships with the beach, ocean, and bay. The beach and adjoining ocean water serves the widest range of activities: walking, seeing and being seen by friends and neighbors, swimming, sunbathing, and surfing. Adjacent to the beach is the row of primary dunes, regarded by residents as the main defense against inundation and destruction by the ocean. Many communities organize, often on an informal level, dune-protection efforts including setting out fences, planting dune grass, and scraping the beach.

The Sunken Forest was an important place for more than a few community consultants, who cited it as a special place on the island, a place they enjoy visiting from time to time. The Sunken Forest is frequently a destination for people taking long beach walks.

Within their boundaries the communities possess many kinds of important gathering spaces and places, including the ferry docks, the public walks, the ocean and bay beaches, the local commercial areas, local parks, ballfields, tennis courts, churches and synagogues, fire halls, and community houses.

Unique Community Character

The view persists that Fire Island communities are very distinct from one another. This idea of distinctness appears in news media coverage as well as in the ways informants talk about the different communities. Appreciation of this sense of uniqueness within the communities is critical to successful community relations.

Local Environmental Knowledge

Longtime residents of Fire Island feel that they understand the island ecosystems better than the remote bureaucracies that impose restrictions and collect taxes. The sentiment is shared by seasonal and year-round residents alike. In some cases, residents have become interested enough in the ecologies around them to write and publish books on the subject. This sentiment is also reflected in the many local, grassroots efforts to protect and conserve the primary dunes.

Political Tensions

Many communities experience some tension among seasonal residents, year-round residents, the Park Service, and—if present—business interests. Year-round residents say they are tolerant of the seasonal population, even welcoming, but some feel that seasonal residents “don’t want us here,” as one resident put it. This sentiment appears mostly with regard to driving vehicles along the interior walks, in most cases for necessary functions such as collecting garbage. Many year-round residents feel that the Park Service does not want them around either. Driving policy and driving permits is the critical issue in this conflict.

Seasonal residents tend to be at odds with business interests, mostly over the issue of groupers and day-trip visitors to the island. Businesspersons tend to favor anything that will increase visitation and thus increase business. In the past, business interests have opposed local efforts to limit groupers.

Intercommunity Relationships

On Fire Island, seasonal residents generally keep to their communities and have little interaction with other communities on the island. By contrast, year-round residents tend to know one another up and down the island.

Family Communities

Increasingly, seasonal residents identify their communities as “family communities.”

This trope means several things: quiet, residential, few or no groupers, safety and recreational opportunity for children, few public facilities, and few day-trippers. Many communities, especially Kismet but also Ocean Beach, Fair Harbor, Seaview, and even Ocean Bay Park, have seen substantial reductions in the number of grouper houses. The “family community” idea appears to be eroding Fire Island’s older identity, as reflected in news media articles from the 1960s and 1970s, as a wide-open, anything-goes resort. It has uncertain implications for the island’s attractiveness for day-trip visitors.

Dominant Urban Way of Life

The report discusses the urban character of many of the larger Fire Island communities, such as Ocean Beach. The use of “urban” here refers to the physical character, i.e., densely built up; and to the sociocultural character of predominantly urban social activities, such as going to restaurants and bars, walking in the street, going to market, cooking, entertaining, attending parties, engagement in community affairs, playing softball or basketball or tennis, and so on. By contrast, fishing, sailing, gardening, berry picking, farming, birdwatching, clamming, and other recreational or subsistence activities directly related to the marine island environment are relatively minor and/or in decline. Interviews conducted in some of the smaller, less developed communities, suggested that the seasonal residents there have a fuller, more immediate relationship to the natural rhythms and resources of the setting.

Recommendations for Further Research

1. The continuing ethnohistorical relationship of the Unkechaug/Poosepatuck to FIIS resources needs to be better understood and actively negotiated. We recommend further to negotiate a relationship between the Unkechaug and FIIS.
2. As the EO&A demonstrates, the year-round population is very different from the seasonal population in its values and socioeconomic makeup. We recommend further research to understand the problems of the year-round population and the constraints they live under.
3. The emergence of the “family community” idea as the prevailing identity among Fire Island communities is a significant finding of the present study. The “family community” association with the Seashore’s natural and cultural resources could become a basis for distinguishing some community populations from others along the lines of traditional association. Whether and how this might be workable is a topic for discussion. We suggest a meeting of interested parties (including the authors) to discuss this and other findings of the study and to set an agenda for making use of the findings in general and specifically for the new GMP.
4. The Floyd Estate, including grounds, house, and archive, is an extraordinary cultural asset and legacy but an underutilized resource. It is in need of a strategy for building public support, raising funds, and increasing visitation. Woodland fires put the house, archives, and outbuildings at risk. We feel that to protect its assets, the Park Service needs to make a concerted effort to build good working relationships between the community and the estate.
5. We recommend that FIIS consult with fire specialists within the Park Service or other Interior Department agencies as necessary to find out whether fire could be used in

- some historically appropriate, culturally relevant, and ecologically beneficial way that does not pose undue risk to property.
6. Although day-use visitors may not be a traditionally associated group, they constitute the Seashore's major constituency. We advise conducting another ethnographic study, such as Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Procedures, to assess the needs, problems, values, and other issues relating to day-use visitors.
 7. Another visitor group that lay beyond the scope of the EO&A is the boating public. The present study learned enough to know that real conflict exists in some communities between boaters and residents. Considering that the maritime history of the region, it would be well to learn more about the boaters and build relationships between the Seashore and yacht clubs, marinas, and other boating institutions.
 8. The Park Service could initiate a working relationship with Nancy Solomon and Long Island Traditions to further study the baymen of Great South Bay.
 9. Places like Sailors Haven/Sunken Forest and Watch Hill on Fire Island are well known, cared for, and maintained. have clear identities and purposes in the public mind. Many other, smaller tracts of land that lie in between communities have little or no public image. The Park Service could study ways of making these tracts useful, educational, and productive for Fire Island residents and visitors alike.
 10. The Park Service could conduct a study of ways of partnering with these individuals and local groups possessing historical/archival collections to make historical materials more available and give the Service an opportunity to work with the communities in a positive, non-contentious arena.

Recommended Actions

1. The park should retain a Native American specialist to continue the work begun in the EO&A to both fully understand and actively negotiate the continuing traditional association of the Unkechaug with park resources.
2. We urge the park to use this study as a starting point for an interpretive emphasis on the manifold historical interconnections between people and environment in the Great South Bay region.
3. The park could use the information provided here to establish a committee of residents and an agenda for working cooperatively together on the many ecological, social, and cultural issues facing Fire Island. Community involvement is the key to successfully managing and protecting the park's resources.
4. This EO&A is unique in presenting and interpreting in-depth the community culture of Fire Island, specifically in its discussions of the 17 communities and their relationships to the island's natural resources. It deserves widespread dissemination in some form in order to inform and empower the communities and all stakeholders in Fire Island to work together on solving common problems.
5. In working with the communities it is essential to understand the residents'—especially the seasonal residents'—view of their communities as distinct and unlike all the others. This sense of distinctiveness, even of uniqueness, is of the essence of the EO&A's findings. It is not possible to understand the communities without a clear idea of how they see themselves.

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INTRODUCTION

Fire Island National Seashore was established in 1964 to preserve the only developed barrier island in the United States without roads. The park's built environment includes 17 mainly seasonal communities and an historic lighthouse. Among its noted natural areas are the Sunken Forest and the 1,400-acre Otis Pike Wilderness Area. The national seashore has preserved the extraordinary natural resources on Fire Island while affording significant opportunities for public recreation and education. Since its inception, the communities have preserved their roadless way of life and grown in number of dwellings from 2,500 at the inception of the seashore to about 4,100 today.

The 613-acre estate of William Floyd, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, is a separate park unit within Fire Island National Seashore located in Mastic on the Long Island mainland. The Floyd Estate preserves the house, cemetery, grounds and outbuildings of an estate owned by the same family from 1724 until its donation to the National Park System in 1965.

This document is the report on a comprehensive Ethnographic Overview and Assessment concerning ecological, cultural, and historical associations of traditionally-associated peoples and communities with Fire Island National Seashore. The Ethnographic Overview and Assessment (EO&A) is intended to assist the park with natural resource management, cultural resource management, and interpretation. The EO&A identifies culturally specific uses of park resources and cultural or historically significant sites and locales within the park. Information in this EO&A will help managers evaluate requests for access to resources, as well as identify park resources that may require special treatment or protection. The study will also form the

foundation for a data base which will be used by the NPS staff to better understand and consider impacts upon culturally significant resources and sites that result from proposed actions.

Project Goal

The purpose of the Ethnographic Overview and Assessment study is to compile cultural information about the natural, cultural and historical resources in the Park that are important to traditionally associated communities and peoples (defined in NPS Management Policies as "ethnographic resources"), to describe the ecological, cultural and historical associations of these resources with the peoples that ascribe significance to them, and to describe the basis for those connections. NPS management policies require the Park Service to consult with groups having "traditional" cultural associations with park resources in management decisions affecting those resources, and to treat the resources specific to the traditional association as "ethnographic resources." Traditional uses and associations are defined as those having continued for two generations (defined by NPS as 40 years) or longer. The results of the project will be used to help identify existing and potential resource conditions in the park's new General Management Plan, and will contribute to the park's mission to conserve and preserve the unspoiled and undeveloped beaches, dunes and other natural features of the land and water. This study provides important information about the extent to which natural resources are also considered to be cultural resources by traditionally associated peoples and communities, and thus to be managed and conserved as cultural resources according to NPS management policies.

This study compiles ethnographic information about historical and contemporary peoples in the study area, documents traditional associations between these peoples and the park, and provides direction for future ethnographic research. Ethnographic information collected during

this study will have immediate and specific application in the development of a General Management Plan for the Fire Island National Seashore. The study will also assist the park with natural resource management, cultural resource management, and interpretation. Among other applications, the information will help managers evaluate requests for access to resources, as well as identify park resources that may require special treatment or protection. The study will also form the foundation for a data base which will be used by NPS staff to better understand and consider impacts to culturally significant resources and sites that result from proposed actions.

Parties Involved

This EO&A was conducted for the National Park Service under a Cooperative Agreement (No. H4520030016) between the Service and the Research Foundation of the City University of New York (CUNY). The work was performed by members of the Public Space Research Group of the Center for Human Environments (the “Cooperator”), a center for applied research based at the Graduate School and University Center of CUNY. The Center for Human Environments is closely associated with CUNY’s Doctoral Program in Environmental Psychology. Setha M. Low, Ph.D., a professor of Environmental Psychology and Anthropology at the Graduate Center and Director of the Public Space Research Group, served as the Principal Investigator. Dana H. Taplin, Ph.D., Co-Director of the Public Space Research Group, was Project Director. Additional participants in the project included Andrew Kirby, Ph.D., Mara Heppen, and Jared Becker.

Chuck Smythe, Ph.D. of the Northeast Regional Office in Boston prepared the scope of work for the project and supervised the work of the Cooperator. Liaison between Fire Island National Seashore and both the Cooperator and the Northeast Regional Office was provided by Steve Czarniecki, Park Curator.

Project Objectives

The EO&A had the following overall project objectives:

1. Prepare a definitive bibliography of existing historical and ethnographic materials that are relevant and available for further research on traditionally associated groups, communities, and peoples.

2. Assess the strengths, weaknesses, and biases of the ethnographic materials collected (previously collected interviews, field reports, published books and articles, archival documents, et cetera) and identify existing gaps in the literature.

3. Through archival research and expert interviews, reconstruct the ethnohistory of the communities on Fire Island and identify the groups and communities having traditional associations with the site.

4. Identify and describe the ethnographic resources on and adjacent to Fire Island National Seashore--i.e., natural, cultural and historical resources and specific locations and places that should be considered as ethnographic resources.

5. Through summer ethnographic fieldwork, comprised of participant observation, behavioral mapping, and unstructured and structured interviewing, with knowledgeable people (minimum of 15 both seasonal and year round residents) who currently use and/or live on Fire Island, (a) fill gaps in data collected during the archival research and literature review, and (b) understand the contemporary cultural significance of the ethnographic resources of Fire Island.

Early in the research, the involved parties determined to give attention to the following groups and communities having traditional associations with park resources:

Off-Island Groups and communities:

- Floyd Family descendants
- Unkechaug Native American community
- Commercial “Baymen” of Great South Bay

- Hunters and Fishermen
- Mastic Beach residential community

On Fire Island:

- Nude bathers at Lighthouse Beach
- 17 mainly seasonal communities, in geographic order from west to east:

Kismet	Ocean Beach
Saltaire	Seaview
Fair Harbor	Ocean Bay Park
Lonelyville	Point O' Woods
Dunewood	Oakleyville
Atlantique	Cherry Grove
Robbins Rest	Fire Island Pines
Corneille Estates	Water Island
	Davis Park

Separate sections of the EO&A are devoted to each of these groups and communities.

Research Methods

Ethnohistorical Research Phase

The six months from October 2003 through early April 2004 constituted the ethnohistorical research phase of the project. The project team reviewed books and historical journals, Park Service reports, other published documents, literature and archival material. Key-informant interviews were conducted with a Floyd descendant, a Mastic Beach resident, and the Unkechaug Chief. The project team worked to identify all materials that pertain to the history and traditional uses of the Great South Bay region. Key-informant interviews were completed with key park personnel:

Diane Abell, the Park Planner;
 Paul Czachor, East District Ranger;
 Steve Czarniecki, Curator;
 Jay Lippert, West District Ranger
 Rich Stavdal, Head Ranger at William Floyd Estate.

The Project Director made telephone contact with the following experts for guidance and advice:

Nancy Solomon, a folklorist, of Long Island Traditions;

Gaynell Stone Levine, an anthropologist, Native American specialist, and director of the Suffolk County Archaeological Association;

Bernice Forrest Guillaume, an anthropologist who has worked with the Unkechaug and wrote a journal article on women's lives at the Poosapatuck Reservation and on the William Floyd Estate;

Natalie Naylor, retired Director of the Long Island Studies Institute at Hofstra University.

The project team compiled a list of libraries and other repositories of ethnographic and historical materials. The list of libraries was based in part on an internet search of libraries with local history collections; we also received referrals to some collections by our key informants. We reviewed relevant documents prepared for the Park Service for references to relevant historical materials. The project team then visited these collections, consulted with the librarians, and reviewed their holdings. The bibliography at the end of this report includes references to all the materials we considered useful and relevant.

Fieldwork Phase

The EO&A included a phase of ethnographic fieldwork on Fire Island during the summer months of June and July 2004. This involved participant observation, key-informant interviews, and behavioral mapping within the 17 identified communities and at Lighthouse Beach. The project team secured a temporary apartment rental in Bay Shore, within walking distance of the western Fire Island ferries. Although staying on Fire Island would have been the best solution in some respects the cost of lodging in season was prohibitive, and the park was unable to provide accommodations for an extended stay. East-to-west travel on the island is difficult because of the lack of roads—even a bicycle would be of little use in covering long distances. The advantage of a mainland location lay in being able to take ferries to whatever location one needed to visit.

One team member covered the communities from Kismet to Lonelyville. Another worked from Atlantique to Oakleyville. The third fieldworker traveled via the Sayville and Patchogue ferries to cover the communities between Cherry Grove and Davis Park; he also worked at Lighthouse Beach. The Principal Investigator conducted fieldwork in Fair Harbor, Ocean Beach, Seaview, Cherry Grove, and Fire Island Pines at the outset of the fieldwork phase in coordination with other members of the team. The team remained in contact with one another during this two-month period, reviewing methods, instruments, preliminary findings, and to track progress.

Participant Observation

Researchers relied on participant observation to learn the layout of the different communities, to learn about or observe rituals, gatherings, and places of cultural importance; and to gain knowledge of island life. For example, ferry arrival and departure, congregating in the business districts, and walking on the beach, are among the routine Fire Island experiences that could be better understood by joining in the activity. Researchers also observed where residents post notices and how they use the public walks at different times of day. Through initiating conversations with others, we were able to learn many things—for instance, day-trippers' experiences, a boy's prospects in "wagoning" (offering to haul someone's bags from the ferry to their destination for a gratuity), a girl's effort in finding, decorating, and selling clamshells; and something of the values and experiences of patrons of the Appalachian Mountain Club's Fire Island cabin. Casually initiated conversations led to important key-informant interviews in Water Island, Ocean Bay Park, Ocean Beach, Corneille Estates, and Atlantique Beach. One researcher was invited in to a Saturday house party in Atlantique where knowledgeable Long Islanders talked for over an hour about Great South Bay and the South Shore. Participant observation was

the fieldwork method used to gather ethnographic information at certain sites outside the residential communities, namely Lighthouse Beach and the Atlantique Beach marina.

Key-Informant Interviews

The scope of work called for a minimum of 15 key-informant interviews to fill gaps in the written ethnohistorical record. The project team conducted 25 key-informant interviews in the 17 Fire Island communities. In prioritizing community leaders and longtime residents, rather than a wider cross-section of the communities, the scope of work gave credence to the values of longtime residents, who are presumed more likely than others to have traditional associations with park resources. To give due weight to the value of what community members contributed to this study, we often use the term “community consultant” in this report rather than the more standard “key informant.”

As discussed above, some key informants were found during participant observation—for example, a Corneille Estates resident active in community leadership, and a merchant and village trustee, both in Ocean Beach. Other key informants were referred to us by park staff, especially Jay Lippert and Paul Czachor, rangers who live on the island and know many seasonal and year-round residents.

Many of the interviews, as circumstances allowed, were tape-recorded; others were recorded by note-taking. All informants were given an approved informed-consent form and asked to sign it. The team prepared typewritten notes of all key-informant interviews.

Behavioral Mapping

This method was used at certain locations to record the types of activities observed at some of the more complex sites, such as the Ocean Beach business district or the Atlantique Beach marina. The researcher takes notes that describe the activities occurring and the locations of such activities relative to one another and to the spatial features of a given setting.

Archival Research

The project team made efforts to explore archival collections on the island, especially the collections of the Ocean Beach Historical Society and materials kept at the Cherry Grove Community House. The team discovered a valuable personal photographic collection as well. Point O' Woods has its own historical collection which we did not investigate.

Analysis

After collecting a substantial proportion of the fieldwork data, the project team met in late July 2004 to work out the method of analysis. In preparation for this work session we read and the data with regard to the specific research agenda. The data were compared across communities for consistency. Based on the research agenda and the content of the data, the team established the following categories for use in organizing the reports on each group and community:

- Ethnohistory
- Description of each community, its spatial and social organization and distinctive features
- Present-day activities and cultural uses of park resources
- Rituals, celebrations, and gatherings
- Community organizations and associations
- Rules and regulations; policing and surveillance
- Natural and cultural resources and their contemporary cultural significance.
- Cultural character and values of the group or community

The report was prepared by combining information from published and archival sources with the ethnographic field data to provide descriptions under each of the organizing categories listed above. The content analysis in this method is essentially to report what the team saw and what the community consultants told the researchers. Each of the three field workers wrote the reports for the island communities where they had worked, using direct quotations from the data as much as possible to preserve the informants' voice. The team prepared maps of all the cultural and natural resources on Fire Island found to have ethnographic significance. Professionally finished versions of these maps are included in Part 3 of this report.

Part 1. OFF-ISLAND GROUPS AND COMMUNITIES

ETHNOHISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT: GREAT SOUTH BAY, SOUTH SHORE AND THE WILLIAM FLOYD ESTATE

Fire Island is the longest in a chain of barrier islands that protect the south shore of Long Island. There are at least two explanations of the origin of the name. One is that “Fire” is a corruption of “five,” which implies that at some point the existence of “guts” or breaches in the barrier system led people to count them as five distinct islands (Bayles 1874). The other explanation relates to the whaling practice of lighting signal fires on the beach and on the opposite side of the bay as well (Fletcher and Kintz 1979).

The barrier islands form shallow, tidal estuarine waters, known as bays, which are among the most biologically productive links in the ecological system. The extensive bays of Long Island have been among the richest of such environments historically. The enormous capacity of such an environment to produce marine riches and food and shelter for birds and other wildlife has made such ecosystems prized locations for human settlement. The bays are known for abundant shellfish and finfish, including scallops, oysters, clams, flounder and fluke, eel and squid, along with various species of bait fish used by recreational fishermen including killies, green crabs and mussels. Various recreational traditions exist here too that include swimming, duck hunting, kayaking and boating. The ocean front beaches of Long Island have generated historic and contemporary traditions including fishing rod makers, lifeguards and clamshell artists. There is also a long history of duck hunting and decoy carving on Long Island (Long Island Traditions 2003).

Fire Island, formerly also known as the Great South Beach, is the essential element of such an estuarine ecosystem. Fire Island was not itself an important place of human settlement until relatively recent times. However, its existence made the shoreline “necks” of the south side

of Long Island among the most desirable and productive environments for human settlement during the long centuries of Algonquin civilization prior to European contact, and through the Colonial and Early American periods.

On both the north and south shores, the necks of Long Island offered arable soils and access to protected water for both transport and food harvesting (Dwight 2002). Until inlets driven through the barrier islands by storms were made permanent in the 20th century, the bay waters, fed in part by freshwater sources, were less saline than seawater. Some scientists think the change in salinity made the bay water less productive for oysters and more productive for clams (Clark 1984). Early accounts indicate clouds of waterfowl over the bays, especially during the migration seasons. The extensive salt marshes on the bay shores of Fire Island and the Long Island mainland were essential to the bay's extraordinary ecological productivity and afforded valuable sources of salt hay to upland farmers.

One of these south shore necks, Floyd's Neck, lies within the boundaries of Fire Island National Seashore. Floyd's Neck is one of the few south shore necks that remain in relatively pristine condition, the expansive salt meadows elsewhere having been extensively filled and bulkheaded for urban development since World War II. Floyd's Neck is thus a valuable connection to the environmental and human history of Long Island.

Native Peoples

Native peoples in Long Island and southern New England shared Eastern Algonquian linguistic roots. In the Late Woodland period through contact (approximately 800 to 1600) they lived in nomadic, egalitarian, hunting and gathering societies. Of Eastern Algonquian peoples in general, Salwen (1978:160) writes that they "obtained their food by combining maize-beans-

squash horticulture with the collecting of land and sea fauna and wild plants.” At the time of contact, Native peoples on Long Island were less reliant on agriculture than in many interior or more northerly lands. The coastal environment provided a year-round supply of food (Strong, 1997)—ducks, geese, fish and shellfish, and deer. Anthropologists who focus on Long Island Native Americans disagree as to the importance of horticulture: Ceci (1990), notably, argues that the archaeological evidence gives little support for significant horticulture. Ceci suggests that Long Island Native peoples were chronically hungry for lack of the ability to grow maize, which she attributes to poorly formed, sandy soils. Strong (1997), while attributing much of the Native diet to meat and fish, finds more evidence of horticulture.

Long Island is popularly thought to have been occupied by 13 tribes each having its own territory. Anthropologists think they were not tribes, or bands, but village systems linked by kinship. Native people lived in extended village groups who identified themselves as belonging to that group and having rights over a certain territory. The group of particular interest to the present study is the Unkechaug, whose traditional territory is the south shore of Long Island, adjacent to Great South Bay. According to Salwen’s map (1978:161), the Unkechaug were bordered on the east by the Shinnecock; on the northeast by the Corchaug, on the west by the Massapequa, and on the northwest by the Matinecock. The Unkechaug continue to have a presence in the area. The present chief, Harry Wallace, indicated that there was little contemporary interest in the Floyd Estate, and he downplayed the historical relationship as one of "labor" that did not have positive associations in the community.

Village leadership was based on personal influence rather than inheritance, and was often shared by several adults. Leaders could be female as well as male. Ellice Gonzalez (1983) allows that native communities probably identified with certain territories, but agrees with

Strong that they were not separate tribes--not, at least, until the mid- to late-seventeenth century. Strong (1997), Gonzalez (1983), and Ceci (1990) agree that Long Island Native Americans took on a more tribal structure in the seventeenth century as white settlement forced them into relatively sedentary ways of life.

Native peoples found immanence in the material world around them. Everything had spiritual power: the “manitou,” an overarching supernatural force, “was expressed in deities called manitos, which took the forms of men, women, children, and animals, as well as inanimate objects such as fire, water, sea, colors, the sun, the moon, the four directions, the seasons, and plants (Strong 1997:111). Some manitos were honored by the whole community in sacred ceremonies, including the deer, which provided a basic part of the diet; the bear, eagle, falcon, snake, and whale--which sacrificed itself on the beach; also the turtle, which represented long life and carried the world on its back (Strong 1997:116). The Montauk, or Montaukett, people, from an account in the Gardiner family records, held a communal ritual and feast, or “powwow” whenever a great whale trapped itself in the bay or washed up on the beach.

European Settlement

European settlement in eastern Long Island began with English Puritans spreading outward from the original Puritan settlements of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay. The English settlers were far more populous than the Dutch. In 1650, the settler population of New England was 30,000 as compared to about 3,000 in New Netherlands (Jameson 1909:363). The populous English settled land throughout eastern portions of the territory claimed by New Netherlands, including central Connecticut and eastern Long Island. There were English settlements in western Long Island as well, such as Gravesend, although these operated under the New

Netherlands colonial government. Conflicting Dutch and English land claims on Long Island were resolved in a treaty concluded at Hartford in 1650, which drew the line at Oyster Bay.¹

English settlement on Long Island is reputed to begin with Lion Gardiner, who gave his name to the island and bay at the east end. Southampton, in Shinnecock territory, and Southold, in Cutchogue territory, in 1640 became the first English settlements (Ales 1979). Brookhaven was established at Setauket village in 1660 by 55 “proprietors,” including a Welshman named Richard Floyd. Following the Dutch surrender at New Amsterdam in 1664, the Treaty of Westminster made all of Long Island part of the new British colony of New York (Eells 1993).

The William Floyd Estate was one of many agricultural estates established by prosperous European settlers in the first century of white settlement. The estate was gradually assembled between 1674 and 1718. Native peoples entered into many land transactions with Europeans, granting the purchasers certain rights in return for goods, foodstuffs, weapons, and other possessions. The Floyd family assembled its estate through transactions with other Europeans who had acquired their rights to the land from transactions with Natives.

The European concept of real estate as a finite personal possession was different from the Native understanding of land as a common resource. This cultural difference worked to the disadvantage of Native peoples, who found themselves increasingly constrained by bounded property by the close of the seventeenth century. On the South Shore, the advent of the agricultural estates and manors, including the Floyd estate, William “Tangier” Smith’s Manor of St. George, and William Nicoll’s great Sagtikos Manor in Islip, changed the Native American way of life. Firstly, Native peoples could no longer move freely about the countryside on a seasonal basis: Land enclosures forced them to become more sedentary. Secondly, because

¹ This line became the boundary between Queens (later, Nassau) and Suffolk Counties.

Native people could no longer practice their traditional migratory way of life, they turned to wage labor and, sometimes, indentured servitude on the estates.

Uses of the Bay

Fletcher and Kintz report that the towns of Islip and Brookhaven began regulating the oyster and clam fishery in Great South Bay in the seventeenth century. Brookhaven records indicate the intention to restrict the rights for clamming, oystering, fishing, and fowling pursuits to town residents (Fletcher and Kintz 1979:20). Baymen (the local term for shellfish harvesters) prospered for many generations from the productive environment of Great South Bay, long one of the nation's premier oyster grounds and the source of the prized Blue Point oysters. Natural beds between Smith's Point and Nicoll's Point provided seed oysters for growing beds from Moriches to Jamaica Bay (Long Island Traditions 2003).

Mainland Life

Well into the 20th century, the south side of Long Island continued to be a land of great estates, farms, and rural villages whose residents served the estates and extracted resources from the bay. The Manor of St. George was one of several baronies in colonial New York. After becoming a state, New York put an end to the feudal rights and privileges of St. George's and manors like it, but it remained an entailed estate (Bigelow and Hanaway 1952). Richard Bayles (1874:221) describes the South Country Road in Islip as "occupied almost exclusively by country seats and palatial residences of gentlemen of wealth and ease." The residences were built mostly on the north side of the road; to the south, "clear fields and meadows stretch to the bay a mile more or less distant." The country around Mastic was similarly divided among large

landowners. St. George's Manor had been much reduced by the mid-19th century, but the land was held by other moneyed families. West of the Floyd estate, Lawrences and Woodhulls owned what later became Mastic Beach. The Dana family, Floyd relations, owned the land immediately north of the Floyd estate. These families of privilege entertained at one another's homes: papers in the Floyd archive give the impression of a cozy but elite rural society (cf Nichols 1934).

The south shore towns were sites of boatyards and fish processing businesses. Bayles (1874) cites Doxsee's canning establishment in Islip, which processed green corn and tomatoes as well as clams and fish. Sayville was the site of Francis Greene's shipyard, and "fisheries of the bay constitute the chief industrial enterprise and support of the place" (Bayles 1874:221). Bayles noted that a sardine canning business had recently failed in Bayport, where the people were generally engaged in fishing and farming. Blue Point was the site of the Blue Point Oyster Company until the year 2003.

Beginnings of the Resort Era

The abundance of hunting and fishing opportunity was an important factor in the growth of tourism in the 19th century. Another was the railroads, which sought to build ridership through tourism, among other strategies. The Long Island Railroad, the first on Long Island, was originally conceived as an alternative route from New York to Boston, necessarily including a ferry link between Orient Point and New London. The South Side Railroad, originally a competitor, established the now familiar road through Babylon, Bay Shore and Patchogue. It was later absorbed into the Long Island Railroad system.

An 1877 promotional brochure put out by the Long Island Railroad contains all sorts of information useful to the recreational traveler: charming depictions of attractions along the railroad, distances from the railhead at Long Island City, churches, hotels, and information on rentals. A section on Babylon extols the opportunities there for boating, bathing, sailing, fishing, shooting, driving and riding:

Each finds equal favor in their successive seasons, and the numerous hotels offer ample facilities for the enjoyment of all. Bluefishing guides are available for hire. Shooting can be had on the upland, and from here as far as Bellport, woodcock and partridges are abundant, and quail have been very plentiful during the past season. On the bay are all kinds of snipe, geese, brant and ducks; of the latter broadbills and redheads. The shooting seasons are spring, fall, and winter. Experienced gunners are always at hand to accompany parties, with boats, decoys, etc. (LIRR 1877:195-99).

The brochure speaks of a ferry from Babylon to Fire Island, reached from the station via horsecar. It describes many hotels and boarding houses in Patchogue and other places on the south shore, and comments that the “very profitable” oyster business in Patchogue employs nearly four hundred men.

Robert Moses and Suburban Development

The advance of suburban development from western Long Island eventually engulfed the south shore as far east as Moriches. With suburbanization came the marginalization of the bay as an economic resource and an end to farming. Suburbanization also led to the breakup of the rural estates, partly because it increased property values and taxes, and partly because the elite found themselves increasingly surrounded by middle class and working class newcomers. The contrast in the Mastic-Shirley area between the landscape of rural country seats of a century ago and the modest housing tracts and strip malls of today is especially striking. Another

consequence of suburbanization is the near total disappearance of the once robust tourist economy in the region between Babylon and Patchogue.

The “suburbanization” of Long Island in the 20th century is associated with the career of Robert Moses.² Moses’s fondness for the bays and barrier islands of Long Island inspired him to create a system of landscaped parkways and waterfront parks facing ocean and bay. Moses’s first and greatest beach project, Jones Beach State Park, is located on the barrier island to the west of Fire Island, near Freeport. At Jones Beach, Moses worked out the new idea of combining a beach with a spacious, elegantly appointed park. The handsome water tower, palatial bathhouses, recreational facilities and landscaped grounds became a model for much public construction in the New Deal years (Caro 1974; Newton 1971). Moses built parkways to carry people from the city to Jones Beach and other parks developed by his Long Island State Park Commission. These include the Southern and Northern State Parkway running west to east, and several north-south connectors. One arrived at Jones Beach on a parkway that ran along the bay side down the length of the barrier island. Moses hoped to build a similar parkway along Fire Island. He succeeded in building connecting bridges to the mainland, one at Smith’s Point and one at Captree Island, and built the first three miles of the proposed Ocean Parkway through the state park at the west end of Fire Island. However, local opposition to the highway and the establishment of the national seashore in 1964 halted the extension of the parkway east of the state park boundary.³

² Robert Moses (1888-1981) is widely known for his construction of public beachfront parks and automobile parkways. Moses’s career is described in voluminous, largely unfavorable detail by Robert Caro in *The Power Broker* (1974). Moses combined personal ambition, a gift for writing legislation, an interest in large-scale urban planning, and the opportunities for construction brought first by the New Deal and, after World War II, by federal highway and housing programs, to become a kind of planning and construction czar over New York City and Long Island. His record includes public housing projects, parkways and interstate highways, bridges and tunnels; hundreds of park and playground projects, and the Worlds Fairs of 1939-40 and 1964-65.

Today the region around Great South Bay has become a largely suburban region, where few people continue to make their living from the region's natural resources. The bay is no longer able to sustain a commercial shellfish industry. Yet among the region's people there remain some who continue to practice traditional cultural activities of resource harvesting. There are also many communities along the south shore facing Great South Bay whose identities and cultural traditions continue to be identified with the bay. The following sections of Part I of this report reviews the traditions of some of these groups and communities: the Unkechaug community at Poosapatuck Reservation, the Floyds and their descendants, Baymen of Great South Bay, recreational hunters and fishermen, and one geographic community, Mastic Beach, which borders the William Floyd Estate.

³ Few early proponents of parkways and expressways--including Robert Moses--realized that the roads would not only carry recreational traffic but would enable the urbanization of the countryside. By the end of the postwar era building boom in 1970, eastern Queens, Nassau, and western Suffolk counties had become "saturated" with suburban development (Lessard 1976). The parkways that Moses built and the later Long Island Expressway provided the essential transportation infrastructure for this growth; the private housing industry, federal mortgage guarantees and highway subsidies, public demand for housing, and pro-growth local government provided the rest (Baxandall and Ewen 2000; Jackson 1985, Hayden 2003).

NATIVE AMERICANS

Introduction

There are many ethnohistorical sources on Long Island Native Americans in general but relatively few on the Unkechaug, which are the group having continuing cultural ties to lands and waters of FIIS. John Strong, a Native Americanist now retired from Southampton College, has done perhaps the most work on Long Island Native peoples but he has much more information about peoples farther east on Long Island. Lynn Ceci completed a doctoral thesis in the 1970s on Long Island Native Americans that, among other things, looked at the archeological evidence for practices such as wampum manufacture and agriculture. Bernice Forrest Guillaume, an anthropologist of Native American ancestry, has researched the Unkechaug community.⁴ Two other historians whose work is cited here are Earnest Eells, a Presbyterian minister active in the 1930s, and Marian Fisher Ales who prepared a seminal master's thesis on the Montauk Indians in 1950.

There is more ethnohistorical evidence for peoples farther east and west on the island in the contact period. All historical information on Native peoples comes from the accounts of European explorers and settlers. Champlain's explorations in 1605-06 along the coast of southern New England, for example, provide considerable information about the settlements, dress, agricultural practices, social organization, and so on, of the Massachusett, Pokanoket, and other peoples in that stretch of coast not too many years before the devastating smallpox epidemic of the years 1617-19. Champlain did not reach Long Island, however. Similarly, Verazzano and later Henry Hudson are among the more useful sources of information on peoples in the Hudson River valley area and western Long Island (Ceci 1990). There are many accounts

⁴ Guillaume was recently (and may still be) Assistant Vice Chancellor for Academic and Multicultural Affairs, University of Colorado at Colorado Springs.

of New Netherlands in the collections of the New-York Historical Society and the Brooklyn Historical Society. Another source of early New York history is the New York Colonial Documents, the result of John Romeyn Brodhead's work searching European archives for materials relating to the colonial history of the state. Some of the more ethnographically oriented accounts have been published; two such sources cited here are Frederick Jameson's edited collection of accounts, *Narratives of New Netherlands* (1909) and Adrien van der Donck's *Description of the New Netherlands*, written in 1656 and translated into English in 1841. Daniel Denton of Hempstead left one of the most important accounts of middle to late seventeenth century Native peoples on Long Island and their cultural practices, and Lion Gardiner's accounts are an important part of the record on the Montauketts.

Native American specialist Neal Trubowitz cautions that Dutch historical sources have little to say about central and eastern Long Island (letter to author, March 27, 2006). Early in their competition for the fur trade, the English Puritans pushed the Dutch out of this part of Long Island and out of Connecticut. Most of the Dutch accounts of Native Americans described people living in western Long Island, around New York Bay, and along the Hudson and Delaware Rivers. The Native inhabitants of those areas were Munsee Algonquians, who lived in long houses rather than the wigwams typical of the Natives of southern New England and most of Long Island. The housing indicates a different social organization between the two areas, matrilineal vs. patrilineal.

If Dutch accounts of Indians in New Netherland are not the best ethnohistoric model to apply to the Native peoples associated with Fire Island, we have not found any more precise sources for the Unkechaug in the contact and early settlement periods. Scholars generally agree that the cultural practices of Eastern Algonquian native groups, particularly groups living in

close proximity to one another, such as those on Long Island, were quite similar one to another. Salwen, for example, writes that all these groups “shared, with minor exceptions, a single cultural pattern” (Salwen 1978:160). Guillaume (1996) and Treadwell (1992) write that the Unkechaug or Poosepatuck Native people at Mastic, Long Island, share cultural traits with Lanape/Delaware and Iroquois peoples.

Floyd family records may provide the best source of information on the Unkechaug for the 18th and 19th centuries. Two scholars have examined these files and published papers on their research: Ellice Gonzalez, on contract for the National Park Service, and Bernice Guillaume and her paper on women at the William Floyd Estate and on the Poosepatuck Reservation. Both accounts focus on the relationship between the Floyds and the Unkechaug community. Other potential sources are preachers Azariah Horton and Samson Occum, the latter a Christianized Montaukett, in the middle 18th century, although our reading of their accounts reveals little ethnographic description of the Unkechaug. Thomas Jefferson, as a houseguest at Mastic in 1791, found only three old women among the Unkechaug who could still speak the Native Unkechaug-Quiripi language (Conkey, Boissevain, and Goddard 1978). Jefferson sought to collect and translate examples of Unkechaug vocabulary (Guillaume 1996).

History Of Their Presence In The Region

Eastern Long Island was inhabited by Eastern Algonquian peoples whose territories included coastal New England from the Saco River south to the present Connecticut-New York border. Eastern Long Island belonged to several groups who shared the Eastern Algonquian language roots characteristic of all peoples in the territory described above. These include the

Unkechaug. Western Long Island and the mid-Atlantic coastal areas and river valleys were part of a different language group, the Munsee-Delaware (Salwen 1978).

In popular historical accounts, the indigenous populations on Long Island were divided into thirteen tribes with separate, bounded tribal territories. Scholars say these were not separate tribes but much more informal and interconnected groups (Ceci 1990, Grumet 1978, Strong 1997). John Strong, for example, describes the Algonquian settlements as connected village systems linked by kinship. Strong thinks that Algonquian villages were grouped in “bands,” characterized by a nomadic, egalitarian, hunting and gathering societies. Village leadership was based on personal influence rather than inheritance, and was often shared by several adults. Leaders could be female as well as male. The term “tribe,” Strong explains, describes a more sedentary and hierarchical social system than the banded communities of Long Island exhibited in the contact period (Strong 1997:21-22). Salwen (1978) describes the village as the basic social unit. Ellice Gonzalez (1983) allows that native communities probably identified with certain territories, but agrees with Strong that they were not separate tribes--not, at least, until the contact period. Strong and Gonzalez concur that Long Island Native Americans took on a more tribal structure in the seventeenth century as white settlement forced them into relatively sedentary ways of life.

Unkechaug Territory

According to the late Unkechaug historian Chief Lone Otter (Donald Treadwell) (Treadwell 1992) oral tradition contends that Unkechaug land consisted of more than 11,000 acres, extending “west to Blue Point, north to Port Jefferson, northeast to Riverhead, and east to Westhampton Beach [this much territory would be perhaps 200,000 rather than 11,000 acres.]

This was our living, hunting, and seasonal migratory zone” (p. 83). A tribe or group called Secatague inhabited the area around Blue Point, and the Massapeguas held the territory opposite western Fire Island, around present-day Bay Shore. The Unkechaug are the only one of these groups to retain a living culture and tribal territory. Salwen’s (1978) map of Eastern Algonquian territories shows the Unkechaug in possession of a territory quite like that described by Chief Lone Otter. Salwen, a more scholarly source, does not include reference to a “Secatague” group between the Unkechaug and the Shinnecock, whose territory lay to the east of the Unkechaug lands. The Shinnecock maintain a reservation in the town of Southampton. The east end—present-day East Hampton town—was Montauk country.

Native American societies had a communal conception of geographical territory. Native Americans viewed ownership as either the possession of tools, adornment, and like personal possessions, or *usufruct*, the right of a family, kin, or band group to use land because that land had been continually worked from one generation to another by the same people: “The western conception of private property, be it material possessions or land, was absent from the world view of Native Americans” (Gonzalez 1982:II-1). In her 1950 master’s thesis on the Montauk Indians, published by the Suffolk County Archaeological Association (1979/1993), Marian Fisher Ales writes that the English had only a “cloudy understanding of the... Indians’ fixed concept that the land was never given away, never could be given away, that it belonged to the tribe and not to any individual, but could be loaned freely and gladly, as the Indians were wont to share with others” (Ales 1979:21). The Long Island tribal groups were centered on land identified exclusively with them, and their concept of usufruct conflicted with European concepts of exclusive title. Thus, when Native people transferred land in a deed, often it was seen as a granting of a right to use an area, not own it and exclude Native peoples from it. Also,

the sale price was understood as a gift or an exchange for the use of the land, and was not itself final. Continued use would have to be renewed with additional gifts. This transactional orientation contrasts with the idea of a final sale. Natives entered into cash agreements with Europeans because such agreements generated income and goods for them. In the early period, the consequences were, in many cases, unanticipated as a result of these cultural differences.

Settlement Pattern

Unkechaug means “land beyond the hill” (Treadwell 1992:50). A typical, pre-contact Unkechaug village was established in a slash-and-burn clearing near water. Several dwellings would be organized in a circle with the doors facing east. A typical Unkechaug dwelling was a wigwam made of saplings joined together and lashed at the top, and covered with thatch, skin and/or clay. Single-family dwellings were circular; those of multiple families were long and cylindrical. Each dwelling had two entrances on opposite sides and smokehole overhead. The village would have a communal roasting pit for wild game and steaming shellfish, “the progenitor of the New England clambake” (Treadwell 1992:33). The Unkechaug had a diet of fruits natural to Long Island, deer, bear, wild fowl and duck. They also took finfish, clams, oysters, mussels, turtles, eels, crabs, lobsters, and whale. Unkechaug women planted corn, squash and beans together in a mound, perhaps using fish for fertilizer (Treadwell 1992).

In pre-contact times, the village was less a site of permanent habitation than it would later become. Families and, in some cases, structures would disperse throughout the territory in summer and return to a village in the winter. Champlain saw many houses along the Massachusetts coast in 1605 and 1606, each surrounded by planted fields (Salwen 1978). In some areas, the period after the harvest marked a removal from summer fields to deep forests

where the band would spend the winter. Salwen (1978) suggests the pattern was slightly different on Long Island where geography precludes a deep interior retreat. Denton observed “principal quarters” at cornfields and hunting and fishing sites as well. Travel across Long Island Sound to the mainland was also common, but it is not known whether it had a seasonal pattern (Salwen 1978). The village group utilized the resources its larger territory. As Treadwell describes for the Unkechaug, the physical village was a cluster of houses. The territory included fishing stations, wild-plant collecting areas, shellfish collecting and processing sites, fishing weirs and waters, and deer-hunting zones. Salwen (1978) suggests that different village groups could share resource rights in overlapping territories. In the historic period, the archaeological evidence supports an interpretation of the village as a permanent site of habitation to which hunters and gatherers returned throughout the year with food and materials for trade (Ceci 1990:59). “The combination of a subsistence pattern that required frequent shifts of habitation and the lack of easy methods of land transport did not permit the accumulation of numerous or cumbersome material possessions” (Salwen 1978:163).

Guillaume summarizes the Unkechaug founding myth, as confirmed to her by Chief Lone Otter. The Unkechaug believe “a White Deer was the first to dig a hole in the group with a hoof, for the Earth Mother so that the Unkechaug could plant corn and survive” (Guillaume 1998:94). Guillaume explains that the deer was a symbol of the quiet, solitary, and placid nature of the Unkechaug, “who could nevertheless be roused to blind fury in the face of repeated hurt” (Guillaume 1998:94). Treadwell added that Unkechaug men’s traditional dress was a “tan tunic, with a soldier strap; leggings underneath, and symbols painted on the tunic” (Guillaume 1998:94). Mary Emma Maynes Brackett Green-Dees (1899-1993), an Unkechaug *skunksquaw*, or female leader, stated in an interview with Guillaume that the Unkechaug belonged to the Deer

clan and that the typical regalia was tan in color. The clan totem was the turtle, which she named as the chief ancestor or spirit figure. Guillaume quotes Brackett saying “the eagle is our strength,” and that when she sees “him” flying overhead she greets him and pays homage to him. Brackett added that the Unkechaug worshipped the stars and the moon, and that she had heard Native ancestors on the reservation singing and dancing. This, she told Guillaume, occurred primarily at night, near the reservation’s burial grounds and near the water (Forge River and Poosepatuck Creek). Brackett expressed traditional beliefs in witches and spirit guides, and that dreams are “the messages of the spirit-guides” (Guillaume 1998:85).

Subsistence

Long Island Native peoples were less reliant on agriculture than were Natives in many other locations. Anthropologists disagree over whether this was due to the relative abundance of other food sources such as marine resources or to the lack of good fertile soil in the sandy glacial soils. Strong (1997) takes the view that between deer, seasonal bird and waterfowl migrations, and fish, the environment provided a year-round supply of food. Relying partly on Daniel Denton’s mid-seventeenth century accounts, Strong emphasizes the importance of migratory birds in the Native diet. Geese, for example, came in great flocks from August to October and again in the spring to rest and feed in coastal meadows. Although game birds and animals were the primary protein source, Native peoples consumed large quantities of shellfish and fish too.

Ceci sought to demonstrate through the archaeological evidence that agriculture was weak on Long Island, in fact much weaker than among Eastern Algonquian peoples generally. Ceci cites the lack of archaeological evidence for maize horticulture, the sandy, acidic soils, and, after contact, the rewards for Long Island Natives of manufacture and trade of wampum. Ceci

cites a number of early sources of explorers and settlers attesting to the poor vegetation generally in what she calls “coastal New York,” a region consisting of Long Island and the Hudson River estuary. Early accounts, she says, indicate much of the local land as barren or sterile, or a ‘wilderness’ of weeds and trees that would have to be cleared before farming could be undertaken. This contrasts with Denton’s descriptions of abundant fruits and berries. Ceci shows that white settlers had to work hard to fertilize the acidic, sandy Long Island soils to make agriculture feasible. Since the soils do not retain moisture, irrigation would also be required. Ceci doubts whether Native peoples would have been inclined to do the necessary work, and finds no evidence of the use of fish fertilizer by Native cultivators. Citing the known propensity for manufacture and trade of wampum, Ceci argues that Long Island Native peoples after contact relied more on trade than on agriculture.

Ceci may be right about the archaeological evidence and the poor Long Island soils, but European accounts during the contact period widely remark the centrality of maize horticulture to the Native diet. Van der Donck, for example, observed that Native peoples in New Netherlands commonly used maize for baking bread cakes, after pounding the maize into a fine meal. Their daily food, he writes, included [cornmeal] mush, in New Netherlands called “sapaen.” Van der Donck adds, “Of manuring and proper tillage they know nothing. All their tillage is done by the hand and with small adzes, which they purchase from us” (Van der Donck 1968:96).⁵ Similarly, Johan de Laet, writing in 1625, observed that Native food consists mainly of maize of which the Natives bake cakes resembling loaves of bread (Jameson 1909). Another Dutch visitor, Isaack de Rasiaeres, writing in 1628, reports that Staten Island to be inhabited by 80-90 “savages” who support themselves by planting maize, and that Natives on Long Island

⁵ Adriaen Van der Donck, a lawyer, lived in New Netherlands from 1641 until 1655, and later wrote his *Description of the New Netherlands*, an exhortation to his countrymen to populate the colony.

also support themselves by planting maize. De Rasiaeres adds that the Natives break up the earth in March with mattocks purchased from the Dutch for beaver or otter skins. They make heaps like molehills and sow maize in April, planting 5 or 6 grains per heap. Much labor (all by women) is required to cultivate the maize with weeding and earthing-up. They boil the grain, beat it flat with a stone, then pound with a stone pestle in wooden mortar. With the meal they make porridge or sapaen (Jameson 1909). Eastern Algonquian groups other than the Unkechaug are known to have practiced maize horticulture as well. Thus horticulture was widely practiced by Native peoples but in ways that seemed primitive to European observers.

By such early accounts, hunting and fishing were equally important to the Native diet. Van der Donck reported that “Indians throughout the year and every year (but mostly in the fall) kill many thousands” of deer (Van der Donck 1968:45). Scholars generally agree that Native peoples in New York, New England, and elsewhere used fire in part to make the woods productive of game, especially deer (Cronon 1983, Mann 2002, Strong 1997). The fire would sweep through the woods, consuming the understory vegetation and dead trees but not the mature trees. This made the forest easy to move through. Regular burning would stimulate fast growth of new ground vegetation. Natives would also use fire to surround the deer with brush fires to disorient them and drive them into the water, where they would kill the animals from canoes. Strong (1997) observes that the fire had the added benefit of killing ticks and stimulating the growth of berry bushes and other wild plants. Native peoples also used fire to clear the forest floor for hunters.

Following is Van der Donck’s mid-seventeenth century description of this practice among Munsee Delaware peoples in the Hudson Valley:

The Indians have a yearly custom (which some of our Christians have also adopted) of burning the woods, plains and meadows in the fall of the year, when the leaves have fallen, and when the grass and vegetable substances are dry. Those places which are then passed over are fired in the spring in April. This practice is named by us and the Indians, "bush-burning," which is done for several reasons: First, to render hunting easier, as the bush and vegetable growth renders the walking difficult for the hunter, and the crackling of the dry substances betrays him and frightens away the game. Secondly, to thin out and clear the woods of all dead substances and grass, which grow better the ensuing spring. Thirdly, to circumscribe and enclose the game within the lines of the fire, when it is more easily taken, and also, because the game is more easily tracked over the burned parts of the woods.

The bush burning presents a grand and sublime appearance. On seeing it from without, we would imagine that not only the dry leaves, vegetables and limbs would be burnt, but that the whole woods would be consumed where the fire passes, for it frequently spreads and rages with such violence, that it is awful to behold; and when the fire approaches houses, gardens, and wooden enclosures, then great care and vigilance are necessary for their preservation, for I have seen several houses which have recently been destroyed, before the owners were apprized of their danger.

Notwithstanding the apparent danger of the entire destruction of the woodlands by the burning, still the green trees do not suffer. The outside bark is scorched three or four feet high, which does them no injury, for the trees are not killed. It however sometimes happens that in the thick pine woods, wherein the fallen trees lie across each other, and have become dry, that the blaze ascends and strikes the tops of the trees, setting the same on fire, which is immediately increased by the resinous knots and leaves, which promote the blaze, and is passed by the wind from tree to tree, by which the entire tops of the trees are sometimes burnt off, while the bodies remain standing. Frequently great injuries are done by such fires, but the burning down of entire woods never happens. I have seen many instances of wood-burning in the colony of Rensselaerwyck, where there is much pine wood. Those fires appear grand at night from the passing vessels in the river, when the woods are burning on both sides of the same. Then we can see a great distance by the light of the blazing trees, the flames being driven by the wind, and fed by the tops of the trees. But the dead and dying trees remain burning in their standing positions, which appear sublime and beautiful when seen at a distance (Van der Donck 1968:20-22).

The Native use of fire is potentially important to the interpretation and management of the William Floyd Estate. Although Rensselaerwyck (the present Rensselaer) was in the northern part of the colony, along the Hudson, bush-burning was commonly observed in both Delaware and Eastern Algonquian territory. Communal deer drives, which also involved bush-

burning, were reported in Eastern Connecticut, Rhode Island, and northeastern Massachusetts (Salwen 1978), and Van der Donck describes the practice in New Netherlands (see below). The 1700 deed between William Smith and the Unkechaug, in which Smith sells 175 acres of formerly Unkechaug land back to the Unkechaug, acknowledges the purchasers' right to burn "under wood:"

Bee it knowne unto all men that the intent sayd Indiean, there children and posterrite may not want suffescient land to plant on, For ever, that I doe hereby grant...that Wisquosuck Iose, wionconow, Pataquan, Steven Werampes, Penaws Tapshana, Wepsha Tacome and Jacob, Indian Natives of unquochock, there children & ye Posterite of there children forever, shall, withoute any mollestation from mee, my Heires or assines, shall, and maye plant, sowe, for Ever on the conditions hereafter expressed, one hundred seventie and five acres of Land, part of the Lande so solde mee ass is a for sayd, that is to saye, one hundred Akors in mastick Neck, fifty acres at Pospaton, feftene acres at Constbles Neck and ten Akers at qualican, & to burn under wood always provided that ye sayd Indians, there children or posterrete have not any preveleg to sell, conveys, Alinate or let this planting right or any part thereof, to any person or persuns whatsoever, but this planting Rite shall Decende to them & there children for Ever...

Burning the underwood was a part of the seasonal round of subsistence activity. Again, Van der Donck (on the Munsee-Delaware):

To hunting and fishing the Indians are all extravagantly inclined, and they have their particular seasons for these engagements. In the spring and part of the summer, they practice fishing. When the wild herbage begins to grow up in the woods, the first hunting season begins, and then many of their young men leave the fisheries for the purpose of hunting; but the old and thoughtful men remain at the fisheries until the second and principal hunting season, which they also attend, but with snares only. Their fishing is carried on in the inland waters, and by those who dwell near the sea, or the sea-islands. The latter have particular advantages. Their fishing is done with seines, set-nets, small fikes, wears, and laying hoods. They do not know how to salt fish, or how to cure fish properly. They sometimes dry fish to preserve the same, but those are half tainted, which they pound to meal to be used in chowder in winter. Their young and active men are much engaged in hunting bears, wolves, fishers, otters, and beavers. Near the seashores and rivers where the Christians mostly reside, they hunt deer, where many are killed. Those are mostly caught in snares, they also shoot them with arrows and guns.

The Indians sometimes unite in companies of from one to two hundred when they have a rare sport. On those occasions, they drive over a large district of land and kill much game. They also make extensive fikes with palisades, which are narrow at their terminating angles, wherein they drive multitudes of animals and take great numbers. At a word, they are expert hunters for every kind of game, and know how to practice the best methods to insure success (1968:96-97).

Fire was used as a land management tool on the salt meadows of the William Floyd Estate. Kesselman (1983:6) cites a letter of 26 March 1852 from John Gelston Floyd to his son Nicoll Floyd III in which the elder Floyd writes “It is time too now to burn the meadows which [the new overseer] should be very careful about and not burn when the wind is like to change to the north or he will burn up the whole farm woods and everything else.” From this passage Kesselman infers that burning the meadows was common practice at the Floyd estate, “as it was elsewhere” (1983:6).

Although whaling became important to Long Island Native peoples after European settlement, whales were not hunted systematically in pre-contact times. Whales washed ashore frequently, however, at which time large parties from nearby villages would travel to the beach to butcher them (Salwen 1978).

Ceci (1990) cites evidence of Natives using uninhabited islands as burial sites. Her evidence, however, comes from the Micmac, in whose territory (Maine, New Brunswick) the islands are stable, rockbound formations rather than unstable sandy barrier islands. Ceci also cites Ritchie’s archaeological evidence of a southern New England Native practice of crossing over to eastern Long Island to bury their dead (archaeological investigations at Orient, Sugar Loaf Hill, and Jamesport.)

European Settlement

Long Island was included in the grant of 1620 by King James I to the Plymouth Company. In 1635 the Plymouth Company conveyed the rights to Long Island to William Alexander, the Earl of Stirling. The Dutch were settling at the west end of Long Island as part of the colony of New Netherland. The conflicting Dutch and English land claims on Long Island were resolved in a treaty concluded at Hartford in 1650, which drew the line at Oyster Bay.

English settlement on eastern Long Island is reputed to begin with Lion Gardiner, who gave his name to the island and bay at the east end. Southampton, in Shinnecock territory, and Southold, in Cutchogue territory, in 1640 became the first English settlements (Ales 1979). Brookhaven was established at Setauket village in 1660 by 55 “proprietors,” including a Welshman named Richard Floyd. The towns east of Oyster Bay belonged to the Connecticut Colony until the Treaty of Westminster in 1664, which made all of Long Island part of the new British colony of New York (Eells 1993).

Land Transactions. The discussion below is based upon two secondary sources, the 1979 Historic Resource Study by Fletcher and Kintz and the 1983 report on the Unkechaug by Gonzalez—both commissioned by the NPS. Both present information on land transactions but with different foci: Fletcher and Kintz are concerned with the Great South Beach and Bay while Gonzalez’s discussion of land transactions focuses on the Mastic area. Our discussion relies on both to address in particular the passing of Unkechaug land to William Smith and other settlers, Smith’s subsequent deeding of 175 acres to the Unkechaug, and the subsequent passing of most of that land to the Floyds. For a discussion of land transactions and disputes with respect to the beach and bay in general, please refer to Fletcher and Kintz (1979).

The only legal evidence of Unkechaug land ownership is the deeds through which Unkechaug sachems granted lands to white settlers. European settlers were required to obtain deeds for property they wished to purchase. Gonzalez (1983) writes that the earliest such deed in the Mastic area, recorded in 1657, refers to an area called “new purchase,” located in Mastic Neck. In this deed, Wyandanch and Wenecohage (an Unkechaug sachem) sold meadow land along the Mastic River to Richard Woodhull. There were many more transactions in coming years, some between Native sachems and settlers, others among settlers. Deeds from various Unkechaugs to European settlers included the series of necks lying between the Connecticut (Carmans) and the Mastic (Forge) Rivers. These necks—from west to east, Sebomack, Unquechogue, Pattersquash, Snake, Winnecroscum’s, and Mastic—all came to be subsumed under the name Mastic Neck (Gonzalez 1983). Historical accounts presume from these seventeenth-century land transactions that the whites, at least, considered the Natives to be the original landowners. Conversely, the Unkechaug and other Native peoples entered into these deeds through which they granted rights of use to white settlers.⁶

The First Brookhaven Patent of 1666 issued by Governor Nicolls included Great South Bay and Great South Beach (Fletcher and Kintz 1979). Fletcher and Kintz also report a deed 19 years later (1685) between Winescrocum and other Native Americans and Brookhaven town for the entire South Beach, the deed providing for rights to “freely cut upon the said beach what wood they...shall from time to time have need of for the trying of whales and other great fish” (Fletcher and Kintz 1979:15). When the British retook New York after a brief Dutch

⁶ Native American tribes and communities have generally been recognized in U.S. jurisprudence as the original owners of the lands in their territories. Hence the requirement under colonial law for Europeans to obtain legal deeds to the lands they purchased from Native peoples. Also in this regard, note the U.S. District Court decision of November 7, 2005, in the case of *New York v. Shinnecock Indian Nation*. In this case, in which the state gambling commission and the town of Southampton seek to enjoin the Shinnecock from building a casino on land outside their reservation, the decision affirms the Shinnecock as a tribe which was “in possession of the lands in and around the Town of Southampton when the first European settlers arrived in 1640.”

reoccupation in 1673, Governor Dongan reaffirmed the original patent by issuing a Second Patent to the Brookhaven Trustees. The second patent, however, excluded lands south of the town limits that had not yet been purchased from the Natives. Meanwhile, Colonel William “Tangier” Smith had been purchasing lands, including beach and bay-bottom lands, from Natives, and in 1693 applied for and received a patent allowing him to form the Manor of St. George (Gonzalez 1983, Treadwell 1992). This patent included the land between Mastic Creek (Forge River) and the Connecticut River (Carmans River) and north approximately to the Middle Country Road, also the Great South Beach and Bay (Fletcher and Kintz 1979). Fletcher and Kintz (1979) cite a letter in the same year, 1693, by the Sachem Tobagus stating that he had never sold the South Beach to Brookhaven (it is not clear whether this refers to the deed from Winescrocum et al., cited above, or to some other deed.) Evidently, both Brookhaven and Smith had deeds to beach and bay, but Smith’s patent included beach and bay whereas Brookhaven’s patent did not. Disputes between these parties over title to beach and bay continued until an agreement in 1767 between Smith heirs and the Brookhaven trustees (Fletcher and Kintz 1979).

Colonel Smith had served the British Crown as the Governor of Tangiers, North Africa. Hundreds Native Americans taken captive during King Philip’s war had been shipped to Tangiers. Smith returned the surviving Natives to North America, bringing them to Long Island, where he succeeded in establishing a 55,000-acre estate in the heart of Unkechaug territory (Ales 1979). A “patent” was a land grant from the King’s representative, the governor of the colony (Bigelow and Hanaway 1952). Although the dictionary defines a patent as “a conveyance of public lands, also the land so conveyed,” a patent was not the same as a deed of title.⁷ Presumably Smith received his patent from Gov. Fletcher on evidence that he had purchased the lands within it from their Native owners. It may also have been the case that a party could

⁷ Merriam-Webster Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary

receive a patent prior to purchasing the land: for instance, Fletcher and Kintz (1979:16) state that at the time of the First Brookhaven Patent, the Great South Beach and Bay were still “unpurchased Indian lands.” A deed recorded in April 1694 between Smith and Native parties “for Beach, Bay and Island” demonstrates that Smith purchased some of his land after receiving his patent (Fletcher and Kintz 1979:16). As well, estates owned by others could remain within a patented territory: for example, the Floyd estate lay within the Manor of St. George.

Gonzalez (1983) states that Smith noted in his petition to the governor that he had purchased the lands from the Unkechaug. Gonzalez writes that those deeds remained in the Smith estate and were unavailable for review at the time of her research. Similarly, Fletcher and Kintz write that Smith purchased lands from the Natives to form his estate during the three years leading up to his patent application. Fletcher and Kintz do not describe the individual deeds with Unkechaug sellers. The Historic Resource Study of the William Floyd Estate (Torres-Reyes 1973:21) refers to a purchase by William Smith on April 8, 1692, of the upland section of Mastic Neck, where the Floyd house stands, from the sachem Tobacus and his chief tribesmen. Another source of information on deeds from the Unkechaug to William Smith is the Suffolk County Court case of *Dana v. Maynes, et al.*, officially a “Summary Proceeding.” In his decision, dated March 5, 1936, Judge Richard W. Hawkins refers to a deed to Col. William Smith: a copy of such deed may have been presented as evidence for the respondents. Judge Hawkins also quotes the historian William S. Pelletreau’s 1903 history of Long Island, which notes the presence of a “document in the office of the Secretary of State” showing that the Unkechaug claim extended to Apocock Creek, also known as Beaverdam Creek, in the town of Southampton, on the east, and “probably as far as Islip” on the west (Gonzalez 1983:Appendix).

In 1700 Smith sold 175 acres back to the Unkechaug. The deed from William Smith to Tobagus and Wyandanch gave the Unkechaug four noncontiguous parcels of land on Mastic Neck amounting to 175 acres: a 100-acre parcel, a 50-acre parcel that comprises the present reservation, and two smaller parcels. There are no known maps of the locations of these parcels. The deed quoted in Gonzalez (1983) indicates 100 acres at Mastic Neck, 50 acres at Pospaton, 15 acres at Constable's Neck, and 10 acres at "Qualiecan."⁸ An Unkechaug reservation may have already existed at the time of Smith's deed (1700); Conkey, Boissevain, and Goddard (1978), apparently relying on William Wallace Tooker, date the reservation to 1666.

Richard Floyd, father and son, completed a series of land purchases over a 43-year period between 1675 and 1718 to create the Floyd estate. These purchases eventually reduced the Unkechaug holdings to less than 50 acres. The elder Floyd, one of the original 55 proprietors of Brookhaven, owned property in the Old Purchase section west of the Carmans River. Floyd exchanged his lot (No. 25, upland and meadow) with Joseph Davis for Davis's lot in the "New Purchase in Unkechaug, Number 27—in a little Neck Eastward of Unkechaug upland and Meadow" (Gonzalez 1983:II-4). Floyd added to his holdings in 1684, when he gained most of "Padersquash" (or Pattersquash) Neck, thereafter known as Floyd's Neck. Floyd acquired this land in a three-way transaction with a Native man named Mohave and the Town of Southampton. When Mohave could not pay fines assessed upon him in court, the court awarded the land to the town which then sold it to Richard Floyd. Providing an excerpt from the court's decision, Gonzalez explains that the court assumed that Mohave owned land in the same sense that European settlers did. Gonzalez suggests that, while Native peoples may have been participating in the European system of land ownership by that time, more likely the colonists

⁸ Mastic Neck is the core of the present-day William Floyd Estate. Qualiecan is located on the south side of Home Creek near Indian Point—also on the Floyd Estate. "Pospaton" is a variation on "Poosepatuck," both meaning the Unkechaug reservation on the Forge River

acquired land by naming one Native person as the seller, “when in fact the land belonged to a group—band, village, or kin” (Gonzalez 1983:II-5).

The younger Richard Floyd made the largest Floyd purchase in 1718 from William Smith, the patentee of St. George’s Manor. This purchase added an approximately 4,400-acre tract to the family’s existing holdings, including the four parcels that William Smith had deeded back to the Unkechaug. In separate transactions with the Floyds the Unkechaug lost possession of all but one of these four tracts. The first transfer occurred in 1730, when Nicoll Floyd traded “20 Dutch blankets, four barrels of syder and...three pounds current money” for the 100-acre parcel on Mastic Neck. Fifty-nine years later, in 1789, William Floyd (the signer of the Declaration of Independence) drew up a deed with Unkechaug descendants that reaffirmed the transfer of the 100-acre Mastic Neck parcel and newly transferred the 15-acre parcel on Constable’s Neck from Unkechaug to Floyd. Gonzalez writes of a subsequent series of transactions between Floyd and certain individual Unkechaugs, which suggest “that the Floyds were treating the property which was deeded communally to the Unkechaug by Smith, as individually owned property”. These transactions reduced the acreage owned by the Unkechaug to approximately 50 acres (Gonzalez 1983:III-2-3). Gonzalez notes that the records do not show what became of the ten-acre Qualiecan tract at Indian Point. However,

...no longer did the Unkechaug have access to woodlands and meadows to practice their subsistence hunting, gathering, fishing. No longer was usufruct a concept that even the Unkechaug found viable. The only land which the Unkechaug held in common as a band group were the less than 50 acres called Poospaton and even this claim was weakened by the transactions between them and the Floyds in the late 18th century.

The advent of the agricultural estates and manors, including St. George’s, the Floyd estate, and William Nicoll’s Sagtikos Manor to the west, changed the Native American way of

life. Firstly, Native peoples could no longer move freely about the countryside on a seasonal basis. Land enclosures forced them to become more sedentary. Secondly, Native Americans turned to wage labor and indentured servitude on the estates. The Unkechaug, in particular, began a long relationship of labor with the Floyd family that continued into the 20th century.

Wampum. One important material possession in the early colonial period was wampum, a personal ornament and trade good made from blue or black clams. The purple and white beads were a spiritually potent substance. Native peoples wove strings and belts of beads. They were used as mnemonic record-keeping devices and as diplomatic instruments (Grumet 1978). Marian Ales (1979) explains that wampum fulfilled many functions among Native peoples of Long Island and southern New England. Strings of wampum could pay tribute or ransom, buy a murder or buy off punishment for a crime. As a gift, wampum could persuade to war or peace, propose to a bride or console the bereaved, pay a priest or honor a chief. Or wampum could be used for simple ornament and display (Ales 1979:28.) The Dutch settlers discovered the utility of beads as a substitute for the coins they lacked and soon supplied the Indians with iron tools to speed up and perfect the manufacture of beads. New Englanders copied this Dutch strategy about 1628. The value of the beads fluctuated and counterfeiting was a problem. Colonial governments passed laws to regulate its value.

The source of white beads was the inner column from a large gastropod, genus *Busycon*; this snail is commonly known as the conch, whelk, or winkle, or the incorrect term periwinkle.⁹ The dark (black or purple) beads were made from mollusks, specifically a small area found around the interior muscle scar of the hard-shell clam, genus *Mercenaria* (most of the interior is

⁹ Periwinkles are much smaller snails found in tidal zones. They are in the genus *Littoraria*, and have shells that are too thin and fragile for bead making.

white). They are also commonly known as Northern quahogs (from Algonquian), littlenecks, and sometimes as cherrystones, chowder clams, steamers, or round clams. Native American specialist Neal Trubowitz notes these are not “black clams” but they can have exterior black patches at the point of muscular attachment, called black eyes or Suckauaskeesquash (letter to author, March 27, 2006). White beads were only half as valuable as the purple beads, which averaged an exchange value of five to a penny. The foot-long strings of beads were used loose or in units called fathoms. It took 360 whites and 180 purple beads to make a fathom--a lot of beads--but fathoms were exchanged in quantities reminiscent of governments dealing in millions of dollars (Ales 1950/1979:29). Chief Lone Otter (Treadwell 1992) notes that the use of the awl magnified wampum production, causing a collapse in its value.

Ceci (1990) argues that wampum production surged in the seventeenth century owing to its value for trade with Europeans. She suggests that wampum production was insignificant prior to contact. The manufacture of wampum was particularly important to the economy and lifeways of Long Island and southern New England Native peoples because the whelk and clam shells from which it was manufactured originates in that region. Long Island natives depended on wampum trade the way native peoples elsewhere traded in peltries. Wampum production peaked during the early and middle seventeenth century, the result of tensions among different tribal groups including Long Island groups and the Pequots, Niantics, and other competitors across Long Island Sound (Ceci 1990). Intra-Algonquian tensions were greatly exacerbated by the demand for wampum by English and Dutch colonists, in part for use as a form of money in the absence of European currencies. Grumet (1978) writes that both Pequot and (after the Pequot War) the English sought to control the manufacture of wampum shell beads produced by the Native peoples of eastern Long Island.

Evangelism. Eells (1993) explains the origin of the Poospatuck Reservation as part of the movement to establish permanent settlements for Native peoples, a movement initiated by the Rev. John Eliot of the Massachusetts Bay Colony—the “Apostle to the Indians.” The Massachusetts General Court in 1644 expressed its wish that Native peoples be evangelized, and an Act of Parliament in 1649 authorized colonies to raise and hold funds for such purpose. Eliot, who had learned Massachusett, a local Algonquian dialect, was active in establishing “praying Indian” towns at Natick, Nonantum, and elsewhere in the Bay Colony; Mashpee in the Plymouth Colony was established for the same purpose. Providing permanent settlement space for Christianized Indians, Eells explains,

...was the purpose of the exchange of deeds [with the Shinnecock] when Southampton, Long Island, was settled by Puritans from Lynn [Mass.], and the exchange agreed upon when William Smith established St. George’s Manor on the land of the Patchogue Indians, deeding them land for the Indian Town of Poospatuck. These were the first ‘Indian Reservations’” (Eells 1993:156).¹⁰

The English settlers on eastern Long Island also established Presbyterian churches for Native peoples in the 18th century (Treadwell 1992). The churches gave Native communities the political structure to transmit grievances back to the white masters through white ministers. The Rev. Azariah Horton, a Presbyterian minister born in 1715, preached to the Long Island Indians in the 1740s under influence of the ‘Great Awakening.’ Horton arrived at Poospatuck on Jan. 12, 1742 (Eells 1993). There he established the first church at Poospatuck. After ten active years on Long Island, Horton was succeeded by the Rev. Samson Occum, a Mohegan from

¹⁰ According to Neal Trubowitz, an NPS research partner, Eells (1993) incorrectly interprets the Poospatuck Reservation to be a result of evangelism. Trubowitz argues, “the Poospatuck Reservation was created in the 17th century, well before any conscious effort to convert the Long Island Indians took place. William “Tangier” Smith’s set-aside of the reservation within his patent had nothing to do with John Eliot’s praying towns established in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Royal New York replaced Puritan Connecticut as the colonial authority over eastern Long Island after the conquest of New Amsterdam in 1664, before the Poospatuck Reservation was established two years later. It was the Great Awakening in the 18th century that prompted missionary efforts among the Long Island Indians” (letter to author, March 27, 2006).

Connecticut, who was followed by the Rev. Paul Cuffee, a Montauk-Unkechaug. Treadwell suggests that Native preachers had an easier time of “swaying” people to Christianity (Treadwell 1992:55). He adds that the church became a center of the reservation, providing a political structure for its government. The Presbytery established Native schools that taught reading and writing. The church building at Poosepatuck, “the Church of the Wildwood,” was destroyed by fire in 1986.

Wage Labor

Whaling. The first source of wage labor for the Unkechaug was in whaling. Native peoples had long made use of the whales that washed up on the beach or became stranded on sand bars. Ales (1979) relates that when a whale came ashore, a powwow was held and the fins and tails were offered as sacrifice. The meat was considered a delicacy. Ales writes that Native people were also accomplished whale hunters: when a whale was sighted, all the canoes that could be manned set out in pursuit. They drove wooden harpoons into the whale’s hide, attached by a short line to wooden floats or dregs, which were supposed to slow the whale’s flight. Salwen (1978) finds little evidence of whaling in precontact times: perhaps the Montaukett practice described by Ales began after contact. At any rate, the English settlers on Long Island, who sought whale oil, were quick to realize the Natives people’s value as whale hunters and used them to hunt whales. By 1650, Native crews were manning English boats, and cruising along the coasts for weeks at a time in search of offshore whales (Ales 1979:81-82). The Native use of tails and fins for sacrifice must explain the provision in a deed to Montauk Point that grants the Montauks rights to the tails and fins of all drift whales. Another account (Shaw 1895) indicates a Native practice of taking whales from the Fire Island beach at Whalehouse Point.

The Unkechaug began working as whalers for Englishmen of property in the late 1600s. Gonzalez (1983), citing several agreements between Unkechaugs and colonists, writes that the town records are full of agreements between white entrepreneurs and Native fishermen to hire on for season as whalers or fishermen. Some Unkechaugs hired out as individuals, others in groups. They were paid for their labor by sharing the catch. The agreements take the form of indentures. Gonzalez cites Tangier Smith's accounts of whaling indentures, whereby he hired Native men to whale for him and in exchange, gave them clothing, corn, powder, leather, etc. At the same time, the Unkechaug had difficulty pursuing their traditional subsistence fishing activities. Chief Wallace told researchers in 2004 that Unkechaug petitioned the colonial court to order the town of Brookhaven to cease interfering with their whaling business. Chief Wallace said, "They were stealing the boats and the catches." Gonzalez cites the apparent remedy: New York State records reveal a 1676 order "granting liberty to the Unchechaug Indians, to whale or fish on their own account" (Gonzalez 1983:II-14.) On the related subject of land-takings, Chief Lone Otter writes that in the late 1600s, a group of Unkechaug chiefs visited the Governor of New York: they said to him " 'Great Father, stop your people from taking our land.' The Governor assured them that he would take care of the problem" (Treadwell 1992:51). Treadwell notes dryly that the governor took care of the problem by rewarding Tangier Smith with a patent for the land.

Work for the Floyds. The Floyd estate reached its highest level of productivity from the 1830s through 1860s, with many slaves and Native people working in the fields. This was a diversified operation: the owners built schooners which they used to ship the estate's cattle, wool, cordwood, flaxseed, and dairy products to the New York market. Cornelia Floyd Nichols (1940) wrote that the place "hummed with spinning of wool and linen, candle making, churning and the

making of sausages, lard and head cheese.” Farm income was supplemented by other businesses such as shipping, whaling, and mercantile interests. All this activity depended upon the labor of Unkechaugs and slaves. Beginning in the 18th and most extensively in the 19th century, the Unkechaug labored on the Floyd estate. Unkechaug labor commonly took the form of indentured service. Slavery ended in New York State in 1827, but not until 1843 did the Floyds end indentured service and other forms of servitude (Gonzalez 1983:IV-9). Gonzalez gives as an example Martha, half Native and half Negro, who was ‘bound’ to the Floyds as a child, for which her parents received fifty dollars. At age 18 the contract ended; she was freed and given a ‘freedom suit’ (Gonzalez 1983:IV-9).

Guillaume (1998) has examined documents in the Floyd archive for her article comparing the lives of Unkechaug women with those of Floyd women. Guillaume argues that through all the decades of oppressive social relations and despite intermarriage between Unkechaug and both blacks and whites, the Unkechaug “resisted patterns of Euro-American domination” and have persisted as a Native people (Guillaume 1998:78). Women leaders of the community played key roles in this partly matriarchal society. Guillaume argues that despite the inferior social position of the Unkechaug to the Floyds, Unkechaug women sustained greater traditions of power within gender than did the Floyd women. While the Floyd women kept to acceptably feminine spheres of activity (e.g., childrearing, household management, volunteer work, and literary pursuits), Unkechaug women maintained the Algonquian tradition of *skunksquaws*, or female co-sachems and wise women. One of the Unkechaug women discussed by Guillaume is Hannah Ben, a 19th-century figure who also appears in the Floyd family literature. Ben lived in a cabin off the reservation that may have been located within the present-day boundaries of the Floyd estate.

In 19th century, Unkechaug women served the Floyds as laundresses, cooks, and nurses, and men provided farm labor. Gonzalez (1983) found more evidence of female than male labor for the Floyds. The Floyds also had African labor on the estate, slave labor until 1827. Perhaps that population provided most of the farm labor. The Unkechaug gradually intermarried with the African American population, and in some cases with EuroAmericans. Thus their ethnicity became mixed. Gonzalez (1983) feels that the change of name for the people from Unkechaug to Poosepatuck signifies a blurring of cultural identity. People of various bloodlines and cultural identities lived at Poosepatuck and their common identity was more geographical than cultural, hence the disuse of the cultural term Unkechaug. The question of bloodlines and Native American status is discussed extensively in the literature on Long Island Native peoples, especially Unkechaug and Shinnecock. John Strong (1998), for example, shows how blurred bloodlines, and the consequent fact that many Unkechaug and Shinnecock people look black, has been used to conclude that “real Indians” no longer exist on Long Island. Chief Lone Otter (Treadwell 1992) offers an explanation for his people’s intermarriage with black slaves. He writes, “the Indians were quick to observe better treatment of black slaves than of themselves... The Unkechaug noted if a black man or woman became ill, he or she would be nursed back to health with the best of care. If a Native American domestic became ill, they were sent out to fend for themselves... the Indians saw the writing on the wall and saw something had to be done to survive. We joined the black slaves in matrimony” (Treadwell 1992:53).

In the 20th century, these questions over blood led to a crisis over the Unkechaug tenure at Poosepatuck Reservation. Ernest Eells, who researched the Long Island Native peoples’ historic relationship to Christianity in the 1930s, took the lead in persuading the state education department to reopen the school at Poosepatuck, following a decision to close the school in

response to a representation by William S. Dana, son of Katherine Floyd Dana. Eells later helped defend the Unkechaug against a lawsuit brought by Dana in 1936 that sought to remove certain native residents from the Poosepatuck Reservation (Eells 1993). Judge Richard W. Hawkins of the Suffolk County Supreme Court dismissed Dana's petition, finding that the Smith deed to the Unkechaug in 1700 gave them and their descendants the right to live there forever. Judge Hawkins further found that "the fact that they are not full-blooded Indians would not in my opinion bar them" from their rights as Unkechaug descendants (Patchogue Advance 1936). The decision provided a legal basis for state recognition of the Poosepatuck Indian Reservation. Controversy over blood has persisted among the Unkechaug down to the present day. Chief Lone Otter (Treadwell 1992) describes in his book a crisis in the 1970s when, in his view, non-reservation people infiltrated the tribal government to gain access to federal funds then flowing to the reservation, which led to a lawsuit against these interlopers by the minority who had blood rights. Treadwell says it was the first case of a sovereign Native American nation requesting help from the courts of the United States to resolve an internal problem.

It must be noted that the question of tribal identity has great political consequence. Groups like the Unkechaug and the Shinnecock may not have been tribes at the time of contact but their descendants fight to establish or to maintain their tribal status. In 2005, for example, the Shinnecock won a U.S. District Court case (*New York v. Shinnecock Indian Nation*) in which Judge Thomas C. Platt ruled that they had been a tribe in 1640 when the English first settled Southampton, and had been a tribe ever since. The court found that groups like the Shinnecock did not need to have federal recognition to be considered a tribe for legal purposes. The case had to do with a Shinnecock effort to construct a casino on land outside the Shinnecock reservation; the town and the state brought the action against the tribe, alleging that they were

not a tribe because they had not been granted federal recognition and therefore could not operate outside state law by building and operating a casino on land outside the reservation.¹¹ The Unkechaug and Shinnecock both have state recognition as tribes.



Figure 1

Family of Poosepatucks on Trail

William Walker (in front) and other Poosepatucks (also a dog) on a woodland path between Poosepatuck Creek and Second Neck Creek, near the Poosepatuck village on Poosepatuck Creek, Mastic, Long Island.

Smithsonian Institution

¹¹ The opinion included a finding that the case satisfied the Montoya and Golden Hill line of cases which indicate that a Native American tribe is not subject to state and federal regulations in efforts to develop land the tribe owns, even if that land lies outside the reservation. In this case, the judge noted that the site is part of the Shinnecocks' aboriginal territory and that Shinnecock have lived in the area for hundreds of years.

Dr. Francis Harper, known for his extensive photographic documentation of Native peoples of the Okefenokee Swamp in Georgia and Florida, created the images above and following of Poosepatucks in the years 1909 and 1910 (Figures 1-8).

Location and Social Organization of the Contemporary Unkechaug Community



Figure 2
Joe Ward and His Wife.

Poosepatuck village on Poosepatuck Creek, near Mastic, Long Island. Image dated November 14, 1909 Smithsonian Institution.

The Unkechaug today maintain their Poosepatuck Reservation, an approximately 50-acre site, located in Mastic, between Eleanor Avenue and Poosepatuck Creek. They are recognized as the Unkechaug Nation by the State of New York (Guillaume 1996). Guillaume (1996) describes a population on the reservation of five core families and a total of 250 people. Many other Unkechaug live off the reservation. The community makes some income with retail businesses in which the key attraction is tax-free tobacco products.

The community is governed by a Board of Land Trustees and a tribal council headed by a chief who presides over tribal council meetings and ceremonies (Guillaume 1996). Treadwell describes the Chief as a “public relations man, think-tank, mediator, and judge.” The Chief has the tie-breaker vote at meetings. The terms of the three land trustees are staggered, “so that continuity can be sustained” (Treadwell 1992:67). They serve three-year terms, the Chief,

Treasurer, and Secretary each serve one-year terms. The tribal council enforces Unkechaug constitutional law and administers local and state Native American programs (Guillaume 1996). Gaynell Stone Levine, of the Suffolk County Archaeological Association, said that the present Chief, Harry Wallace, was a relative newcomer to the Unkechaug community, and had published a book on his family history to establish his credentials for leadership (telephone conversation with author, February 2, 2004).



Figure 3
Joe Ward Spearing Eels at the Mouth of Poosepatuck Creek.

Image dated February 22, 1910
Smithsonian Institution.

Rituals, Celebrations, and Gatherings of Continued Importance

The Unkechaug traditionally get together with Montauk and Shinnecock to eat, dance, and socialize. The June Meeting is a three-day festival held at Poosepatuck Reservation on the second weekend of June. It is shared by the Unkechaug, Shinnecock, and Montauk peoples, who celebrate green corn and the ripening of corn in the summer to follow. Also called the Feast of the Moon of Flowers or the Feast of the Strawberry Moon, the June Meeting lapsed in the 1930s, according to Donald Treadwell (1992) but Strong (1998b) reports a revival, which Chief Harry Wallace, first elected in 1994, has encouraged. Guillaume (1996) describes it as a post-Christian adaptation of an ancient practice honoring all Long Island Native ancestors. Flowers are displayed that symbolize the sacred Unkechaug colors, particularly purple and white lilacs. White, red, green, and black are also displayed (Guillaume 1996). Guillaume cites an autumn corn festival that originated as a yearly tribute of

“two yellow ears of corn” to the Smiths, as specified in the Smith deed. It can include powwow dancing, naming ceremonies, and the installation of tribal officers (Guillaume 1996:498).



Figure 4
*Tom Hill Holding Eel Spear Near his Boat Landing;
Net Reel, Row Boats and Duck Decoys Nearby.*

Image dated April 2, 1910 (cracked glass negative)
Smithsonian Institution.

Organizations and Associations

We are unaware of organizations and associations other than the tribal government.

Current Activities

John Strong (1997) reports that both Shinnecock and Unkechaug are active on language recovery projects. Strong notes that for both Shinnecock and Unkechaug, having a land base and a system of tribal governance serves as a common bond uniting the people and sustaining their

Indian identity. Some ancient religious rituals and beliefs are also being restored, e.g. sweat lodge ceremonies at Shinnecock. Many rituals and beliefs were never lost but incorporated into Christian observances. An example from the 18th century is the Rev. Paul Cuffee's adaptation of the traditional June Meeting to include a Christian service. Guillaume (1996) reports efforts at Poosapatuck to revive the Unkechaug language and sweat lodge ceremonies.

Chief Wallace (2004) indicated that the Unkechaug are reviving wampum manufacture, which involves harvesting the black quahog shells in the general area (i.e., Forge River, Moriches Bay, the strait between Smith's Point and Fire Island, and the Carmans River estuary. Chief Wallace showed the researchers evidence of decorative shell carvings by tribal artisans, and raised the possibility of selling such products in gift shops on Fire Island. Guillaume

(1996:498) adds that "issues of tax-free tobacco sales, of gaming enterprises, and of other entrepreneurial efforts on the reservation, as well as the continuing need for improvements in water and sewerage services, have forced nonnative authorities to deal seriously with a previously 'invisible' tribe."



Figure 5
Tom Hill Setting Out Decoys on Forge River.

November 14, 1909
Smithsonian Institution.

Natural And Cultural Resources Utilized

As indicated above, the Unkechaug use, and/or have ambitions to use, the water resources of the Forge River, Moriches Bay, the strait between Smith's Point and Fire Island, and the Carmans River estuary for wampum production. Chief Wallace also indicated a wish to use portions of Fire Island (within Smith Point County Park) to build a clam harvesting business. As he described it, this project requires raising clams in the Forge River next to the reservation, then rinsing the clams in clean ocean water, for which they would like to have access to the bay from an undeveloped site within Smith Point County Park. He did not specify a precise location. Chief Wallace strongly expressed a desire for privileged access to Pattersquash Island for ceremonial purposes and construction there of a sweat lodge.



Figure 6
Tom Hill on his Sloop.

Forge River, Mastic, Long Island, New York.
April 2, 1910
Smithsonian Institution.

Gonzalez (1983) conducted interviews with several residents of Poosepatuck. One recalled life there during his youth in the 1940s. Some of the men worked as duck hunting guides and clammers. Poosepatuck men also made duck decoys. "Small game such as pheasant, quail, possum, raccoon, as well as waterfowl such as ducks and geese, and turtles were hunted and to a lesser extent continue to be hunted today" (Gonzalez 1983:8). The same informant told Gonzalez that he "felt very close to the land, knowing every tree, plant and animal on it." He said that in his youth, "everyone had gardens and most people knew which plants to use for healing" (Gonzalez 1983:9).

Cultural Values With Regard To FIIS

Chief Wallace expressed little contemporary interest in the Floyd estate, and he downplayed the historical relationship as one of “labor” that did not have positive associations in the community. His view on this seems consistent with the views of Bernice Guillaume, as expressed in her article “Women’s Lives at the William Floyd Estate and the Poosepatuck Indian



Figure 7
Uncle Ed Edwards in the Doorway of his Cabin, and his Son.

Poosepatuck village on Poosepatuck Creek, near Mastic, Long Island.
Image produced May 9, 1909
Smithsonian Institution.

Reservation.” For example, Guillaume sates that Rosalie Delafield Floyd (1877-1943) “expressed a jocular disdain for the socioeconomic conditions of Poosepatuck women” (Guillaume 1998:79). Similarly, Katharine Floyd Dana (1835-1886), in her writings,

“augmented the perception of n’er-do-well ‘Negro Indians’,” (Guillaume 1998:80) and her sister Sarah Kirkland Floyd Turner (1837-1923) wrote in *Sunny Memories of Mastic* that ‘Indians and darkeys had married and intermarried till they had sunk into a mixed race weak in body and mind’ (Guillaume 1998:81)”. By way of contrast, the Unkechaug skunksquaw Karla Arita Miler (Red Corn Woman, 1945-) told Guillaume, “...the historical relationship between the Floyd estate and the Poosepatuck Reservation was clearly one of plantation owner to indentured servants and slaves” (Guillaume 1998:87).



Figure 8
*William Walker’s Sod Hut in Poosepatuck Village on Poosepatuck Creek,
Near Mastic, Long Island.*

Dog kennel of similar construction on the side of hut (cracked glass negative).
Image created December 25, 1909
Smithsonian Institution.

Chief Wallace was more interested in “Fireplace,” a site along the Carmans River on Bellport Bay, than in the William Floyd Estate. Fireplace is not within FIIS boundaries. One historical account (Shaw 1895) indicates that Fireplace was the former name for Brookhaven village. Chief Wallace cited historical uses of Fireplace for what he called “traditional use,” which might be powwows or something to do with whaling. Shaw relates the following about Fireplace in his story, “The bogy of the beach:”

Early in the last century a whaling crew, half Indians, had their hut east of Quanch. They would land and come off at the point, where the water’s deep, called Whale House Point. From the days of earliest settlement, whaling crews used to go on the beach... would live there during the season and watch the sea day by day, ready to launch their boats and push off whenever they saw a whale blow. Supplies were brought in from the north side of the island, and fires were built on Long Point as a signal for the crew to come off--now Ireland’s Point, which pushes out into the bay a mile west of Carmans River. When a fire flashed up at night, part of the crew would row across the bay heading directly for the fire. After putting supplies in the boat and getting ready to return, they would throw sand on the fire to put it out. Soon after it disappeared, a fire would blaze up on the beach to guide them back. In that way Fire Place got its old name, “a name that had something behind it and never ought to have been changed [to Brookhaven]” (Shaw 1895:41-42).

Chief Wallace also seemed interested in the name of the Carmans River: several times he explained that native people had called it the Connecticut River, “which means long river.” Speaking of Fireplace, Carmans River, and Pattersquash Island, he stressed “the whole area has tremendous significance for us.” Only Pattersquash Island, however, lies within the seashore boundary.

FLOYD FAMILY

History of the Family and the Estate

The descendants of William Floyd gave their family home of eight generations to the National Park System to protect and preserve a material family legacy remarkable for its long endurance. Floyds began acquiring land at the site in the 1680s and built the first portion of the house in 1724. William Floyd, the family member for whom the estate is now named, was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. The estate was known to the family simply as Mastic, or Mastic House. Located on the south shore of Long Island on Moriches Bay, the William Floyd Estate was operated as a plantation using slave and free labor until the 1870s. Originally stretching six miles along the coast, most of the land was sold in succeeding years. The 613 acre "Home Neck" estate remained in the family and was used by family members as a summer home until the 1970s. This estate was donated to the NPS and became an authorized addition to FIIS in 1965.

William Floyd's seventeenth-century forbear, the elder Richard Floyd, emigrated from Wales to Setauket, Long Island, the original English settlement in Brookhaven town, first appearing in the Setauket records in 1668. Richard purchased a parcel on Bellport Bay about 1674 in the Old Purchase section west of the Carmans River. Floyd later exchanged his lot (No. 25, upland and meadow) with Joseph Davis for Davis's lot in the "New Purchase in Unkachaug, Number 27—in a little Neck Eastward of Unkachaug upland and Meadow" (quoted in Gonzalez, p. II-4). Floyd added to his holdings in 1684, when he gained most of "Padersquash" (or Pattersquash) Neck, thereafter known as Floyd's Neck.

The largest Floyd purchase was made by the younger Richard Floyd in 1718 from the heirs of William "Tangier" Smith, the patentee of St. George's Manor. This purchase added an

approximately 4,400-acre tract to the family's existing holdings. Richard's son Nicoll Floyd inherited the estate grounds and built the first segment of the house, according to family tradition, in 1724. Transportation was primarily by sea, as the first highways from New York City--North, Middle, and South Country roads--were not established until 1733. The estate comprised several thousand acres of salt marsh and deciduous upland forest. The farm raised livestock as well as crops. Farm products--flaxseed, cordwood and cattle--were shipped from landings on the property. Following Native American practice, the Floyds used menhaden fish as fertilizer for the sandy soils. Native American shell middens provided another source of fertilizer as well as mortar.

The Floyds followed a practice commonly used at the time on Long Island to clear and separate fields. They dug ditches along a field boundary and laid "lop-tree" hedges over the ditch spoils, a process described by Torres-Reyes (1973:8). Nicoll Floyd married Col. William "Tangier" Smith's daughter, Tabitha, five years after building the house. Nicoll and Tabitha died during a typhoid epidemic in 1755 and their land holdings and possessions were divided among their surviving two sons and six daughters. William inherited all the Mastic lands; his brother Charles received an equivalent inheritance to the west. Inherited property included slaves, outbuildings, and associated business shares. Each of the daughters was left with 650 pounds of currency and a black maid.

William Floyd became a delegate to the First Continental Congress in 1774. When war broke out, British forces quickly brought Long Island under their control. Over the next few years, much of the countryside suffered depredations from Tories, English troops, and marauding raiders. Prominent rebels, the Floyds fled to Middletown, Connecticut, where William's wife Hanna Jones Floyd died. Upon return to Mastic in 1783, they found their estate in a depleted

condition. What the British soldiers failed to strip, Tories had stolen--furniture, farming tools, bedding, and clothing. The fields were bare and the house uninhabitable (Nichols 1940, Torres-Reyes 1973). William remarried, revived farming operations, and restored the house to habitability. When William returned to political affairs, his son Nicoll took on increasing control of the Mastic estate. William acquired a new estate in Westernville, New York (near Utica), in 1803, leaving Mastic to Nicoll.

The Mastic estate reached its highest level of productivity during Nicoll's tenure, with many slaves and Indians working in the fields. The Floyds built shallow-draft schooners on a lot near Home Creek called "Great Boat Place." They shipped cattle, wool, cordwood, flaxseed, and dairy products to the New York market. Cornelia Floyd Nichols (1940), the last Floyd to live in the house, wrote that the place "hummed with spinning of wool and linen, candle making, churning and the making of sausages, lard and head cheese." Farm income was supplemented by other businesses such as shipping, whaling, and mercantile interests. Nicoll Floyd died in 1852; his son John Gelston Floyd became a lawyer, serving three terms as a state senator and Congressman. The land continued to be farmed during that period, but at an increasing loss. After John Gelston Floyd's death in 1881, the 2,200 acre estate was divided among his heirs. J. G. Floyd Junior received the house, encumbered with mortgages, and 687 acres. This time period marked the transition of the estate from working farm to summer residence (Torres-Reyes 1973). By 1909, it had evolved from a working farm to a summer home and hunting preserve, the owners clearing and maintaining new fields specifically to promote wildlife. These uses continued until David Floyd Weld, Cornelia Floyd Nichols, and her children, William Floyd Nichols and Mary Blake Nichols Weld, donated the estate to the United States in 1965. The donation was made subject to a 25-year leaseback under which the family continued to enjoy use

of the house and grounds. The family stocked the fields for hunting during the 1970s and 1980s, exercising their rights under the leaseback until 1991. Burial rights continue to the second generation after that of the donors. The National Park Service opened the Floyd estate to the public in June 1982.

Physical Description of the Estate

The William Floyd Estate includes the house, several outbuildings, a family cemetery, and 613 acres of grounds on Mastic Neck, also known as Floyds' Neck. The estate is reached by way of the William Floyd Parkway, a north-south artery, by traveling for several miles through



Figure 9
"The Silent Dawn" at Mastic

Katherine Floyd Dana 1849(?)
William Floyd Estate Collection

the residential, somewhat confusing streets of Mastic Beach. The site occupies shoreline property along the Forge River and Moriches Bay on the South Shore of Long Island.

The house is perhaps the most prominent feature. It is a long, low, plain wooden house consisting of a symmetrical center-entrance section with an end-gable roof and a one-story porch. A wing

that may be the oldest part of the house extends east of the main section and a late-19th century addition extends to the north, at the rear of the main section (Figures 9 and 10). The estate is remarkable for many reasons, not least that the house is oriented toward the water rather than toward the road. That may be why the approach by land seems so obscure; after wandering through the narrowing streets of Mastic Beach one suddenly comes upon the public entrance, which is itself not historic and has no visual relationship to the estate's important physical features. This is in contrast to so many old houses, such as Sagtikos Manor, that face roads that



Figure 10
Mastic September 12, 1856

Katherine Floyd Dana
 William Floyd Estate Collection

have since become busily traveled highways. The primary orientation of the Floyd house to Moriches Bay signifies that for much of its history, travel by water was more important than overland travel.

In front of and at the sides of the house is a lawn area an acre or two in extent, very plain in landscape style and

lacking any horticultural or gardening effects. This is in keeping with its 19th century appearance as shown in Figures 9 and 10. The house, almost a mile distant from the marshy shoreline, looks toward the water across a historically accurate view corridor through the woods. The maintenance of this vista preserves the family's historical ability to view seagoing traffic from their windows. In its prime as an agricultural estate, the land was mostly kept in open fields. The

60 acres of open fields that remain on the property are the legacy of its 20th century history as a family hunting preserve: enough land was kept open amidst the expanding woods to maintain the ideal habitat conditions for wildlife, especially for birds. According to Head Ranger Richard Stavdal, these fields must be maintained by the Park Service to keep them open to their circa-1975 dimensions. Elsewhere second-growth deciduous woodland trees prevail except for about 175 acres of salt marsh (interview with author, October 16, 2003).

Inside the house the family's furnishings and some other possessions are displayed more or less as they were left to the Park Service. The attic was a treasure store of relics since removed to a professionally managed archive located in a separate building on the grounds.

Various outbuildings remain on the property, ten in all (Torres-Reyes 1973). Not far from the house is a family cemetery, a small enclosure within a fence with numerous headstones, as befits a homestead in continuous occupancy by one family for eight generations. A noted addition to these family headstones are several wooden crosses painted white that stand at one side of the cemetery; they mark slave graves and bear only the first names of the deceased.

The house and grounds are open to the public on Fridays, Saturdays, and Sundays through the warmer months of the year. The grounds reopen to public use during the winter months beginning in January. The late fall season is reserved for maintenance of the grounds, much of which is the extensive mowing necessary to preserve the fields and the vista. Much of the annual visitation is comprised of school groups. Richard Stavdal estimated total annual visitation at 6,000 to 8,000 (interview with author, October 16, 2003).

Rituals And Gatherings Historically And Currently

The estate ceased to be an agricultural operation about the year 1894. Thereafter, it was mainly used as a summer residence and late fall and winter hunting preserve. In the 20th

century, the family's traditional Thanksgiving gathering at Mastic included a hunt. The only remaining ritual use of the house is for burials of family members (burial rights terminate once the generation following the donor generation have all died.)

Historic And Current Activities

Historically the activities at the estate were those one might expect of a socially prominent family: summer leisure, fall holidays around the dinner table, fall and winter hunting for the gentlemen, entertaining callers and houseguests, and so on. Up through the late 19th century, the estate was a self-sufficient agricultural enterprise that involved all sorts of inter-related work and leisure activities—leisure, of course, for the family; mainly work for the slaves, indentured Unkechaug workers and other servants. Cornelia Floyd Nichols's *Letters to my Great-Great Granddaughter* is a poignant memoir of the paradisiacal summer seasons enjoyed by Floyd children in the 1880s and '90s. On the day of leaving the city for Mastic, Nichols writes,

...we could hardly dress ourselves. We jumped up and down on the beds waving our little flannel petticoats around our heads and shouting, "We're going to Mastic; We're going to Mastic."

[And upon arrival--] Ah! The smell of HOME. Who shall say of what it is compounded? Of the lingering smoke of wood fires of two hundred years; of sun-warmed shingles; of winter mould; of old mahogany; of sweetgrass from the attic; hints of rising bread from the kitchen; and all infused and mellowed with seasoning of the sea as it has drifted, year after year, across the salt meadows, enveloping the old house.... Off with the trappings of civilization and on with the old clothes always waiting in Mastic closets. We gather up baskets and scissors, pause a moment in the kitchen to attach a pan of gingerbread which Sarah of Poospatuck has just taken out of the oven, then 'out into the brimming, sun-bathed world' (Nichols 1934:6).

Mrs. Nichols's memoir continues on in this vein of enchantment, paying particular attention to the outdoor wildlife, the natural beauty, and the fascination with attic treasures. It is a wonderful account of a lost time that deserves to be published.

Some of Katherine Floyd Dana's mid-19th century artworks (Figures 11 and 12), held in the William Floyd Estate Collections, indicate that members of the family used the Great South Beach for recreation, sightseeing and to rescue shipwreck victims (Katherine's grandfather, Nicoll Floyd, held the office of Wreck Master [Torres-Reyes 1973]).

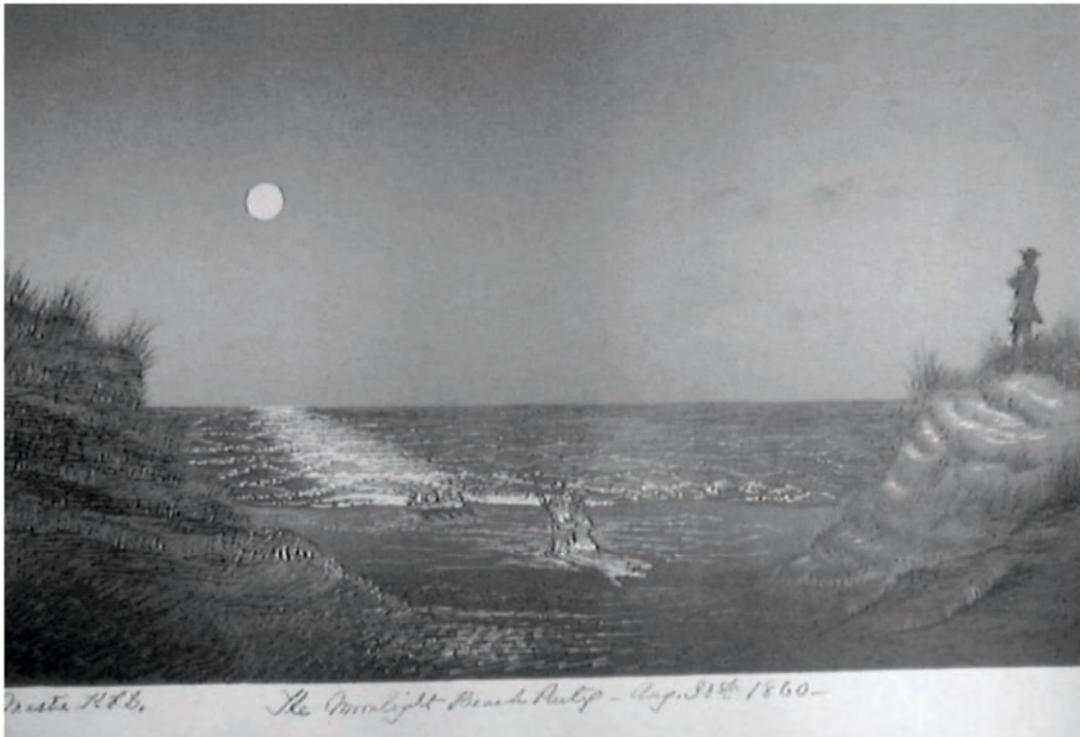


Figure 11
The Moonlight Beach Party August 30th 1860

Katherine Floyd Dana
William Floyd Estate Collection

Today there is little family activity at the estate. Family members visited the estate in 2000 and 2002, the latter visit by William Floyd Weld, the former Governor of Massachusetts,

who visited the grounds with his children during the Christmas season. The most recent family burial at the estate, of David Gelston Nichols, occurred in 1998. Members of the public visit the house and grounds for tours. Neighbors bicycle on the grounds and come in the afternoons to look at the abundant deer. A growing wintertime constituency comes for such activities as hiking and bird watching.¹² There

may be some hanging-out in the woods by neighborhood youth. Park Service staff think some of the fairly frequent woodland fires on the grounds are the result of “kids” hanging out.

Woodland fires have recently declined in number; staff say they run in cycles as new cohorts of neighborhood children “discover” the estate.

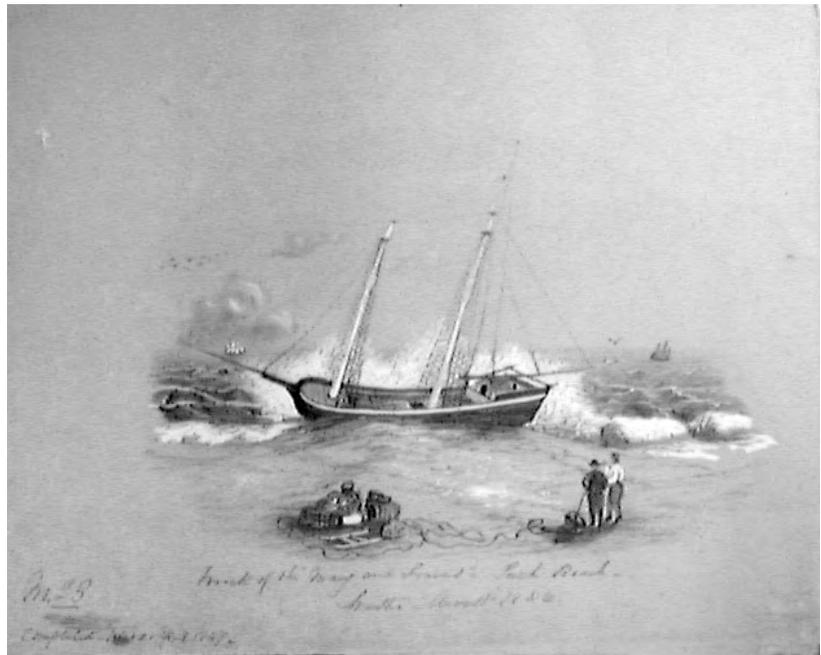


Figure 12
*Wreck of the Mary and David – South Beach
Mastic, August 1846*

Katherine Floyd Dana
William Floyd Estate Collection

Rules And Regulations

No one, whether a Floyd descendant or not, is permitted to enter the house on one’s own, but must take a ranger-guided tour. When the estate is closed to visitation—Monday through Thursday from May through October, and in late fall and early spring—no one is permitted to

¹² Winter is the only season when one is safe from ticks, which are prolific on the grounds.

walk on the grounds. Bicycling is at least tacitly permitted. Visitors are encouraged to avoid the lower acreage during the tick and mosquito seasons.

Natural And Cultural Resources Utilized On The Estate

The family's use of natural and cultural resources of the estate is essentially a closed record. Among the cultural resources used by the public, mainly for visits, are the house and its contents, the family cemetery, and some of the trails.

Cultural Values Of The Family With Regard To The Estate

The Floyd family's experience of living here amid a rich natural habitat is an important aspect of the estate's history, and one that receives less official emphasis than the William Floyd story. We spoke with John Treadwell Nichols II, Cornelia Floyd Nichols's grandson, who is an author of fiction and a fervent environmentalist. Mr. Nichols said that both his father and grandfather had become prominent naturalists under the influence of the Mastic estate. His grandfather, John Treadwell Nichols, was a curator of fishes at the American Museum of Natural History: "Many of his writings are still around. If you go you'll find the John T. Nichols Room in the museum. All the pickled fishes..." (telephone interview with author, February 2, 2004). Mr. Nichols's father, David Gelston Nichols, was a naturalist as well. Nichols spoke of the importance of the Mastic experience in framing this family interest in the natural world:

Mastic was very powerful for my parents, uncle, grandparents. Dad was the last person born in the house, in 1916. It was hugely powerful for my father and grandfather, my uncles, Aunt Molly and Uncle David Floyd. My earliest memories are of spending summer out there. It was an extraordinary house to have access to--full of history. Some of my earliest memories are just arriving there, then running around house looking for bats. My father would teach us about bats, whipporwills, every kind of living thing around the estate. Grandfather was

also a sophisticated naturalist. It was a veritable panoply of amazing wildlife--the grounds were so rich... I remember there would be hoptoad migrations on the road down to Indian Point--thousands of toads. There were box turtles, a huge range of birds and wildlife (interview with author, February 2, 2004).

The estate's importance for the family is a mix of cultural and natural values. The family is proud of the generation now gone who made the decision to preserve the estate's legacy for the public and the nation by donating it to the National Park System. Based on our interview with John Nichols, the state of wild nature preserved within the 613 acres is possibly more important to the family than the cultural resources contained in the house and the archive. The author asked John Nichols whether he thought the interpretive program at the Floyd Estate should emphasize American history, as it now appears to do, or its history as a natural and cultural environment. He thought the latter, saying that the major intention in donating the estate, rather than selling it for real estate development, was that "my grandfather and father were such serious naturalists and conservationists. They felt it was important to try to salvage that terrain as a wild place."

I think the house is interesting culturally and historically...although I don't know how distinguished all the Floyds are... What's really important about the place is that land and the natural world... that my father and my grandfather loved that natural world so much, and Mastic was the wellspring that gave them the impetus in the wider world to promote that everywhere" (telephone interview with author, February 2, 2004).

The family cemetery is clearly a sacred ground. Mr. Nichols said of it,

I love that little cemetery in Mastic. You can walk in and see that little sacred ground [with the graves of] family members going back hundreds of years. That [kind of continuity] is not a normal sensation for most American families... There's a very powerful connection to identity that comes from preserving those roots. I think that identity can be transcribed onto a wider, public level--that we all feel proud of in some way" (interview with author, February 2, 2004).

BAYMEN

The major available source of ethnographic information on baymen is Nancy Solomon and her non-profit group, Long Island Traditions. Solomon and her group have been studying baymen and their traditions since 1988. Much of Solomon's research is on the bay waters in Nassau County, especially around Freeport, but she has also collected information on Captree Island and nearby islands in the westerly portion of our study area. Long Island Traditions has conducted extensive oral histories with active and retired baymen, including a number working out of Bay Shore, Patchogue, and Sayville, whose activities would be within our study area.

The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service's study of habitats in the New York Bight (1997) provides a useful overview of the aquatic ecosystems and the fisheries they support in Great South Bay. We reproduce portions of the study relevant to Great South Bay in the following paragraphs to inform readers of this report of the ecological context of the baymen's activities.

The shallow waters of Great South Bay are a highly productive and regionally significant habitat for marine finfish, shellfish, and wildlife. This productivity is due, in part, to the many salt marshes and mudflats fringing the mainland and the barrier islands; the estuarine habitats around stream and river outlets on the mainland; and the sandy shoals and extensive eelgrass (*Zostera marina*) beds that characterize the open water areas of the bay. As a result, Great South Bay has a commercial and recreational fishery of regional importance, affording essential habitat to many economically valuable finfish species that are estuarine-dependent during at least one stage in their life histories. Annual fish surveys in the bays by the New York Department of Environmental Conservation have shown a great diversity of fish species; during eight years of surveys, 85 species have been identified, about 40 of which occur regularly in the bay. The most abundant fish species in the bay, accounting for over 90 percent of all fish caught, are silversides

(*Menidia spp.*), killifish (*Fundulus spp.*), menhaden (*Brevoortia tyrannus*), and bay anchovy (*Anchoa mitchilli*). Forage fish species are found throughout the various aquatic habitats in the bay at different times of the year (USFWS 1997).

The abundance of forage species makes the bay an important feeding and nursery area for a number of estuarine-dependent, commercially and recreationally important species, including summer flounder, winter flounder, bluefish, striped bass, weakfish, tomcod, and tautog. Adult striped bass and juvenile bluefish congregate in the deeper waters of Fire Island inlet. Bluefish is the most abundant piscivore (fish eater) in the bay. Winter flounder spawn in the bay from March to May and migrate offshore in the summer to avoid high temperatures. Summer flounder enter the bay in winter and spring and grow rapidly in the productive waters. The bay supports an economically significant shellfishery for northern quahog and is a minor spawning, nursery, and foraging area for blue crab (USFWS 1997).

The once well-known eastern oyster (*Crassostrea virginica*) fishery collapsed in the 1940s and '50s; that collapse was linked to algal blooms of a minute species that inhibited shellfish growth. These blooms were believed to be the result of high inputs of organic wastes, primarily from large-scale duck farms located on tributaries of the bay, especially in Moriches Bay. Although these discharges were reduced, the oysters failed to regain commercial population status; this was due, in part, to the reopening and maintenance dredging of Moriches Inlet in the 1950s. That action forever changed the salinity regime of the bay, which now favors the more saline-tolerant hard clam. Today, hard clams are the bay's principal commercial resource (USFWS 1997).

History

Since the early 1700s generations of commercial fishermen and baymen have worked the waters of Great South Bay. According to early historical accounts baymen harvested oysters, crabs, clams, eels and other seafoods using handmade traps and tools such as eel pots, crab pots and eel spears. One of the best known bay families is the Doxsee Family, which currently operates commercial clamming boats from Point Lookout in Nassau County. James H. Doxsee settled in Islip in the late 1600s, where he worked as a clammer and full-time bayman. Through the generations the Doxsee family hired other baymen to harvest the bay waters. In the mid-1800s they established Long Island's first clam processing plant, an operation that continued into the early 1900s. During the late 1800s the Doxsee family set up operations on Havemeyer Island, commonly known as the "fishermen's island" by local residents, placing pound traps, a complex series of nets tied to fixed posts, in the surrounding waters where they caught flounder, fluke, and other fish (Long Island Traditions 2003).

In her book *On the Bay* (1992), Nancy Solomon discusses the development of bay houses as an interdependency between mainland farmers and baymen. Farmers needed salt hay to feed their livestock, and much of it grew offshore, where it was only accessible to those with boats. Farmers would pay baymen to cut the offshore hay for them. In this regard, Shaw (1895) tells a cautionary tale of mainland farmers mowing and gathering sedge grasses on Fire Island, too busily to notice the approaching fog that would trap them on the island. The difficulty of making these foraging trips led baymen to construct shacks on the bay islands—bay houses, as they are known. Having a base of operations in the bay made harvesting the salt hay more efficient. The baymen built bay houses on town lands leased from the town. Baymen used the houses for shelter, equipment storage, and business and recreational pursuits (Solomon 1992). Within our

study area, Captree, Sexton, Havemeyer, and West Fire Islands are known to have had bay houses. East of West Fire Island, there are not so many marsh islands. Bay houses are still extant on Sexton and West Fire Islands, which are owned by the town of Islip. Baymen of Bay Shore, Patchogue, and other ports along Great South Bay built houses on Fire Island itself, at Oakleyville, Cherry Grove, Whalehouse Point, Long Cove, and perhaps other locations (Fletcher and Kintz 1979).

Shaw (1895) suggests that the baymen's work became more specialized and formal as the 19th century progressed. Looking back forty years, Shaw observed that in those days,

...there was no telling when a man set out from home how his day would be spent—he might go oystering or gunning, he might cast his nets or waste his time sailing in search of what he deemed better luck. Varying conditions of wind and weather and tide offered, one day, one thing, and the next day, something else; and what use a bay-man would make of his day grew out of these conditions and his own ambition (Shaw 1895:19).

According to Fletcher and Kintz (1979), the bay from Smith's Point to Nicoll's Point was one huge oyster field from the 1820s through the 1880s. The dredge was introduced in the 1850s, enabling baymen to gather oysters at an increased speed. Overexploitation led to an act in 1870 that prohibited the use of anything other than the tongs in taking oysters in the public beds of Great South Bay. By 1890 there were 25 oyster-packing houses on the south shore. Between 60,000 and 70,000 barrels of oysters were shipped out of the Great South Bay region annually, 40,000 to New York City and the rest to Europe.

Fletcher and Kintz (1979) cite tension in the 1890s between baymen and corporate interests. The baymen organized a protective league, led by William Underwood of Patchogue, who was tried and acquitted of trespassing on leased beds. Piracy of the leased beds continued, however. In response to increasing dependence on Connecticut waters, a state law of 1908

decreed that no oysters could be sold under the name Blue Point Oyster unless they had been planted and cultivated at least three months in the waters of Great South Bay.

From 1885 to 1945 baymen continued to work in the surrounding waters, building shelters on Captree, Havemeyer and Sexton Islands that are similar to the bay houses found in the waters of Hempstead, farther west (Long Island Traditions 2003). The modest one-room bay houses of Great South Bay had no docks, running water or other "modern" conveniences such as lamps or furniture. The baymen stayed at the "shacks" while working on the bay. George "Popeye" Waric caught and sold bait to the sport fishermen at the Wa Wa Yanda Club and also worked for the Doxsee, Hendriksen, Whitecap or Sunrise Fish Companies. Clammers, oysterers, scallopers and other commercial fishermen made their living at the bay houses, and sold their fish to clubs, hotels and the various fish companies. Both Whitecap and Sunrise Fish Companies used pound traps similar in design to those established by the Doxsee Company (Long Island Traditions 2003).

Baymen and bay houses played a role in "rum running," or the smuggling of liquor during Prohibition (1919 to 1933). Cargo ships carrying wine and liquor anchored offshore while baymen and other rum runners received the illegal merchandise and brought it to the bay islands where law enforcement was scarce. There was a coincidence of rum running and hotels and dance halls on some of the bay islands, especially in Nassau County. However, there was a Casino hotel on West Fire Island in the 1920s with plans for grander development (Fletcher and Kintz 1979).

One of the defining moments in the history of the islands and the baymen was the creation of Captree State Park. In the early 1920s Robert Moses, then Commissioner of Long Island State Parks, anchored his motor boat off Captree Island, while the creation of Jones Beach

State Park was underway. Moses was so taken with the natural landscape of Great South Bay that he submitted a proposal to then Governor Alfred E. Smith to create a state park at Captree. Moses' vision included the development of a public dock where large party and charter boats could take recreational fishermen out for a day of fishing. It also included plans to create a major boat channel so that large private boats could go for a day of ocean fishing without getting stuck in the shallow inlet waters. Extensive dredging was proposed to create this channel. These plans were approved and the project began in the late 1940s. The park was completed in 1952.

Building Captree State Park required an enormous alteration in the land mass of Havemeyer Island. When Robert Moses created the Captree boat channel, the point of Havemeyer Island was cut off, destroying several bay houses. In addition the baymen lost a valuable and fertile spawning area for fish and other marine life. More recently the marshlands have eroded due to a significant level of high-speed boat traffic (Long Island Traditions 2003).

From 1870 to 1917 many baymen engaged in commercial duck hunting, known as “market gunning.” Market gunners or commercial duck hunters also worked out of Captree Island until commercial hunting was outlawed in 1917. Millinery shops bought wild feathers for use in making women’s hats. Local restaurants and markets bought duck meat from the hunters. Market gunners made their own decoys, a skill passed down through families and among gunners (Solomon 1992). Solomon writes that market gunners stored their decoys, guns, shot and powder, and boats at a bay house, creating “duck hunter heaven,” in the words of a *Newsday* reporter in 1941 (Solomon 1992:28). Market gunning was outlawed in 1918 as a conservation measure. Thereafter baymen continued gunning for their own use and worked as guides for sport hunters. The guide industry declined after World War II (Solomon 1992).

Long Island Traditions (2004) reports some local residents and government officials attributing the loss of the oyster fishery to the use of the pesticide DDT during the 1950s and 1960s. In the 1970s, clamming was big in Great South Bay. A south shore resident said there were 15,000 licensed clammers in Babylon, Islip, and Brookhaven at that time. An Oakleyville resident recalled working as a bayman harvesting clams to make money during his college years, also in the 1970s. A Seaview resident interviewed by the author said,

...in the '70s, the clammers were so thick on the bay that you could jump from boat to boat sometimes. And the bay froze over in the winter of '76, from (unintelligible) to March. Guys would drive their trucks out onto the bay and cut a hole in the ice. Then they'd mark it with spray paint. Guys were walking from East Islip out to here. That's a sign of how good it was that they would do that in the winter.

Clams, scallops and blue-claw crabs have died or severely declined since then. Since that time finfish populations have also declined. According to the Fish and Wildlife Service's New York Bight habitat study, overexploitation of marine resources has resulted in population declines for economically valuable finfish, such as weakfish, and hard clams in Long Island waters. Degradation of water quality, especially by nonpoint source runoff, is of mounting concern. The Great South Bay is the receptacle for water from the more than a million people that live within the bay's drainage basin. Nonpoint sources dominate the releases into the bay, producing nutrient loading that is followed by eutrophication and increased levels of fecal bacteria, which in turn lead to closure of large segments of the bay to shellfishing and other water-related activities. These pollution effects are further exacerbated by intensive and competing human use factors that include commercial fishing, aquaculture, recreational boating, swimming, and commercial transportation and shipping (USFWS 1997). As a result of these environmental changes only a few baymen work full-time in Great South Bay. They trap killies,

eels, crabs and clams. The decline in commercial fishermen is typical of many south shore communities.

Due the deeper waters many baymen traditionally used pound trap nets until very recently. In 1997 a recreational boater ran into one-pound trap, which was placed in deep water but close to shore. The man was gravely injured although blood alcohol tests showed he was legally intoxicated. As a result of the accident the Town of Brookhaven passed a resolution prohibiting the use of pound traps, one of the most traditional methods of commercial fishing on Long Island. This seriously affected the livelihood of many baymen (Long Island Traditions 2003).

In 1985 with the appearance of the brown tide, an undetermined biological system that has destroyed the clams and scallops, most part time and full time baymen either retired or switched to catching crabs and killies. Numerous efforts were made by officials in Islip and Brookhaven to re-seed the clam and scallop beds but none bore fruit. In 2002 the Bluepoint Company of West Sayville shut down its clamming operations, which employed approximately 50 independent baymen. The Nature Conservancy won rights to oversee the underwater lands adjacent to the preserve, where they have prohibited commercial or recreational fishing or shell fishing. However, the conservancy is researching how to resuscitate the clam fishery.

As a result of these factors clamming is virtually nonexistent on a commercial basis. To address these issues the Brookhaven Baymen's Association participates in area hearings and planning committees including those held by the South Shore Estuary Reserve Council, the National Marine Fisheries Service Mid-Atlantic regional meetings, along with state and town legislative meetings that affect their livelihoods. They also organize public events at area festivals when requested, and participate in Long Island Traditions' arts-in-education programs.

They personally meet with their elected officials to express their views and connect with the media when necessary (Long Island Traditions 2003).

Organizations and Associations

Long Island Traditions cites a Brookhaven Baymen's Association.

Natural And Cultural Resources Utilized

There may be some bay houses on West Fire Island, which is within the seashore boundaries.

Cultural Values Of Baymen

Baymen have lost a way of life. They debate the causes: overfishing, recreational boating, the institution of a new sewage system (the southwest sewer district) that affects the bay, duck farms (now closed), non-point-source pollution, brown tides, and other causes. Surviving baymen are interested in anything that will help revive the industry.

RECREATION: HUNTERS AND FISHERMEN

As noted in NPS comments on the Interim Report, this is hardly a monolithic group, but instead a very loose grouping of people engaged in a variety of resource harvesting activities. We have little data on any of this activity. Recreational fishing is a huge pastime on Great South Bay, yet few seasonal Fire Island residents participate in fishing. Although hunting and fishing both were big historically, hunting today is much more limited than recreational fishing. We know of no seasonal or year-round resident of the island who hunts.

The information in the following paragraphs comes from the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service's habitat study of the New York Bight (1997). We reproduce it here to help readers of this report understand something of the ecosystems in the region that support recreational hunting. Information on finfish and shellfish populations and habitats from the same source was reproduced in the section above, on Baymen.

The waters of Great South Bay support large concentrations of migrating and wintering waterfowl, particularly Canada goose (*Branta canadensis*), American black duck (*Anas rubripes*), brant (*Branta bernicla*), scaup (*Aythya spp.*), red-breasted merganser (*Mergus serrator*), and common goldeneye (*Bucephala clangula*). Based on aerial surveys, Great South Bay supports the largest wintering waterfowl concentrations in New York State. The flocks of waterfowl are not evenly distributed in the bay. Dabbling ducks are concentrated in the shallow water and marsh areas behind Fire Island, the shoals near the East and West Fire Islands, Sexton Island, and Captree Island, as well as in the Carmans and Connetquot River estuaries (see below). Diving ducks are distributed more evenly throughout the bay, with consistent use areas including Bellport Bay, the south shore behind Fire Island, and along the north shore of the bay west of Blue Point. Eastern Great South Bay is one of the most important areas for diving ducks

in the region. Sea ducks and diving ducks are also concentrated in Fire Island Inlet. In summer, the bay is an important feeding ground for least, roseate, and common terns, ducks and herons, many of which nest locally (USFWS 1997).

The Connetquot River, one of only four major rivers on Long Island, is part of a 4,500-acre undeveloped coastal watershed system, unique in this urbanized location. The river is fed by several natural cold-water streams originating from groundwater sources. The estuarine portion of the watershed, from the mouth of the river at its outlet in Great South Bay to the limit of tidal influence, approximately two miles in length, includes adjacent state-owned tidal wetlands. Waterfowl in great numbers use the Connetquot River estuary as a major wintering area and as a stopover point during migration. The most abundant waterfowl include American black duck, mallard, scaup, canvasback (*Aythya valisineria*), redhead (*Aythya americana*), bufflehead (*Bucephala albeola*), and Canada goose. The large open and shallow Connetquot River estuary provides essential habitat for a diversity of fish and wildlife species. Of particular significance is the estuary's importance as a nursery ground for yearling striped bass and bluefish that concentrate to feed in the tidewater areas before commencing coastal migration. Unusual for Long Island, anadromous species such as alewife and white perch (*Morone americana*) are possible spawners here. The estuary supports a sea-run brown trout (*Salmo trutta*) fishery and a native brook trout (*Salvelinus fontinalis*) fishery in Connetquot Brook. Weakfish congregate to spawn in the sandy shallow of nearby Heckscher Flats. One of the northeasternmost known occurrences of pirate perch (*Aphredoderus s. sayanus*) is in the Connetquot River (USFWS 1997).

The Carmans River estuary is one of the most significant nursery areas for yearling striped bass in Great South Bay. Juvenile bluefish are also found in abundance. Both species may

spend a year or more in tidal portions of the river before commencing coastal migration. Alewife, sea-run brown trout, and white perch spawn in the estuary, which also provides important nursery habitat for these species. Freshwater fish species that occur in the river and ponds include a naturally reproducing population of brook trout, yellow perch (*Perca flavescens*), white perch, and common carp (*Cyprinus carpio*). The commercially and recreationally valuable blue crab spawns around the nutrient-rich salt marshes fringing the estuary. Forage fish such as killifish and Atlantic silverside also use the shallow waters of tidal wetland areas as spawning and nursery grounds. The estuary provides regionally important wintering habitat for high concentrations of waterfowl including canvasback, hooded merganser (*Lophodytes cucullatus*), redhead, northern shoveler (*Anas clypeata*), northern pintail (*Anas acuta*), gadwall (*Anas strepera*), American wigeon (*Anas americana*), American black duck, mallard, red-breasted merganser, scaup, and bufflehead. Other species of birds inhabiting the wetlands bordering the river are breeding osprey, sharp-tailed sparrow, seaside sparrow, and clapper rail, and migrating and wintering northern harriers, peregrine falcons, and other raptors that hunt over the tidal marshes during migration. Wetlands and uplands in the Carmans River watershed support nesting by nearly 100 species of migratory birds, including many neotropical migrant songbirds (USFWS 1997).

History of Hunting and Fishing in the Fire Island-Great South Bay Region

Fishing and hunting are traditional activities on the south side of Long Island, on Great South Bay, in the ocean, and on Fire Island beach. Hunting and fishing both engender crafts production, notably decoy carving and hand-made fishing rods, many types of boats for

recreational and commercial practices and a variety of traps, nets, and lures. Historically the whole area had a tremendous abundance of fish, waterfowl, and ducks.

Duck and waterfowl hunting are traditional elite pastimes, and the south shore of Long Island has a long tradition of gentlemen's hunting clubs. The Wa Wa Yonda club and the South Side Sportsmen's Club are two locally remembered elite hunting clubs. Surviving still is the Pattersquash Gun Club in Bellport Bay. Duck and waterfowl hunting was a great pastime in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. As noted in the section on baymen, many baymen acted as hunting guides for the gentlemen hunters and provided the boats. Hunting was a common activity on south shore estates during this period. The Floyds managed their Mastic estate during this period as a small game hunting preserve. Hunting is in decline on and around Great South Bay. Few of the hunting sites still exist on land, and duck and waterfowl hunting on the bay has also declined. One Fire Island informant said: "Ever since the Bambi movie, it's hard for people to kill things who haven't been already doing it."

Although the methods change, fishing has been commonplace throughout the area of study forever. Some older Fire Island informants spoke of making bamboo fishing rods out of the plentiful local bamboo trees. Fishing is often a subsistence activity, and subsistence fishing may be increasing as Long Island's poor and immigrant population grows. For instance, most of the people fishing off the marina embankment in Bay Shore in the summer time appear to be Latino immigrants.

Fishermen and duck hunters use different boats. A fishing boat may be a 21-foot-long flat bottomed vessel with a steering console and some partial enclosure of the cockpit. A duck hunting boat is smaller.

Rituals of Hunting and Fishing

Hunting and fishing are both seasonal activities that fluctuate with the migrations of the prey. Spring and fall are the seasons for migratory waterfowl, also for many fish. Residents noted that surf fishing on Fire Island was fairly quiet in mid-summer, our fieldwork period. Bluefish and striped bass fishing is very good in fall, and can be taken all along the beach.

Organizations and Associations

There is a Long Island Beach Buggy Association representing fishermen who drive on the beach (not in the summer season) mainly for fishing purposes. There is the Pattersquash Duck Club.

Natural and Cultural Resources Utilized

Fishing can go on anywhere people have access to the water. Fire Island residents surfcast from the beach in the fall for bluefish. In July there is fluke and flounder fishing in the ocean. In the bay, two informants said that weakfish were being fished in 2004 but the population is sporadic. Blowfish were reported as being prolific 20 years ago but much less now. One resident spoke of a 40-foot fishing hole in the bay opposite Fire Island Lighthouse where deposition of rocks has caused the currents to scour out a 40-foot hole making for good striped bass fishing. Another resident spoke of fishing at Democrat Point in the 1950s. Presumably the rocks placed there attracted the bass and made it a good location for fishing. Bass can also be taken from deep holes along the beach made with rocks, usually groins. Children and teenagers fish in the bay off the many docks on the bay side of Fire Island, but on the mainland, dockside fishers are predominantly adults.

Hunters predominate near Bellport and Brookhaven village, where Wertheim Wildlife Refuge flanks both sides of the Carmans River and provides extensive waterfowl and duck habitat. There is a duck-hunting shack on an island in Bellport Bay. Hunting is also pursued around the bay islands in the western portion of the study area in the Fire Island Inlet. Striped bass like rocky areas.

Cultural Values of Hunters and Fishermen

Hunting and sport fishing are traditional cultural practices on Great South Bay and certain onshore locations. Beach driving appears to be traditional to Fire Island residents, especially year-round residents.

Conflicts over beach aesthetics between recreational drivers and other Fire Islanders may have class conflict undertones. Many of the drivers appear to be year-round residents of Long Island or Fire Island itself, whereas those who object are apt to be more affluent summer people.

Drivers seek continued access to the beach. NPS restricts beach driving during mating and breeding season to protect plover nesting sites, and at other times, beach driving generates conflicts ostensibly over beach aesthetics. Fishermen are in conflict with PWC craft (jet skis.) One NPS official describes this as a classic user conflict. PWCs run on two-cycle outboard motors, and reportedly spill 25 percent of their fuel out of the tailpipe. They kick up a wake which erodes the marsh island shorelines. Their noise and speed is disruptive to wildlife. Traditional bay users, especially fishermen, see the PWC users as ignorant thrill seekers and want the activity severely curtailed.

MASTIC BEACH

History of Mastic Beach

From the time of European settlement in eastern Long Island until the 20th century, the Mastic peninsula (between the Carmans and the Forge River) was comprised of prosperous agricultural estates. The Smith family held the Manor of St. George, centered on Smith's Point. The Floyd family owned much of the land on the eastern side of the peninsula, along the Forge River. Like Richard Floyd, Richard Woodhull was also an original Brookhaven proprietor, and his descendants had property in the central portion of the peninsula. Lawrence was the name of another landowning family on the peninsula. These and other landowning families were related to one another through blood and marriage (Schaefer 1994).

At the turn of the 20th century, some of the Mastic landowners chose to make their land available for real estate development. From Schaefer's history of Mastic Beach (1994) it would appear that some of these owners, including several Lawrences, William and Rosalie Floyd, and Cornelia Floyd Nichols, became investors, probably in partnership with real estate promoters. Real estate development efforts began in 1910 by a syndicate calling itself the Tangier Development Corporation. This group built a plank bridge across the channel from Smith's Point to Fire Island to improve access to the Hedges Hotel, located on the island adjacent to the bridgehead. They also promoted house lots on the mainland around Pattersquash Creek. The plank bridge lasted only a few years and the Tangier venture was unsuccessful. Some years later a home builder named Home Guardian Company became involved in a reorganized venture. Amid the real estate fever of the 1920s, Home Guardian succeeded in developing the new community of "Mastic Beach," laying out a subdivision of 10 "sections" beginning in 1926. Home Guardian's success seems to have depended in part on an unusual relationship with a

Brooklyn newspaper, the Citizen, which appears to have been an investor in Mastic Beach venture. The Citizen not only ran advertisements for Mastic Beach real estate, the newspaper actually sold lots to its readers. One of the ads read “Great opportunity to secure a lot by subscribing to the Brooklyn Citizen for three months. Get into the Long island boom. Provide a summer home for your family at Mastic Park” (Schaefer 1994:15). Schaefer points out that all the Citizen ads were aimed at families of low to moderate income.

Mastic Beach took shape over the ensuing dozen years. The developers sold lots of 20 feet by 100 feet, although most buyers bought at least three contiguous lots so as to have side yards. The pricing at first was \$55 per lot, or \$10 down and \$3 per month for 15 months. The developers built streets, stores, post office and railroad station, and a clubhouse. They also created bathing beaches on the bay shore. The Brookhaven Planning Board counted 19,730 lots at Mastic Beach in 1940, when there were over 1,000 property owners and a summer population of 4,000 (Schaefer 1994). Conversions of houses to year-round use began after World War II.

Incorporated in 1931, the Mastic Beach Property Owners Association began as a civic group and advocate for the residents. The Property Owners soon began taking over responsibilities for street maintenance and other community property from the developers. The association took title to all Home Guardian community property in 1940, including 6.5 miles of waterfront, two marinas, swimming beaches, and clubhouse.

Community Layout and Social Organization

Mastic Beach lies between the William Floyd Parkway on the west and the Floyd Estate on the east. The community abuts the William Floyd estate on the east and on the south, the strait between Great South and Moriches bays. The main street east to west is Neighborhood Road,

where most of the local shops are located, also several churches, a synagogue, and the Property Owners Association building. The community had and still has people of various ethnicities.

One resident said:

There was and still is a large Italian--because a lot of them came from Brooklyn, where the paper was... I go to St. Jude's Church and there's still a lot of--still have an Italian mass on Sunday. I think it was a mix. I think we have every church there is--we have the Protestant, the Catholic, Jewish, the Lutheran on Mastic Road, and there's a Baptist over towards the clubhouse; it's like in a storefront.

Rituals, Celebrations, and Gatherings

The Property Owners Association holds monthly meetings and shows movies in the summer time.

Community Organizations and Associations

The Mastic Beach Property Owners' Association represents homeowners in the community and owns the shoreline. There is a Mastic Beach Yacht Club.

Activities

One resident, saying Mastic Beach was a paradise in her youth, described some of the recreational and resource-harvesting activities at that time:

We went swimming in the bay or--we have a creek down here, Pattersquash Creek. We called that the swimming hole; we swam there every day. Then we'd come back, change our clothes, and go back down and go crabbing. And we would catch our own bait with your mother's old curtain, which you'd drag between the docks and get killies. Use that--we didn't use traps; I don't know if they even had crab traps in those days. You'd use a ring of wire and you'd put the killies on and threw it in... They use them for live bait—I think they use them for fluke fishing. And then we would bring the crabs home, and then your mother

would cook them. Usually the fathers were in the city working; they'd come out on weekends. The mothers were here with the kids. And then we had a screened in back porch. We'd have dinner at the usual time and then we'd put newspaper down on the table and we'd sit around and pick crabs. It was great. And we used to go--there were a lot of woods, and we used to go blueberry picking, wild blueberries. If you could get a quart, your mother would bake a blueberry pie.

Just bushes in the woods?

Yeah. That's why I say it was a paradise.

Natural and Cultural Resources Utilized

Unlike most south shore communities, which are several watery miles removed from Fire Island, only a relatively narrow channel separates Mastic Beach from Fire Island. According to our informant, Mastic Beach residents used to go over to Fire Island frequently, some swimming across the channel. Those who had their own boats would row or motor across, others hired boats from Fred's Boathouse, or Captain Andy's—although mostly people hired boats for fishing purposes. People would spend the day over there picnicking and swimming.

Once I got the boat, we would row over to Fire Island--[age] 12, 13, 14--and bring our lunch. And in those days we didn't have all this erosion problem, you know--the dunes were high. And so we could climb the dunes and roll down the dunes and have a great time. And there was nothing on Fire Island here at that time; there was no Smith's point and no bridge, ferry or anything.

After ferry service began, residents would go on the ferry. Clamming on the flats around Pattersquash Island was a very popular activity. Residents would also fish out of small boats wherever they found a fishing hole.

These recollections are from the years before the Smith's Point bridge was built. We do not know to what extent Mastic Beach residents continue to use Fire Island or the bay waters. However, many people in the community appear to have boats today. Mastic Beach went for

several years without maintaining its bay beaches but has recently received permission from the Town of Brookhaven to reopen the beaches.

Community Values

Mastic Beach residents have had easy access to the bay waters and Fire Island beach. Mastic Beach is geographically very close to the barrier beach. Residents appear to have traditions of fishing and clamming in the bay and going ashore from boats onto Fire Island prior to construction of the Smith Point bridge. Traditional recreational use of the bay waters, islands, and flats is part of the identity of the community.

We have not been able to document any uses of the Floyd Estate. However, Richard Stavdal, the manager of the estate, indicated that trespasses on the grounds by unknown persons, perhaps local teenagers, has resulted in frequent wildfires (interview with author, October 16, 2003). This suggests that the wooded grounds are used informally by some members of the community. At some point since the estate became a FIIS unit, the Park Service erected a chain-link fence along its border with Mastic Beach to reduce trespassing. The boundary remains porous, however, with the main entrance and two service entrances unsecured during hours that the estate is officially closed to the public.

Part 2. FIRE ISLAND COMMUNITIES

ETHNOHISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT OF FIRE ISLAND, 'THE GREAT SOUTH BEACH'

Geographical Description

A typical barrier island, Fire Island is long, low, and narrow. Historically, few considered Fire Island a hospitable environment for residence. Native peoples never lived on the island, but would use it for whaling from the beach. After European settlement, the island remained mostly uninhabited until the 19th century. Today there is little or no evidence of settlement before the resort era began in the 1870s, partly because the unstable, ever changing terrestrial environment of a barrier island tends to obliterate archaeological evidence.

Historically, severe storms have made breeches in the island. One of these, cut at Moriches Bay by a storm in 1931, has been artificially maintained by the U. S. Army Engineers every since.

Moriches Inlet marks the eastern end of the national seashore. On the west, the seashore ends at the boundary of Robert Moses State Park, several miles short of the island's western end, Democrat Point, at Fire Island Inlet. In between is a roughly 26-mile stretch of barrier beach within Park Service jurisdiction. Several bay islands and about 5,000 feet of bay waters lie within the seashore's northern boundary. Its southern boundary extends 1,000 feet south of the beach.

The island is anchored by its system of primary dunes, a low row of sandy deposits at the upland edge of the beach. Behind the primary dunes is a low-lying area called a swale. Behind the swale, at least in undeveloped areas, there is often a secondary dune, a somewhat higher but less abrupt ridge. In some places the swale and the secondary dune support woody vegetation, whereas the primary dune supports only herbaceous vegetation. The indigenous woody vegetation consists of pine, blueberry shadblow, and other plants that can tolerate windy, sandy,

dry conditions. In some places there are swampy or marshy areas between the secondary dune and the bay shore. Both the bay shore and the ocean front of the island have been subject to serious erosion. One stretch of the island supports a significant maritime forest, known as Sunken Forest, where there are many old holly trees. The name “Point O’ Woods” probably derives from this geographical fact, and the community of the same name includes some of the forest within its eastern boundary. Elsewhere the woody vegetation tends to be more scrubby.

Over 17 discrete communities and resorts exist on Fire Island within the seashore boundaries. The western end of the island is the most built-up; here many communities run into one another, divided only by political boundaries. Kismet, the westernmost community, is followed immediately by Saltaire, Fair Harbor, Dunewood, Lonelyville, and Atlantique. A brief respite from development intervenes between Atlantique and tiny Robbins Rest, with a shorter interval of wild land between Robbins Rest and the private Fire Island Summer Club. From there the island is continuously built up in a string of communities that include Corneille Estates, Ocean Beach, Seaview, Ocean Bay Park, and Point O’ Woods. East of Point O’ Woods is the park’s best known natural feature, the Sunken Forest, where the park maintains a visitor center and marina called Sailors Haven. The tiny Oakleyville settlement nestles in the northwest corner of the Sunken Forest. East of Sunken Forest are Cherry Grove and Fire Island Pines, the two separated by the Carrington Tract, better known to denizens of the Grove as the “Meat Rack.” Beyond the Pines, much of the beach is undeveloped. The only remaining major settlement is Davis Park/Ocean Ridge; there is also the small community of Water Island. Park Service features and facilities in eastern Fire Island include Talisman/Barrett Beach—mainly a marina—the visitor center and campground at Watch Hill, and the seven-mile Otis Pike Wilderness Area. The wilderness visitor center marks the eastern boundary of the wilderness, near the Smith’s

Point bridge. The area between Smith's Point and Moriches Inlet is a public park area administered by Suffolk County. At the opposite end of the island, the area between the state park and Kismet features the Fire Island Lighthouse, operated by a privately organized group, and a mile or so of undeveloped beach. There are two or three town beaches and marinas on Fire Island: Atlantique Beach of the Town of Islip, Bellport Beach, owned by the Village of Bellport, and Leja Beach, a Town of Brookhaven property situated right in Davis Park.

Most of the larger Fire Island communities follow a consistent pattern. The business center, if there is one, is always on the bay side, adjacent to the ferry terminal, and ranged along a thoroughfare named Bay Walk or some variation of the name. There will be at least one, at most two more lateral streets. The lateral streets are crossed by number of parallel streets laid out in standard grid fashion. The streets are lined with houses, usually on small plots perhaps 30 feet wide and 80 feet deep. Streets on Fire Island are really "walks," most less than 12 feet wide. In many communities the bay shore has been bulkheaded for the purpose of building houses and commercial properties with water frontage. Houses built on the ocean front are the most vulnerable to storm damage, and many have been damaged or destroyed over the years by storms. The ocean front includes a wide, sandy beach and then the row of primary dunes. Owing to the lack of any modern roads on the island, the beach, except during storms, is the easiest way of moving about laterally on the island, for both pedestrians and motor vehicles. The sand always shows the tracks of wheeled vehicles, which in the summer include police cars, school buses, ambulances, fire engines, and park service vehicles. In the other seasons, commercial vehicles and a limited number of personal vehicles may also be driven on the beach.

In most communities the houses begin upon or right behind the primary dunes. Cherry Grove is the only community whose commercial district extends down to the primary dune, also

the only community that still has an open-air restaurant on the primary dune. There are no other commercial facilities on the ocean front; the few that existed, e.g. the “Snack Bar” in Ocean Bay Park (see Figure 35), have been removed since the creation of the national seashore. The “Burma Road” is the term borrowed from World War II to denote the chain of lateral streets through many of the communities and some of the wild lands used by official vehicles and other necessary motor vehicles, such as garbage trucks.

Historical Periods

Native American Period

There is very little evidence of beach use prior to the era of European settlement. Although migratory, Native peoples are not thought to have lived on the island. Because of the unstable nature of the beach there is no record of archaeological discoveries. Native peoples are thought to have used the beach mainly for whaling. Native peoples caught fish and harvested clams and other shellfish in the Great South Bay. The clam shells were used to produce wampum.

Early Settlement and Slavery

The complicated history of Fire Island land transactions is reviewed briefly beginning on page 34 of this report, in the section on Native Americans, and more exhaustively in Fletcher and Kintz (1979). Until the resort era arrived in the 19th century, rights to the beach related to the harvesting of resources, and not, as they would later, to building houses. White settlers used the Great South Beach for grazing cattle, harvesting salt meadow grasses, salvaging shipwrecks, slave running, and whaling. Farmers grazed cattle on Fire Island well into the 19th century; they also crossed the bay to cut meadow grass for cattle feed. Farmers and fishermen alike went

“gunning” for waterfowl on the surface of the bay (Fletcher and Kintz 1979, Shaw 1895). Hunting waterfowl for commercial purposes was legal until 1917 (Long Island Traditions 2003). Richard Bayles, a 19th century historian, commenting on the “immense tracts of salt meadows” on the bayside near Brookhaven village, observed that farmers owned these meadows and traveled from eight to 16 miles to gather up the salt hay and haul it home. Bayles added that gunning for wild fowl in the neighborhood was a source of profit for some and a pastime for others (Bayles 2002: 253).

Until the 19th century, white settlers and their descendants were no more disposed toward living on the beach than the Native peoples. Fletcher and Kintz (1979:25-30) provide a review of slavery in New York in relationship to Fire Island. They cite legends of slave running, i.e., trafficking in slaves entering New York, in free blacks captured to be impressed into slavery, and in fugitive slaves captured to be returned to the south. The authors cite reports in the literature of slave pens in remote locations on the bay islands or Fire Island itself. They say they cannot document the existence or precise locations of any such slave pens. A 1798 state law provided for the gradual emancipation of slaves in New York. An 1817 law freed male slaves born since 1799 when they turned 28 and female slaves when they turned 25. Slaves in Brookhaven numbered in the hundreds: the 1800 census recorded 225 slaves in the town. The largest estates, such as the Floyd Estate and the Manor of St. George, might have owned over 20 blacks at a time; most owners had from one to three slaves (Fletcher and Kintz 1979).

Shipwrecks and Salvage

The history of Fire Island is replete with many shipwrecks and legends of disaster. Gonzalez (1982) writes that the typical wreck occurred as a ship foundered on a sand bar during

a storm; the mast would snap as the ship heaved against the bar, leaving the ship to break up under the pounding waves. Wrecks of this type were especially common in winter, when the bars were higher and ice would close in around the vessel. “Land pirates” were alert to the chance to strip a stricken vessel of its cargo and wood. Folk legend suggests that land or sand pirates lured ships toward shore, lighting fires to disorient the captain. The victim ship would come in too close to land, become stranded, and fall prey to the pirates. The noted feminist scholar Margaret Fuller and nine others drowned in the wreck of the Elizabeth in 1850. The dangers of coastal navigation led eventually to the founding of the United States Lifesaving Service in 1878. Seven stations were built along the beach within the present seashore boundary: Fire Island, Point O’ Woods, Lone Hill, Blue Point, Bellport, Smith Point, and Forge River. Unlike the Coast Guard, which succeeded the Life Saving Service in 1915, the life-saving crews were local men. They had communal and kinship ties to the mainland communities across the bay. Each station had a crew of five or six, composed of “surfmens” and “keepers”. Their families frequently visited crew members; some built houses on the beach where their families might live the year around. Surfmen fished, grew vegetables, and hunted waterfowl in season; they whittled decoys and made fishing nets. Surfmen earned some additional income from salvaging wrecks (Gonzalez 1982).

Resort Development

David S. S. Sammis built the first hotel on the beach in 1855. The appearance of a hotel set off a controversy over the continuation of traditional common grazing of cattle. The western end of the island at this time was also home to a number of fish-processing factories. Processing of menhaden (an organism which cleans water by consuming microscopic organisms such as

plankton) to manufacture fertilizer, and seaweed (used for furniture and mattress stuffing) all took place in the area. Most landowners, however, wished to continue the traditional “common holding of beach property for collection of salt hay and use for cattle grazing” (Fletcher and Kintz 1979:21). The landowners were in the habit of letting their cattle graze over the entire length of the beach. The controversy precipitated the further partition of the beach, in the case of *Green v. Sammis*, into 78 separate parcels, a decision known as the Great Partition of 1871-1878 (Fletcher and Kintz 1979).

Sammis’ Surf Hotel, a three-story building with several later additions, occupied a 120-acre site east of Fire Island Light. The Fire Island Guide for 1970 relates the following story about the Surf Hotel: the hotel thrived with a socially prominent clientele until September 1892, when cholera broke out on a ship arriving in New York Harbor. City and state health officials, in a panic, moved to purchase Sammis’ suitably isolated Surf Hotel as a quarantine station. The Governor approved the acquisition immediately as the legislature was not in session. After word of the purchase circulated on Long Island, three sloops of men armed with shotguns and an injunction crossed the bay intending to burn down the hotel. The caretaker held the invaders off but they blocked the ship from docking. Robert Caro (1974) says that these were baymen, and argues that their behavior in this case was characteristic of the baymen’s protective and defensive attitude toward the bay. The next day, a force of 400 men from the 13th and 29th Regiments of U. S. Field Artillery in Babylon expelled the vigilantes. After the cholera scare subsided, the hotel resumed business but never as profitably as before. The hotel burned to the ground just before World War I. The Guide said that its tall chimney still stands as a landmark. Robert Caro (1974) wrote that the land purchased by the state for the quarantine operation became Fire Island State Park, later renamed for Robert Moses. Apparently the original Fire Island State Park was

the hotel site that is now part of the seashore's lighthouse unit. The present state park was established on land formerly owned by the U. S. Coast Guard.

Esther Newton, an anthropologist, writes that Cherry Grove is the oldest continuously inhabited resort on Fire Island. Cherry Grove began in 1869 when Archie Perkinson bought Jeremiah Smith's house and land for \$1,250 and began serving shore dinners to the public. Perkinson built the two-story Perkinson's Hotel on the site in 1880. Oscar Wilde reportedly spent several days there in 1882 (Newton 1993). In the late 19th-early 20th century period, groups of cottages grew up at different locations along the beach. Some, as at Cherry Grove, were occupied either by baymen for hunting purposes, or by local families. Many early buildings on the barrier island had been corn cribs and other utilitarian structures on the mainland. Baymen floated them across the bay on barges and adapted them for new uses, such as cottages. The typical cottage stood on stilts high off the ground to keep it free of sand and flooding. It would have been small, one-story high, with a screened-in front porch, living room-kitchen area, and two bedrooms, "each about big enough for a bed and chest of drawers." Cottages lacked running water, plumbing, and electricity (Newton 1993:16-17). As late as 1920, Cherry Grove was still a small settlement of tiny cottages, the hotel, bayside dock, and a single wood-plank walk that ran parallel to the beach.

Speculative development on Fire Island began in 1905 with a subdivision of building lots at Lonelyville by the South Shore Realty Company. The site that became Saltaire began in a similar speculative transaction in 1910. Ocean Bay Park was laid out in 1912 and Water Island began to develop the same year. In 1925, the Kismet Park Corporation acquired property east of the Surf Hotel site, which by then had become Fire Island State Park. In 1926, the Home

Guardian Company, active in developing Mastic Beach across the bay, purchased the land that later became Fire Island Pines (Fletcher and Kintz 1979).

The rapid growth of Fire Island resorts in the 1910s and '20s ended with the onset of the Depression in 1929-30. The original rusticity of island life ended decisively eight years later with the great east coast hurricane of September 21, 1938. Largely unpredicted, the Hurricane of '38 devastated coastal and interior areas on Long Island and southern New England.

Communities up and down Fire Island were ransacked by the great storm, which blew houses off their foundations; inland the hurricane knocked down extensive stands of trees. The hurricane ended the era of family life in Cherry Grove (Newton 1993). Saltaire lost 127 houses out of perhaps 250 in all (Logan 1970). Acting to restore Fire Island as a barrier to storm damage, the federal government pumped sand from the bay to rebuild the dunes as much as three times higher than before. From that time on, walks would be built over rather than through the dunes.

Residents began planting dune grass and then the WPA (Works Progress Administration) stepped in to plant systematically. As disaster victims, property owners who wanted to rebuild were offered government loans at three percent interest for ten years (Newton 1993:27).

Fire Island National Seashore

Robert Moses imagined as early as 1924 an ocean parkway running down the length of Fire Island from the state park at the western end, past Smith's Point and continuing along the beach all the way to Montauk (Caro 1974). Moses first proposed this parkway in 1930, and kept the idea alive for years, winning many adherents but arousing fervent opposition. Moses and his allies portrayed the road as a democratic advance, opening up Long Island's beaches to ordinary folks, the road itself offering beautiful views toward the ocean on one side and the bay on the

other (Newton 1993). One “Doctor Osborne,” a Cherry Grove resident and Columbia professor, took the lead in the movement to buy 36 acres of inter-dune land called the Sunken Forest, west of Cherry Grove, to protect it from development. Making the site a nature reserve “would pose a significant barrier to Moses’s road” (Newton 1993:116). Newton writes that after a series of damaging winter storms in 1962, Moses “repackaged” the ocean parkway as an environmental remedy for beach and dune erosion: the road would anchor Fire Island from further erosion. Residents would have access to the beach through a series of tunnels placed at half-mile intervals underneath the road causeway:

Faced with the obliteration of their vacation communities, Fire Islanders for the first time banded together to oppose the plan. Cherry Grove joined with the other resorts to organize the Fire Island Association, and throughout the summer of 1962 the Grove, like other communities, held fund-raisers, organized letter-writing campaigns, and tried to influence local politicians.” (Newton 1993:116-17) Meanwhile, the National Park Service had long sought to expand the park system east of the Mississippi River where the population was high but the federal government owned little land. At the Director’s behest, custody of military sites and monuments had been transferred from the War Department to the Park Service in 1933. The first national historical parks were authorized in the 1930s and ’40s (Salem Maritime and Independence). The agency conducted national seashore studies in the 1930s, which recommended that beach sites near Atlantic and Gulf coast cities be acquired by the federal government and managed by the Park Service for recreation (Foresta 1984:170.) Only remote Cape Hatteras was acquired at that time. Similar recommendations for seashore acquisitions followed from new studies sponsored by the Mellon family in 1955, and then from a Congressional committee in 1958. By then, however, the specter of suburban expansion into unique and fragile seashore landscapes gave the

project additional urgency (Foresta 1984). The first national seashore close to an urban area was Cape Cod, authorized in 1961. This was followed by Point Reyes, California, in 1962, and by Fire Island in 1964. It would appear that much of the local support for the Fire Island authorization came from the efforts of Fire Islanders and their allies to block the ocean parkway. These efforts, however, were met with a favorable policy toward national seashores at the federal level, which had been building for 20 years.

Cultural Characteristics of Fire Island

We found a number of cultural themes common to most, if not all, the Fire Island communities. Our fieldwork data indicate that these themes are characteristic of longtime Fire Island residents and describe traditionally associated values.

Distinctiveness

The notion persists that Fire Island communities are very distinct from one another. This idea of distinctness appears in news media coverage (cf Hawes 1992) as well as in the ways informants talk about the different communities. For example, a longtime Seaview resident remarked:

I've never been to Kismet, I have no idea what Davis Park looks like, I think I've been in the Pines twice, maybe Cherry Grove three times-- I hadn't been to the lighthouse until last summer... nor do I care to go to any of those places, nor could I because we don't have a common path.

Residents also point out the differences—Ocean Beach has more rules, Seaview is Jewish, Cherry Grove is gay, Saltaire rich, and so on. This idea of marked differences and little social intercourse between communities seems justified on the whole. Surely the lack of cars and roads could explain why residents tend to stay in their own communities. Also, only a few

communities have much to attract visitors. There are some exceptions: Cherry Grove has a certain charm for the residents of other communities. Ocean Beach attracts non-residents because of its larger number of shops and restaurants, and Fair Harbor attracts people from other communities to its weekly “sixish” on the dock.

Historically the communities had a vertical relationship with towns across the bay but little horizontal, or lateral, relationship with one another. One resident likened the community separateness on Fire Island to the west coast of Africa, where different European nations established colonies that were connected to the mother country by trade routes but not to one another.

Well, Fire Island is extremely similar, in that each of the 17 or 18 communities and hamlets were colonized from the mainland, not laterally. They came over from Bay Shore, Patchogue, Sayville, Bayport. And directly, originally on sailing ships, no cars, and that's the way we were and the way we continue. So that's the vertical aspect—we don't know each other... the year-rounders now are the horizontal—they go up and down the island.

The last statement points to a significant difference in this respect between seasonal and year-round residents. It is the seasonal residents that give the communities their distinctions. Year-rounders tend to know one another up and down the island; for them, community distinctness is less important to their identity than being islanders.

Island Identity

The fact of being a real island is important to both year-round and seasonal Fire Islanders. Newspaper accounts of Fire Island often report that seasonal residents feel their weekend or vacation begins with the ferry departure from the mainland. Part of the experience of getting away is the trip itself, and the ferry ride across Great South Bay is a distinctive, often pleasant

part of the journey. Once ashore, the notion of island life seems liberating. People feel they can act more freely here than at home. Esther Newton (1993) elaborates on this theme in her fine ethnography of Cherry Grove, arguing that the sense of being removed from mainland mores allowed a proud, self-expressive gay community to develop. Although the atmosphere of freedom surely attracts the day-trip visitor and the boating visitor, it appears to be more deeply held by longtime seasonal and year-round residents. The lack of roads or automobile traffic on Fire Island may be the greatest single environmental factor in people's sense of being on a restful, liberating island. With cars, this would be like any other densely packed beach strip from Maine to Florida; without cars, the decidedly urban densities in many Fire Island communities seem to have little impact on the serenity of island life.

Seasonal Residents, Year-Rounders, Groupers, and the Park Service

Many communities experience some tension among seasonal residents, year-round residents, the Park Service, and—if present—business interests. Year-round residents see themselves, correctly, as the ones who keep the island going, and most are busily working during the summer season. Year-round residents say they are tolerant of the seasonal population, even welcoming, but some feel that the seasonals “don't want us here,” as one resident put it. “They think we should get lost. When they come, they think that this belongs to them.” This sentiment appears mostly with regard to driving vehicles along the interior walks, in most cases for necessary functions such as collecting garbage. The year-rounders do the driving and it upsets seasonal residents who cherish the traffic-free quality of island life.

Many year-round residents feel that the Park Service does not want them around either. Driving policy and driving permits is the critical issue in this conflict. One resident who had

raised a family on the island spoke of “butting heads” with a former superintendent over whether her teenage sons should have driving permits. “He point blank told me the boys are almost 18 years of age—tell them to leave home. ‘Who are you to tell my boys they should leave home?’ Another resident thought that the Park Service hoped to drive the year-rounders off the island by making life too difficult for them. His scenario: With the necessary services severely depleted through population loss, an off-season fire would rage through the communities, consuming most of the houses. The Park Service would then move to condemn the private property, remove all the buildings, and turn the whole island into a park. Another year-rounder said:

They make it very difficult. You know, the people who live here are not criminals... you’re treated as though you’re a criminal. And you’re going home or you’re going off [the island] to do whatever... My husband was taken in this year—he had a job in Saltaire, he had every permit he needed down there, and the wind was howling off the bay, which it does in the winter with that north wind—not like now, which is such a pleasure. And so he didn’t want to park on the bay because the salt on the car would be ridiculous, and so he parked on what is called Burma Road, and he got a fine! We’re working people—that’s the thing. We’re working; we’re not criminals—go get the bad guys!

Several informants said that Dave Spirtes seemed to understand their point of view and thought that Spirtes would have been able to negotiate satisfactory solutions to driving and other issues. Another resident said:

The reg-neg process was horrendous. It started with Costa. His approach was to carry the federal regs around under his arm and never answer a question without quoting the regs. That’s no way to deal with the public here. People hated the man. He lied a lot. Spirtes was so great—everybody’s saying that whoever replaces Barry should have the same soul as Dave Spirtes. When he stepped into the reg-neg, Barry’s attitudes reflected Dave’s leadership immediately.

Another resident spoke of Dave Spirtes in a similar vein:

And what Dave did—famous quote—was that he said he learned in Vietnam, when he was a pathfinder, that first he had to learn the terrain to be successful and do his job as a scout. If you get the terrain wrong, you get everything wrong. So he visited everywhere, listened to everybody. He went to the invasion, went to the Baby Day parade in Ocean Beach—the quintessential community event... I don't think [the park] really feel it's their mission to include the communities. Costa definitely didn't. I [hope they] send us somebody who understands that people are a resource. That has to be understood. Dave understood that—he'd been in Alaska where people live on the tundra, they're sustained by that environment and they take care of it. David came to build bridges, to solve the problems of how to protect the island while giving access to the mainland.

Seasonal residents tend to be at odds with business interests, mostly over the issue of groupers and day-trip visitors to the island. Those who operate retail businesses on the island have a relatively short summer season in which to make their money. They tend to favor anything that will increase visitation and thus increase business. In the past, business interests have opposed local efforts to limit groupers.

Increasingly, seasonal residents—who greatly outnumber year-round residents—want their communities identified as “family communities.” This trope means several things: quiet, residential, few or no groupers, safety and recreational opportunity for children, few public facilities, and few day-trippers. Many communities, especially Kismet but also Ocean Beach, Fair Harbor, Seaview, and even Ocean Bay Park, have seen substantial reductions in the number of grouper houses. Point O' Woods, in many ways in a category of its own, is the most emphatic about safeguarding its “family community” identity. The “family community” idea appears to be eroding Fire Island's older identity as a wide-open, anything-goes resort, as reflected in news media articles from the 1960s and 1970s.

Throughout Fire Island we have observed a decline in grouper houses—in Kismet, which was known for them 25 years ago, even in Ocean Bay Park, which was dominated by groupers. Seaview had many group rentals years ago but none today. We do not know the percentage of

grouper houses in Ocean Beach but from both conversations around town and observation of the housing stock, there is little evidence of group rentals.

We found two schools of folk wisdom with different explanations for the decline of groupers. One takes the view that with the rise in property values on Fire Island, homeowners today will not—would be foolish to—rent these valuable properties to people who will destroy them. This idea is often combined with a correlate: that given its proximity to Manhattan, its attractions and its high quality of life, more people of substance now appreciate Fire Island. These two ideas work together in their adherents' minds: the high value of property and the amenities and quality of life available in communities like Ocean Beach all militate against the grouper phenomenon. This school of thought sees the shift toward family life as a permanent, structural change.

The alternative school of thought discerns a cycle at work. A long-time Ocean Beach resident (but not a property owner) said that today there are many young families, owner occupants and renters, but:

...when the kids are 15, 16 years old, they don't want to come any more. Then the families rent; they start thinking of the riches they'll get from renting to a lot of young people. After all, there's a limited supply of wealthy renting couples—mainly the market is young adults. And many of those young adults later buy their own places. They mate, buy houses, have young families—all the things people do in the regular world!"

This participant admitted that the village has “made it harder” to rent to groups by trying to restrict activity on private property. Still, the cyclical view holds that the shift is only temporary; that one day groupers will again be prominent on Fire Island.

Seasonal residents are represented by the Fire Island Association. The major issue of the FIA is beach nourishment: the association works to build support for the Army Corps of

Engineers reformulation plan which, they hope, will eventually result in a federal commitment to regular beach replenishment. As it is, the communities tax themselves to pay for beach replenishment. One year-round resident thought this long struggle by the FIA was futile, and suggested that the communities work together on organizing a cooperative, self-funded program of beach nourishment. Our data suggest that year-rounders, for the most part, do not get involved in the FIA. Historically, the FIA has supported measures that limit development but offend year-round residents, such as town and Park Service caps on driving permits. Many year-round residents belong to the Fire Island Year-Round Residents Association.

Community Differences from East to West

Urban Character

In general, the western half of Fire Island, from Kismet to Fire Island Pines, is heavily developed. East of the Pines the island is much less developed. Many of the western communities, such as Ocean Beach, have an “urban” character. By “urban” we mean that leisure time activity is characteristically urban—walking in the street, talking and hanging out in the street, sitting and eating in restaurants, cafes and bars; shopping, being at home, gardening, entertaining in one another’s homes, regular basketball or softball dates, aerobics classes, bike riding, and so on. The great difference for most residents of being here, rather than in Manhattan or wherever else, is the beach. The beach is important to Fire Island residents in general. The predominant beach uses are unexceptional—walking, sunbathing, swimming—but on Fire Island the beach takes on the additional importance of being a means of access to other places up and down the island. Even in the most developed area, people can walk and bicycle easily only within between Corneille Estates and the Point O’ Woods fence, but to go farther in either

direction often involves a walk on the beach. Some residents spoke of going occasionally, perhaps annually, to the Sunken Forest. Unless one takes a water taxi, the only way to get there is by walking on the beach. An overland walk from Ocean Beach to Robbins Rest, Atlantique, or Fair Harbor is also difficult. Although no gates bar the way, the smooth walking surface ends abruptly west of Corneille Estates. Few people like walking very far through soft sand. The firm sand at the water's edge provides a much better walking surface. So the beach as thoroughfare is important.

Also important is the beach as public space. As one longtime, year-round Ocean Beach resident said, one can spend hours walking a few hundred yards on the beach because one will have so many conversations along the way. As this participant described it,

This place is a completely outdoor environment. This environment lends itself for you to be out, and when you're out everybody sees you. It's this kind of strange place that's isolated but has a social environment where everybody knows everybody else. Maybe not well, but you do know them. On the other side, you might know 20 people and that'll be it. I know a thousand people. It's an outdoor environment that allows people to be who they are outdoors, outside. They're not hiding.

By contrast, fishing, sailing, gardening, berry picking, farming, birdwatching, clamming, and other recreational or survival-related activities directly related to the marine island environment are relatively minor and/or in decline. Interviews conducted in some of the smaller, less developed communities, suggested that the seasonal residents there have a fuller, more immediate relationship to the natural rhythms and resources of the setting.

The differences from west to east were once seen as important enough to consider reconfiguring the national seashore. A *Newsday* article in 1975 reports a Park Service proposal to redraw the seashore boundaries, abandoning the urbanized western six miles and acquiring the county-owned, seven-mile long tract east of the Smith's Point bridge (Fresco 1975).

For year-round residents, the paramount east-west difference is that of access: the communities between Kismet and Atlantique have easier off-season access to the mainland than communities farther west. Kismet, the closest community to the bridge, has the greatest proportion of year-round residents, including a substantial number who work on the mainland and live on Fire Island as a kind of suburb. Residents of Kismet, Saltaire, and Fair Harbor may not need beach permits because the Burma Road provides adequate access.

Environmental Associations Common to Fire Island Communities

For all the communities, the beach, ocean, and bay are important resources. The beach and adjoining ocean water serves the widest range of activities: walking, seeing and being seen by friends and neighbors, swimming, sunbathing, and surfcasting. Note, however, that most of these activities occur on those portions of the beach that fall within the community boundaries, as compared to the NPS-owned stretches of beach. On a lively day on the beach there will be people in the water swimming and splashing around in the waves, and surfing farther out. Others relax on the beach sunbathing, socializing, playing in the sand, flying kites, or playing Frisbee or catch. The beach also provides a source of exercise for walking and running as well as lateral transportation.

The beach also figures prominently in the very idea of Fire Island; it is a central element of any resident's cognitive map. Adjacent to the beach is the row of primary dunes. These dunes are extremely important to all the communities because residents perceive them, correctly, as their main defense against inundation and destruction by the ocean. Many communities organize, often on an informal level, dune-protection efforts including setting out fences and

planting dune grass. Many communities also pay to have the beach scraped, after the summer currents have replenished the beach. The scraped sand is then used to build up the dunes.

Local Environmental Knowledge

This community activism exemplifies a theme that we have termed “local environmental knowledge.” By this we mean the sense among well-established residents that they understand the workings of the island’s ecological systems, and that they themselves take the actions necessary to protect these systems. Moreover, these residents feel that they understand the place of people in this ecosystem. In at least two instances, seasonal residents have published beautifully illustrated books that explain local ecosystems with a view to human uses like resource harvesting and food preparation.

Conversely, the remote authorities—Park Service, Army Corps of Engineers, town officials in Islip and Brookhaven—are thought to not understand the systems so well—certainly not the social ecology, and not even the natural systems. Often on the receiving end of authority and expertise, local residents can feel fed up. For example, officials and experts will say that residents who build on or near the dunes are selfish and ignorant of the natural systems that will eventually undermine their houses. One informant contradicted this view, saying that Fire Islanders know enough not to build on the dunes. The idea that greedy people build on the dunes and have their houses taken by storms is mistaken, she argued. Instead, the steady erosion of the shoreline has brought the water closer and closer to existing houses:

The summer residents respect the island, want the best for the island, are not trying to wreck the island. You'd have to be crazy if you know anything about a barrier beach and the way it moves and narrows and lengthens, you'd have to be crazy to rebuild on the dunes.

Some in the environmental community, she said—including some park staff—think the presence of summer residents is destructive to the island ecosystem. “There are areas of extreme tension between the Nature Conservancy, the Environmental Defense Fund, Sierra Club...” She countered,

How can they think that the people who have lived here for generations don't care about this place? I devote all my time to keep this place intact! We scrape the beach, we monitor it. You're allowed to take the top 18" of sand and push it back up and place it on the dune. Then you put in snow fencing to keep the sand in place and let it accumulate. Our money pays for that. We do everything we can do!

The informant described a year-round male resident, “fiercely protective” of the island, who volunteers his own time and organizes others to put up snow fencing on the dunes after the beach has been scraped—an example of how the “...interaction between people and the environment out here is a very complicated dynamic—organic and interlocking. It works. People matter out here as much as any plant or animal.”¹³ The general management plan, she stressed, must make a priority of protecting the community environment within the park:

We should not be told we don't belong here, that we're causing erosion, that the deer population is too high because we're feeding them. You just can't do that!... For the Nature Conservancy to say get rid of the people and the houses—that's insane. We're here. We make up a community. We can't be driven out; we need to be managed as part of the park so that the park will be the best that it can be. This has to be central to the general management plan.

“Local environmental knowledge” includes awareness of the fragility of the barrier island as a setting for houses and communities. Many longtime residents, both seasonal and year-round, have first-hand experience of storm damage, and all participate in the popular discourse of storm

¹³ This informant and others explained how the littoral drift had been interrupted by permanent groins and inlets farther east. She and others felt that Fire Island gets lost in New York politics, whereas the state of New Jersey recognizes the economic value of its shoreline and is committed to regular beach replenishment. Fire Island, by contrast, is considered elitist, its residents “privileged non-voters, New Yorkers who don't want to share the resource...not worth spending money on.”

damage, erosion, beach nourishment, and so on. This awareness has a substantial emotional content consisting partly of fear of what storms can do and partly of determination to preserve the island way of life. A certain awe of the ocean's power is reinforced by the images of storm damage reproduced in newspapers and other periodicals and in personal photo albums—such as the image in Figure 13. Longtime residents are more likely than others to carry this “local environmental knowledge,” which may be a distinguishing feature of their traditional association with Fire Island as a place. The following recollection from a Point O' Woods resident serves as an example:

As you probably know, the major ocean-front boardwalk extended along the entire length of Point O' Woods, from one end to the other, between the dunes and the houses [see Figure 37]. When we moved in 1941, the dunes were high and beautiful. Over the years they gradually and steadily eroded, with intermittent storms hastening the process, but with some periods of restoration. Efforts to save the dunes and build them up included the Association-sponsored bulldozing on the beach, pumping sand from the bay, and our own planting of grass and seaweed (cartloads from the bay) to secure the sand. I can't remember exactly, but I think sometime after 1954 (Hurricane Carol) the boardwalk was moved to the rear of the houses. Our house became ever closer to the beach, but our ocean views continued to be spectacular. By 1968, though, the dunes had completely disappeared. The ocean-front houses, including ours, were left standing right on the beach itself, supported only by posts in the front. We had lost our deck, but built another, even though we all felt a discouraging sense of fate for the future. And some of us went out for a Thanksgiving visit, which turned out to be our last. In the Xmas night storm of 1969, the high tides and heavy winds undermined the foundation, and the entire front of the house fell on to the beach, along with the Parke's house next door—the two going down together. It was not rebuildable (Towson 1995).

The bay plays a similar role to the beach in being essential to people's cognitive-geographic idea of Fire Island. Residents have multiple relationships with the bay. Everyone crosses it on the ferries or by other means, most people on a routine basis. Some seasonal residents have boating experiences on the bay: Saltaire and Point O' Woods have strong sailing programs, and we suppose that at least some of the boats kept in the marinas in Ocean Beach and

other communities belong to residents. A Kismet informant said that boating “has had a big surge in the last few years. A lot of new boats – high-powered boats. I guess they are called fast-powered boats. And a lot of family boats.” From our fieldwork on Fire Island, however, we surmise that most boaters on the bay come from mainland Long Island. The proportion of Fire Island residents who have boats on the bay is likely to be higher within the year-round population than among the seasonal population.



Figure 13
Wrecked House Following 1962 Northeaster
Private Collection

Decline in Traditional Harvesting

Although there has been a revitalization of fishing for some species in the bay, in general Fire Island has experienced a decline in traditional harvesting activities. A few people, mostly children, swim in the bay. Some people fish in the bay off the public docks. We have conflicting data on the use of the bay by residents for clamming. When our informants spoke of clamming most discussed it in terms of decline of the clams and loss of a once popular activity. Yet one frequently finds children of ten or twelve sitting at a table where they have set out for sale an array of decorated clamshells. When asked, two girls selling such items in Ocean Beach said that “everybody” goes clamming. They just walk out into the bay from the shoreline—no special

place, they said. Some duck hunting is done in the local bay waters around the islands and marshes by duck boat.

Of clamming one Kismet resident said,

Clamming has become almost a dead issue here in this area of Fire Island and the Great South Bay. They just stopped reproducing a number of years ago and crabbing is rather sporadic – we'll have them one season and then you won't see them for a season or two and then they will be prolific for one season. It certainly has changed since I have been here in the last fifty years...I think it began in the '80s that we began to see the clams lower in harvest commercially and recreationally. Crabbing became sporadic in the mid '80s also...I've seen a few people do it [referring to harvesting of beach plums and berries] and I remember in the past it being more popular. We have an issue with the deer who seem to eat a lot of the blossoms. So we don't have as many wild crops as we used to have. The fact that the deer are thick in an area, so you hardly see anything. They eat the flowers before they turn into food or they eat the food as soon as it arrives.

A year-round resident reminisced about life on the island long ago, before the Seashore, even before the bridges. One memory was of the abundance of wild fruit:

At that time, all we had here were blueberries, we had wild cherry; we were loaded with beach plums. Loaded—I mean, you could go out and pick beach plum and make enough beach plum jam to last you the whole year. And you know, beach plum jelly is just—oh, it's a unique sweet-sour—just a delicious thing. And of course you could pick them yellow or red and make your jelly all different colors of jam.

So you did that.

Oh yes.

And other people?

Oh, everybody did it.

Now, do you have to go farther to find the beach plums now?

Well, you're lucky if you can find them... [Then,] beach plums were all over. There were certain areas—the other side of Point O' Woods had a lot of beach plums. Oakleyville was just loaded, and plenty of blueberries down there...[Now,] I don't see any beach plums around here, sometimes there's an occasional bush up the street. But Oakleyville was loaded.

This resident described overnight fishing trips to the jetty at Democrat Point:

Again, we didn't have four-wheel drive; we had Model T's...And we could go out on the beach and go all the way to Democrat Point—a rock jetty. At that time, the rock jetty was the end of the island. After that, it started to build up and build out toward Jones Beach, so you had another island.

And that was worth making that trip?

Oh, we had so much fun there. You could have a cookout. We had a great time. You could stay overnight if you wanted. There weren't any restrictions on us driving—the national seashore wasn't here. And there were less people. The only thing I remember is Ocean Beach had a rope that ran from the dune, for lifeguarding, and going on. And somebody would have to get out of the car and step on the rope to get the car through. But that was the only thing in our way, all the way to Democrat Point.

So you could camp out?

Yes, we did that on Saturday nights.

They hadn't made a state park out of it yet?

No. There was nothing... Before the bridges were in, nobody was paying any attention to us here. You know—we were like the Indians; we could roam. It was a great feeling. We would go up to the ocean front and would build a fire. We were smart—we dug holes into the ground, and then we would build our fires. We took the water from the ocean and put it onto the stove. We cooked corn, and we made chef's grills, made hamburgers and hotdogs, or steak, or whatever we wanted. Again, there was nobody to bother.

People don't do that kind of thing now?

No—they can't.

You couldn't build a fire on the beach at all?

No. I don't know any community that would allow it today, and of course, it makes sense. You have too many houses today, and we always went beyond Point O' Woods to do it—east.

This resident described another aspect of island life years ago, which she felt is no longer available: that the island environment then presented young people with more opportunity for competence-building experiences of adventure, resource harvesting, and self-reliance:

It was a different lifestyle. Children would camp on the beach, build a fire, and take their food right from the ocean. For my family growing up, it was a great thing—for boys especially. They built go-carts, they rebuilt cars—they gained a lot of experience that way. You couldn't do that today—you're not allowed even to drive a golf cart in the communities. Any boy at that time could take a car apart and put it back again. Now we're talking original Model T's and Chevys, but they really knew the mechanics of things. Boys leaned how to handle saws, other equipment, at a very early age. I don't think we had a fear of them getting hurt from that equipment—which makes sense if you learn from an early age.

The difference today, she thought, relates mainly to the restrictions in place: “The biggest change is the restrictions. Prior to the seashore you were always free to travel the island. I’m not saying the restrictions are wrong—the population’s increased tenfold.”

Sunken Forest

The Sunken Forest was an important place for many community informants. More than a few cited it as a special place on the island, a place they enjoy visiting from time to time. The key informant in Kismet describes the Sunken Forest as a place with special meaning:

We make a point of visiting the Sunken Forest whenever we have guests or even just ourselves occasionally since it is very unique and something that we have always enjoyed, something that we always appreciate being preserved.

How is it unique? Because of the plants that grow there or is there something else about it that is special?

Yeah the plants and sort of the silence and just the idea of it being so unique compared to any of the other areas on the island or any other place at all.

Others remembered the Sunken Forest as it was before the time of wooden walks, when you could walk anywhere. The Sunken Forest is frequently a destination for people taking long beach walks, or long walks combined with water taxi or lateral ferry trips. The other tracts of land owned by the Park Service seem to have little positive association for residents (the Carrington Tract between Cherry Grove and Fire Island Pines is an exception.) The wild lands between Atlantique and Robbins Rest and between Robbins Rest and Summer Club, for example, are not mentioned by informants unless asked, and then they say something negative—either that you’re not allowed to do anything there or that the Park Service does nothing to maintain these areas.

Community Spaces

Within their boundaries the communities possess many kinds of important gathering spaces and places. These include the ferry docks, the public walks, the ocean and bay beaches, the local commercial areas, ballfields, tennis courts, churches and synagogues, fire halls, and community houses. Saltaire and Seaview have culturally important parks adjacent to their commercial centers. Figures 14 and 15 show examples of the widespread use of telephone poles, bulletin boards, and other similar surfaces for posting fliers about community activities and events. In addition, such communities as Saltaire and Cherry Grove have formal, glass-enclosed information boards at points throughout the community where residents can post notices. The bikes, tables, and



Figure 14
Community Notices on Telephone Pole

Outside Our Lady of the Magnificat Roman Catholic Church, Ocean Beach

community notices outside the market and Candy Store in Point O' Woods (Figure 15) reveal



Figure 15
Market and Candy Store, Point O' Woods

With bike racks, outdoor tables and bulletin board for fliers and ads.

something of the social importance of these retail amenities to the communities. Figure 16 shows an example of a commercial district as a gathering place, in this case for an evening performance of popular music.



Figure 16
Evening Concert on the Freight Dock, Ocean Beach

Following is a series of community reports in order of location, from west to east, beginning with the lighthouse beach, then Kismet, Saltaire, Fair Harbor, and so on.

LIGHTHOUSE BEACH

Layout and Social Organization

To the east of Field 5 at Robert Moses State Park, close to the Fire Island Lighthouse, lie two stretches of beach at which nude sunbathing takes place. According to one informant interviewed on the beach, these two short stretches of the beach, separated by a narrow strip of beach administered by the National Park Service, are under the administration of the U. S. Coast Guard. The Coast Guard takes a permissive management approach, having permitted the development of a culture of nudity on these two sections of the beach.

Walking along the sand from Field 5, the first stretch of beach on which nude bathing is practiced appears a few hundred yards to the east, and is roughly three hundred yards wide. At the eastern end of this stretch a sign by the dunes states that the area beyond it is no longer a nude bathing area. On the other side, for those approaching from the east, the sign states that it is a nude beach beyond that point. About two hundred yards farther east the second nude bathing area begins. The westernmost stretch of nude bathing beach is generally much busier than the eastern section.

During the weekdays the nude beaches are predominantly frequented by older individuals and couples, generally retired, who live fairly locally. Being retired they receive free entry to the park during weekdays. Most indicated that they come as often as they can, varying from two or three times a week to once or twice a month, depending on their personal situations and how far they had to travel to get to the beach. One informant lived on the north shore of Long Island but came to Lighthouse Beach in order to be able to sunbathe naked.

Some younger nude bathers frequent the western section of Lighthouse beach. Like the older people around them many have coolers and sit on the beach drinking cold beer or soda.

There are also some families with young children. Most often the parents were naked, while the children remained in bathing suits, although some younger children were also naked.

Most of those interviewed reported that they tend to sit in roughly the same spot each time they come. These favorite spots depend upon how sociable or private they want to be. The eastern stretch of beach attracts those who want a quiet time, whereas the western portion is much busier and offers more opportunity for interaction. Some of those interviewed stay to the edges of the western portion to avoid the excessive noise of the radios and the beach volleyball games, but view the eastern section as too quiet. Those connected with Friends of the Lighthouse Beach congregate in the middle of the western part of the beach. One informant reported that he used to sit on the eastern section of beach, and arrived there by taking the ferry to Kismet and making the short walk westwards to the Lighthouse beach.

Community Organizations

While many of the nude bathers who frequent these two stretches of beach go there on their own or in small groups, there is also an organization, Friends of Lighthouse Beach, whose members frequent one particular area of the western stretch of the beach. They tend to be there mostly on weekends during the summer months. When asked, most informants knew of the Friends of Lighthouse Beach organization, but none were involved. The great majority of those who frequent the two sections of beach where nude bathing is practiced do so as independent individuals, rather than as members of this group.

Activities

The principal reason for coming to Lighthouse beach is to enjoy sunbathing naked. Those who go there like to be able to remove their clothes and lie naked on the beach or swim naked in

the ocean, and enjoy the company of others engaged in the same pursuits. It is the fact that nude bathing is accepted at this location that provides the draw for those wishing to sunbathe naked. The majority of those on the beach sit in small groups; individuals by themselves, couples, or families. A certain amount of socializing goes on among Lighthouse beach-goers who regularly encounter friends and acquaintances through frequenting the same part of the beach each time they come.

The researcher spoke with one man who was flying two large kites. He reported that he often enjoyed doing this, but had been unable to do so earlier in the season due to restrictions imposed to encourage the nesting of plovers on the beach. Another informant reported that he volunteered regularly with the Park Service, putting up fences, or doing whatever else needed doing in the park.

Another activity that takes place at Lighthouse beach is volleyball. Games usually take place at the weekends on the western section of the beach.

Rules and Regulations, Policing and Surveillance

Signs are posted to announce to those entering the nude bathing area that they can expect to encounter naked bathers, with the reverse side indicating that beyond that point nude bathing is no longer permitted. These signs are posted along the edges of the dunes, while most people walking along the beach do so by the ocean side from where the signs are not legible.

Natural and Cultural Resources Utilized

The two stretches of beach on which nude bathing is permitted are the primary natural resources that attract the nude bathers to Lighthouse Beach.

The organization Friends of Lighthouse Beach has been active in establishing and maintaining cordial relations with the Park Service. For its members it provides a focus for the activity of nude bathing and a social milieu in which to carry on the practice. For those not affiliated with this group, a similar function is served by returning to the same spot on the beach, where there is a greater likelihood of meeting up with friends and acquaintances from previous visits. The researcher observed this phenomenon several times and discussed it with informants.

Cultural Character of the Community

Nude bathers tend to be older than the general beach-going population. While there were one or two younger couples and couples with young children, the vast majority of the people on these beaches were in their 50s, 60s, and 70s. On balance there are more men than women. Many of these were retired and enjoyed coming there as often as they could. Although their backgrounds may be different, they are united in the single activity of nude bathing, and go to lighthouse beach in order to carry out this practice. The atmosphere on these two stretches of beaches is relaxed and informal, and the bathers generally keep themselves to themselves.

The two short sections of beach that constitute the nude bathing area differ in that the western most end is more crowded, especially at weekends, and thus a little more gregarious than the eastern end, which is much more sparsely occupied and quieter. The younger people tend to congregate more on the western end. While most of those on the beach are nude, there are some who keep their costumes on, especially among those strolling along the beach from either the State Park or Kismet end.

KISMET

History Of Kismet

The present-day community of Kismet began as three separate developments: Lighthouse Shores, Kismet, and Seabay beach. On October 15, 1925, the Kismet Park Corporation purchased from the Sammis Estate almost all of Lot 3, except for the lot sold previously to a telegraph company to build a transmission tower (Fletcher and Kintz 1979). By 1933, there were enough residents in Kismet and

neighboring areas to justify a school for children on the western end of the island.

The 1938 hurricane which devastated the area destroyed 22 of the 25 dwellings in Kismet (Johnson, 1983). Fletcher and Kintz (1979) report an increase in construction at Kismet in the late 1920s, a lesser burst in construction between 1947 and 1955, and a steady increase between 1955 and 1973.

An informant in Kismet describes the history of the community quite accurately:

Kismet began growing pretty rapidly in the early '60s. It was devastated in the 1938 hurricane and Fire Island was sort of a dead issue during the Second World War and in the mid fifties people began to subdivide land and by the early '60s a lot of housing construction had taken place and a lot of it was investment properties designed to house renters. Kismet developed in the '70s as what we call a 'grouper community' where a large group rented the house for the season which brought our population weekends way up, so it was a popular time for groups to come out for weekends. In the late '80s and early '90s, we began evolving into a



Figure 17

A Kismet General Store Before the Second World War

The large sign with electric light bulbs attracts the attention of passengers arriving on the ferry.
Private collection

more family oriented type community. New owners purchased real estate and used the houses and in turn rented them to smaller families and right now we are pretty much a family oriented community with a few group houses left and a few singles.

The popularity of “groupers” in the 1970s and ’80s and the lively scene they generated has left Kismet with a long lasting reputation as place for group rental, young people, and a party atmosphere, the changes since then notwithstanding.

Community Layout and Social Organization

Westernmost of the Fire Island communities, Kismet is bordered on both sides by wild lands owned by the Park Service. The community is laid out in a grid with five cement north-south walks and three east-west ones. A narrow Park Service tract between the two easternmost walks, thick with bamboo, makes the houses on Seabay walk somewhat separate from the rest of the communities.

The houses in Kismet vary considerably in size, style, and upkeep. They range from shabby and neglected cottages to large, modern structures that could easily be found in a nice suburb on the Long Island mainland. The landscaping varies accordingly. One sees houses with overgrown and weedy front yards and others carefully landscaped with exotic plantings and water features. Throughout the community people name their houses. A few display family names; most display kitschy names such as Happy Daze, Triple Duplex, Sergeant Pepper, Fahgettaboutit, Chalet by the Sea and the House of a Thousand Indians. There are about 250 houses in Kismet.

Close to beach there is a fenced in private residence called Camelot Court; inside are two motel-like buildings and tennis courts. At the bay-front end of West Lighthouse Walk is a one-story building with a series of attached units with a small beach, tiny dock, and sign: “Private:

Lighthouse Shores Boatel.” Farther east in Kismet, near the marina, are the “Margarita Villas,” a group of attached white one-story residences each with a deck and picnic table off the walk. East of the villas, also bordering the bay front, is a building that looks like a hotel; the sign says “Bulkhead Condominiums.”

Kismet’s downtown is located along the bay front. On East Lighthouse walk is The Out, one of Kismet’s two restaurant-bars (the name alludes to its competitor, the Kismet Inn). The Out has indoor and outdoor seating, a bar, pool table, and other amenities. On the northwest corner of East Lighthouse and Bay Walks is a monument marking the site of Fire Island’s first hotel, the Dominy House, which later became the Surf Hotel. The bricks in the monument are the remains of the chimney of the power house. It was erected in 1989 in memory of Kismet’s historian who had died the previous year. Adjacent to it is a rack for bicycles and wagons.

On the foot of the dock is a small free-standing building containing De Natalie’s Pizzeria. In front of the restaurant, opposite The Out, are tables, benches and umbrellas. On the eastern side of the building is a bulletin board for community information, fliers, and advertisements. The wooden dock is wide, providing a landing both for the ferry and private boats. On it there is a long row of blue plastic benches for people waiting for boats to arrive.

On the eastern foot of the dock is another area for parking wagons and a large glass display case containing community photos from Independence Day celebrations, event fliers, NPS-printed information, and other materials. Adjacent to the display case is a small Suffolk County Police booth. Across Bay Walk from the police station is The Kismet Inn, with indoor and outdoor seating, bar, pool table and other amenities.

Across Oak Walk from The Inn is the market, which has a pay phone outside. On its northern flank are benches arranged in a circle surrounding a flagpole, which provides a pleasant

seating area with a great view of the marina and bay waters. Also on Oak Walk, just past The Inn, is the Kismet Fire Department. East of the market is the Kismet Inn boat basin, with room for approximately thirty boats. The boat basin is a popular social space.

Just south of the bay front commercial area is a community recreation facility provided by the Town of Islip. Here are two tennis courts, one with basketball hoops; bike racks, playground equipment, three picnic tables, a water fountain, benches to watch the tennis games, and trash cans. In the playground is a large piece of plastic play equipment with slides, ladders, a bridge and other climbing structures. There are two standard swings and two baby ones.

A longtime resident of another Fire Island community describes the changes in Kismet:

It was a large group town for a long time. I don't know that it ever was a family community. Now it is becoming one. So during the time that it was a group community, the Kismet Inn and the Kismet Out did a huge business with the bar crowd. The restaurant thing was insular to the bar crowd. The supermarket sold much more beer than halves of chickens. As it changes, there is pressure on the Kismet Inn and the Kismet out to cut down on the noise level and all of these things, so the community seems to be growing up. At the same time, there is much larger houses there. The area as a whole is becoming, if not gentrified, of a higher financial caliber to the point that soon I wouldn't be able to live there because I couldn't afford the taxes. So Kismet is changing from a grouper town of shacks to houses that are being renovated.

Although Kismet has an island-wide reputation as a party town with a lot of group rental houses—and for this reason is often compared to Ocean Bay Park—the community has changed since the 1970s when the party scene was at its height. Another resident describes it not as “sort of a mix or cross-section of families with children and families without children, a few singles, somewhat laid back from what it used to be and very pleasant.” The houses are increasingly occupied by their owners, most of whom come from such Long Island communities as Islip and Bay Shore. A still significant number of houses are rented during the summer season, but

residents note a shift in the renter demographics from “groupers” to families. Many of the visitors coming to Kismet, either as day-trippers, boaters, or as renters, are also from Long Island. Boats in the marina have home ports such as Babylon and Patchogue. Long Islanders dominate the scene in Kismet with a minority of others coming from New York City, Connecticut, and other points in the metropolitan area.

At present approximately fourteen families live in Kismet the year around with children ranging from ages four to 16. Between 40 and 45 houses are occupied throughout the winter. In contrast to other communities the year-round residents are employed both on and off Fire Island. This employment geography is made possible by the proximity of the Robert Moses Causeway, which makes it much more reasonable than in other communities to live on the island and drive off for work.

The Kismet key informant portrays the community as “laid back:”

In Kismet, I would have to say in general that everyone gets along. Occasionally there’s an issue over driving or something, but nothing paramount. We probably are the most laid back community in that everyone gets along well. Occasionally there are growing pains, people driving when there are other people on the walks could create a small issue, not a big issue. We have never had people demanding quick change or immediate change.

As in other communities across the island, deer are numerous and carry the threat of Lyme disease. The researcher was told that the incidence of Lyme disease was so high it was almost like a plague several years ago, but has declined since then because people are taking proper precautions to protect themselves. Transportation remains an ongoing issue in terms of the many people desiring permits who must wait a long time for them, other residents who abuse their driving permits, and the tremendous sizes of an ever increasing number of motor vehicles.

The size of a lot of the vehicles has seemed to run against the original vehicle statutes and we are trying to limit the carting trucks to three quarters of a ton, but now we see big dually F350's and Dodge power wagons that are capable of carrying five and six thousand pounds and many of the personal vehicles have become large size Excursion type, GM type vehicles capable of carrying crews and workmen. And yes, so there is an ongoing issue.

All this in a place with no roads. There are also a few issues more local to Kismet. One is that the concrete walks have fallen into a state of disrepair:

Well in Kismet here, we are in the process of replacing our sidewalks as anyone who may have visited Kismet would realize if they didn't trip walking up and down the sidewalks, they should consider themselves lucky, they would realize that our sidewalks have been decimated by time and again by heavier and more huge vehicles and also by neglect. We are now working with the town of Islip to replace all of the sidewalks in the village – I think that they will be nine feet wide and will be engineered to withstand the typical winter beach traffic and vehicle traffic. We are hoping that will take place within the next year or two by 2006. It's been ongoing for about 25 years, but right now we have a good relationship with the Islip town and it looks like it is going to be a go.

A more contentious issue is the clothing-optional beach just west of Kismet—a source of angst for some people in Kismet:

One of my issues is the nude beach up by the lighthouse museum and it seemed to evolve from a few people to something that is out of control and infringes upon a lot of the visitors who come to either Field 5 or some come by either boat or water taxi to visit the lighthouse and then to walk to the beach and then to have to partake in something which a lot of people feel is just unnecessary and some think distasteful. It seems to be have been pushed down the people's throats without much control at all. We have school groups that come and visit by bus and come to the lighthouse to do would be to take them to the beach for a picnic and that doesn't happen anymore.

Although this is a topic that upsets some people greatly, it is also a special feature of Fire Island for others and will likely to remain controversial in the future.

Rituals, Celebrations, And Gatherings

In keeping with the relaxing, “laid back” atmosphere in Kismet and relative transience of its population, in comparison to other communities, there are few organized or annual events.

Kismet holds an annual seafood festival and a clam-shucking contest during the summer months.

Also throughout the year the Kismet Community Association and Fire Department, as described in the next section, holds fundraising events.

Community Organizations and Associations

The Kismet Community Association is a property owners group. Membership is voluntary and approximately sixty percent participate in the dues program. A resident describes the group as “a community-run cleanup organization.” They perform street maintenance, do volunteer maintenance work in the community, and collect money. They hold several fundraising events throughout the year including an annual auction that generates a major share of the association’s budget.

Kismet also has its own volunteer fire department. In addition to providing critical emergency services, they hold small events throughout the year to raise money such as the “Words of Wisdom & Food for Thought - A Book & Celebrity Bake Sale,” “Wagon of Cheer Raffle,” and “Dessert and Dancing under the Stars” all being advertised in summer 2004.

There are no formal religious organizations or establishments in Kismet. There is, however, a woman in the community who holds Sunday school in her home.

Activities

Fishing is an activity enjoyed by many in Kismet. People like to fish from the dock and marina as well as from boats in the bay. The key informant in Kismet describes the present situation:

Fishing is pretty good. We have seen a come back of striped bass from the regulations and fluke fishing has been picking up again due to the regulations. Weakfishing has been sporadic as it has been since back in the 70’s – good one year and off the next year. And blue fishing has waned in the last 15 years. And the effect can be seen on adult blue fish and snappers. There just doesn’t seem to be as many inshore as there has been. And blowfish were very prolific in the 70’s and 80’s and again there has been a down drift in the catch and interest in blowfish.

Socializing, vacationing, and having a good time are the other dominant activities in Kismet. There is a lively summer scene in the Kismet Inn and Out. The presence of a market and pizzeria also make it easier for people to visit Kismet for the day. It is also common for people to spend time at home relaxing, entertaining friends, and barbequing.

Rules and Regulations, Policing and Surveillance

Kismet is a hamlet in Islip. There is no local governance structure in place. Any rules or regulations are a result of the jurisdiction of the Town of Islip, Suffolk County, or the National Park Service. There is not a strong or persisting presence of law enforcement in the community; however every public area in the community – the playground, tennis courts, dock, outside of the police department booth adjacent to the dock, and the marina—has a clearly posted list of rules detailing what is prohibited to the letter of the law.

Natural and Cultural Resources Utilized

The ocean, beach, and bay waters are important sources of recreation. One resident spoke of regular visits to the Sunken Forest. Despite its proximity, the Lighthouse was not discussed as a place with special meaning. Being the westernmost of the communities on Fire Island, the bridge across the Great South Bay is a particularly important resource for Kismet. The bridge makes possible a relatively large year-round population, gives access to diverse employment opportunities for residents, and eases transportation of goods and people to and from the mainland. While the playground is a popular destination for children, the tennis courts seem less used here than in other island communities.

Cultural Character and Values of the Community

Despite the shift in the last decade toward a more mixed, family community, Kismet remains much more relaxed than some other communities. It is more working class than other nearby communities and, unlike them, seasonal residents here are mainly from Long Island. Kismet's beach and commercial establishments make it an attractive destination for day-trip visitors. We found no opposition in the community to the presence of day-trippers. Such visitors are greeted with arrows on the dock directing the flow of pedestrian traffic off the ferry, by signs on Cedar Walk (the lateral walk closest to the beach) pointing "To Town," and by no-littering signs and trash cans throughout the community. The beauty of Kismet is that all people are welcome and the mixed population coexists in surprising harmony. The informal but lively social scene is significant in the community's appeal.

SALTAIRE

History Of Saltaire

Development of Saltaire, named for Saltaire in Yorkshire, England—Lord Salt’s Aire River home—began in 1910, when the Fire Island Beach Development Company, created by Otis F. Loucks and L. E. Bliss, purchased land from Henry and Sophie Glahn. The history of Saltaire has been documented in Ruth B. Brewster Dobie’s *History of the Incorporated Village of Saltaire, Fire Island, New York, and Saltaire*, by the Saltaire Citizens Advisory Association (Johnson 1983). Saltaire’s developers opened a sales office on West 34th Street in New York City. They brought prospective buyers to Fire Island for free from a ferry that left hourly in the morning and evening from Bay Shore, enabling prospective buyers to spend the day strolling in the community and enjoying the sea. Interested visitors could spend the night in one of six guest houses put up by the promoters and attend discussions in the casino, all in the hope that they would purchase property for the site of a summer residence. The promoters were so successful that by 1911, 100 houses had been built and by 1912 the community was well established and attracted enough boat owners to launch a homeowner’s association and a yacht club (Johnson, 1983).

Mike Coffey came to Fire Island in 1913 to work for the Fire Island Beach Development Company. After a year and a half, he left the company to become an independent builder and spent fifty years in the village, building over 100 houses, three churches, and the Village Hall. Coffey houses are a version of the Craftsman and Bungalow home styles that were popular nationwide in the early 20th century (Figure 18). Easily recognized by their distinctively arched windows, the Coffey houses are documented extensively in Fletcher and Kintz (1979). Many were destroyed in the 1938 hurricane but enough survive to give Saltaire a distinctive

architectural character. Coffey became Saltaire's "master builder," responsible not only for the building of new buildings, but also the alterations of older buildings often incorporating newer building technologies and/or materials (Fletcher and Kintz 1979).

Saltaire's development boom continued until World War I. By 1917 there were almost two hundred cottages and a summer population of 1500. However, the corporation had fallen



Figure 18
A Typical Coffee-Built House, Saltaire

into financial trouble, to the extent that it could not make necessary repairs to the boardwalks (Fletcher and Kintz 1979). As a result, the 200 homeowners came together to form a political entity and in 1917 the hamlet became an incorporated village with elections for mayor and trustees.

Residents today continue to be proud that they live in an incorporated village, which ensures proper maintenance of the community and control through self governance (Johnson 1983).

Saltaire's growth and improvement resumed in the 1920s. In 1924 a post office opened. In 1932 an additional piece of land on Saltaire's western border was acquired and in 1936, electricity introduced into the community (Johnson 1983). In the Hurricane of 1938, Saltaire lost 127 houses out of perhaps 250 in all (Logan 1970). The hurricane also eroded almost two hundred feet of oceanfront land. The area south of Lighthouse Promenade was left a duneless,

washed-out beach devoid of virtually all houses and vegetation. Dune reconstruction and replanting of pine trees in the area were made possible by a project sponsored by the Works Progress Administration and a loan by the New York State Teachers Association. World War II halted further reconstruction.

In 1947, a group of residents formed Saltaire Associates, Inc. because of concern about numerous empty lots abandoned after the storm on which taxes were unpaid and delinquent unsold land from the original corporation. The group bought the land and distributed it by selling some lots, giving one to the town for a new water supply system and dividing the remainder amongst themselves (Johnson 1983). Although there was some building in the 1940s and '50s, large-scale development of southern Saltaire did not begin again until the 1960s. The 1960s construction created a forthrightly modern architectural ambience in the southern part of Saltaire that contrasts with the prewar shingle-cottage character on the bay side.

The village government has played a large role in guiding the physical development of Saltaire. In 1965 the zoning ordinance was amended, doubling the amount of land required to build a house from three lots to six lots, limiting the maximum residential density to 470 homes, and restricting the commercial center to the existing complex on Broadway. The village also preserves the fourteen acre neck of land north of Clam Pond as the Weidhopf Memorial Preserve, maintains the boardwalks throughout the village, and places restrictions on behavior in the community such as no eating on the boardwalks (Johnson 1983).

Community Layout and Social Organization

Saltaire's walks are arranged in a grid like many of the island communities. Its lateral walks are named promenades and mainly made of concrete while the north-south walks are

unique on the island with their attractive wooden diagonal planking. As discussed above, there are two distinct styles of architecture in the community. South of Lighthouse Promenade the houses are larger, contemporary, and more varied in design. In the northern section, some original houses designed by Coffey remain and the others are of similar style, size, color, and ornament giving a feeling of uniformity. The earliest bungalows, surviving the 1938 hurricane, are concentrated today on Bay promenade, Broadway, Pacific, Neptune, Marine and Atlantic Walks. Alteration of these structures is limited to the replacement of wood-shingle roofs with asphalt ones for fire prevention. There is also a third distinct portion of the community. The houses located on the neck of Clam Pond cove comprise a particularly exclusive section, those residents having the privilege of water views both north and south and no neighbors in front or behind their houses.

The effect of the 1965 amendment to the zoning ordinance limiting the number of houses built in Saltaire is visible as one strolls through the community, with empty lots present, in contrast to more densely built communities where all the lots have built up. Bamboo grows rampant on many of the vacant lots and is considered a nuisance by homeowners. Overall the landscaping in the community looks simple with few ornamental plantings. In the middle of the community, especially where the older bungalows are located, the ground is very marshy, requiring houses to be on stilts. Ferns grow in empty spaces along these walks.

When asked how Saltaire is different than the other communities, a resident explains:

In terms of the physical environment, I think that Saltaire is the widest part of the island...It also has one of the narrowest parts. It goes wide and really narrow. But the layout has a lot of advantages in terms of the bay front and the marina...it creates a nice atmosphere on the bay front. A nice harbor. It's got a cove – clam pond cove which is a nice natural resource and in that way it is different than the other communities (Figure 19).

The bay front in Saltaire has a bulkhead with a series of ladders and small boat launches east and west of the main dock. Some residents store their canoes and kayaks on the shore near the launches. Sitting on the bulkhead ledge is discouraged by placards warning that fiberglass splinters are likely from touching the top of the wall. Four teak



Adirondack style chairs line the bay front between Beach and Atlantic walks.

Figure 19
Clam Pond and Salt Marsh, Saltaire
Looking south from Bay Promenade

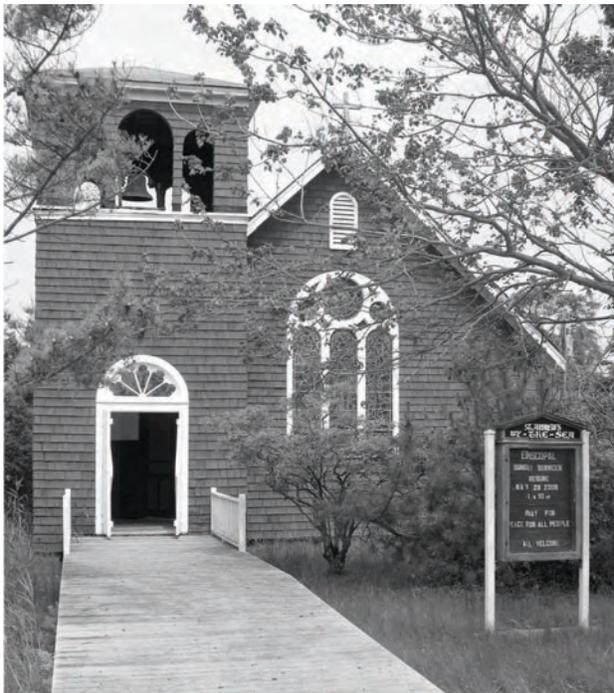


Figure 20
St. Andrew's-by-the-Sea Episcopal Church

Saltaire is also notable for its social amenities. There are two churches, St. Andrews-by-the-Sea Protestant Episcopal Church on Broadway (Figure 20), and Our Lady, Sire of the Sea, Roman Catholic, on the corner of Lighthouse Promenade and Navy Walk. Also on Broadway is the Saltaire Fire Department (Figure 21). The Saltaire Yacht club, on Marine Walk between Harbor and Bay Promenades, operates a private dock, tennis courts, and restaurant-bar that also serves as an event hall. On those walks that

allow beach access the village provides a trash can, water fountain, foot wash, shower, and benches. On the dunes a sprinkler system waters the dune grass. Throughout the community there are trash cans, hydrants, and fire boxes. There are display cases with information outside of the town hall and also at the intersection of Broadway and Lighthouse Promenade.

The ferry dock directs residents and their visitors into the main social and commercial center of the community. The two docks form a small marina with boat slips. On the main dock is a small structure with the ferry schedule and other notices posted inside a glass case on its outside and a place for people in the community to tie up wagons. On the east side of the dock is the bay beach. There is diving board, swimming lanes, a roped off shallow swimming area and lifeguard stand.

Across Bay Walk from the bay beach is a small wooded park with a gazebo and benches. Opposite the park on Broadway is the doctor's office and Saltaire

Security, followed by the market and liquor store. Farther down Broadway, on the east side, is the Village Hall. The

top floor is the village offices and court and the bottom contains the library, which is staffed in the summer season and open the rest of the year on a self-service basis. The library offers a summer reading program and book bingo.

Wright Field on Broadway, built in 1988, is the home of a community softball field. It doubles as a helicopter medevac landing space. There is a softball schedule for the community



Figure 21
Saltaire Volunteer Fire Department
Community ballfield in background at right.

league which has six teams, also a sign advising: "Use of field is prohibited after dusk. Use of field is prohibited for any organized activity without approval of Saltaire Recreation Director or Administrator." The ball field takes up the entire space between Broadway and Neptune walk, the next one east. Opposite the field on Neptune is a basketball court with standard and smaller hoops at each end. Next to the basketball courts is a building where the summer camp is held and bicycle racks. Adjacent to the camp building is a small playground that includes swings and tire swings, as well as other play equipment.

Over its nearly one hundred-year history, the demographics of Saltaire has remained fairly constant. Most of the earliest property owners maintained their primary residence in Manhattan or Brooklyn. A resident describes the community today: "particularly summer residents, you'll find reside in the city or in the upper counties. A handful come from Long Island. I would say, the majority comes from New York City or the upper counties like Westchester or some come from Jersey, all over." A correlate to this that the traditional socio-economic values that characterized Saltaire almost from its inception have remained more or less constant – family oriented, sedate atmosphere, upper middle class residents (Fletcher and Kintz 1979). In addition to its family orientation, no one age group predominates, several families have been in the community for generations and it is a common occurrence to see families of three generations out for a walk. However all of this consistency also makes Saltaire a very closely-knit community, to the point of being exclusive. A resident in another community describes Saltaire as

...a closed community. You have to be really--have to afford a lot to come in and not only be able to pay for your home but the taxes here are—
You have to pay Islip and pay the village
Exactly. They're probably equal to Long Island taxes. There's a yacht club here that's only for Saltaire residents. Not everybody can join. There's no public bars, no restaurants. You know it's pretty much by design a closed community.

According the 2000 census, the population of Saltaire, year-round, is 43 people who make up ten to twelve families. This leaves most houses in the community vacant for much of the year. A year round resident comments:

Yeah, outside of the dozen families who live here year round, most of them are seasonal. There are some that are winterized for people to stay here year round, but they don't live here year round. They come out in November and December and January on weekends. But most, 90 percent, of the houses, when the cold weather comes in, they shut the houses down. They shut the water off and board them up and come back in April.

During the summer season the community is heavily occupied, largely by the homeowners, although rentals are permitted.

There are definitely rentals... We don't require [a renter's permit], so I am just going by a hunch – maybe a quarter of the residents will either rent part or all other season. Some rent for a month to pay the bills for a year and then they get their month out of it... [People rent to] mostly families. Again that is what is drawn here. Generally, we have mostly families come to Saltaire. We have a day camp. That's not a requirement to come into the day camp. But families tend to be drawn to Saltaire because it is again designed around children.

This focus on families is also evident in the activities offered by the community.

Rituals, Celebrations, And Gatherings

Each year the fire department holds a Fourth of July parade, traditionally at the end of July because of the greater availability then of bands to participate in the parade. They also hold a gala each summer. A member of the community speaks about the Saltaire Citizen's Advisory Association which has an

...arts and crafts festival which is the first week in August in which people will display their art work and also sell it if they want and crafts. And they have a little band and watermelon. And we can eat on the beach that night – because you know that we have a no eating on the beach ordinance. So that gets suspended for one night and everyone gets to go to down the beach and have a picnic that night.

They also organize a sand castle contest and “jogathon.” The Saltaire Yacht Club has annual events for its members that become traditions for many people in the community, like the annual opening cocktail party and July 4th lobster dinner. The village also holds events each year—for example, a bazaar or big community-wide garage sale in July and a week-before-Halloween gathering in October.

Community Organizations and Associations

Having a village government sets Saltaire apart from most other communities on Fire Island. Broadly, the village provides governance, maintenance, services and activities in and for the community. The village has an administrative structure including an administrator, court, and trustees. It provides a security department, and during the summer, lifeguards on the ocean and bay beaches, a doctor, post office, and day camp. In addition to the day camp, there is a precamp program at the library and summer reading program, exercise classes in the Village Hall, and sporting leagues for children and adults.

The Saltaire Yacht Club was founded in 1912 with funds raised by private subscription. Later, a large hall was added financed by insurance bonds. It is a private organization open to people who are homeowners or renters in Saltaire. At present, dues are \$450 per year per family. It began as a community center and evolved to become a private club that cooperates with the village to provide some activities open to all community members. The yacht club has a restaurant and bar, open between May and October, and a room available in the off season for private parties. The club offers sailing lessons, sponsors races and provides a small harbor for members’ boats. It also manages the tennis courts in the community. In addition it hosts fitness classes, a fishing tournament, bridge camp and weekly games, bridge tournament. There is also

an annual opening cocktail party, various dinners throughout the summer and regular movie nights for children, teens, and adults.

Saltaire has a volunteer fire company established in 1969. They hold several annual fundraising events during the year, especially in summer months. St. Andrew's Church shares its space with the Jewish community so that they can celebrate holidays throughout the year. The Catholic, Episcopal, and Jewish congregations have members from communities across the island. Saltaire residents also participate in island-wide groups such as the Fire Island Association, the Fire Island Year-Rounders Association, and the Rotary Club.

Activities

The Village of Saltaire sponsors many activities for its residents. The library, located on the bottom floor of the Village Hall is

...open all year round, but not manned all year round. We have a very active program in the summer – children's program, a pre-camp program in the library and then the adult section is basically come help yourself – Bring a book in if you want to get rid of it. Check a book out if you want it and bring it back when you are done with it. So it is open all year round, but no one mans it. Books just come and go.

A program available in the summer is the Village day camp. The camp is for children ages four to twelve. A member of the Village administration explains the camp program:

We register every year 275 kids. Some just for a week, some for a month, some for the whole year. But we register on average 275 kids per year. So it's a pretty big camp. It's only a morning program 9-12. But it is well attended. Well thought of and we do a lot for the kids...The day camp is very involved in the nature on the island. We actually this year hired a naturalist who comes once a week and she takes the kids around to explore the nature on the beach and the island. They actually took the eight year olds to the Sunken Forest. So we try to gear the camp to the nature of Saltaire and Fire Island. We also gear it towards swimming and things like that.

When the children are not in camp and for those who do not attend the program, there are also other activities: corkball and soccer leagues, baseball and volleyball camp, fast pitch softball league and schedule, and a sunset at the Fire Island Lighthouse trip. The village also offers

...a lot of activities outside of the day camp which does things in the afternoons – basketball camp, soccer camp, volleyball camp. We have a nature program which we bring Teddy Roosevelt people in which is always on the weekend. They do live animal demonstrations and trips to Lighthouse. Different performances. We get people to come into the village. So we have a pretty well rounded, what we call family program, in addition to the camp program which is from 9-12.

The family program has also sponsored a trip the Sunken Forest. The village provides activities for adults, such as a softball league, yoga, and Pilates in the Village Hall. There is also a basketball court and playground.

Boating has been popular in Saltaire since the community was founded. As one resident said,

Boating is a big thing. We have 60 slips in our marina and a waiting list for people to get in. So I would say that boating – motor boating and also sailing – are popular... We have a yacht club that runs a sailing program for the kids so sailing is also a big part of recreation in the village. So I would say that boating is definitely very important.

Boats can be seen every day during the summer at the dock and out on the bay. Along Bay Walk, there are several boat launches. Canoes, kayaks, and other small boats rest on the shore nearby, waiting to be used by their owners. A parent in the community describes boating with his family:

[We go] mostly on the bay. The kids are younger. And I don't find myself experienced enough to go out into the ocean, but we have been out a couple of times... [We have] a motor boat. It's a 25-foot Steigercraft. It's a decent-size boat, enough for the ocean. And we will probably start taking it out into the ocean more, now that my youngest one is older. But mostly in the bay. Fishing is a big thing for us. Just getting out on the boat and exploring. Different things like that.

As this person's experience suggests, boating is done mainly on the bay, but more experienced sportsmen will go out in the ocean.

Related to the popularity of boating is fishing. A busy Saltaire resident describes fishing this summer:

I have only been out fishing once this year – for fluke and it was good. Like you said, it is very cyclical and it comes and goes. Fluke was good for a while. Bass and bluefish earlier in the season which have waned a little bit. So it is seasonal. Right now it is fluke season I think. I think that all of the boats out there are fishing for fluke. There are people who do big fishing out in the ocean. There's a shark tournament that they held a couple of weeks back and so they run out of the Bay Shore marina. So there are people who do fishing out in the ocean certainly." Weakfish has also been a popular catch this season.

The bay and ocean provide many activities for Saltaire residents. Ladders built into the bulkhead makes swimming in the bay more easily accessible. Swimming lessons take place at the bay beach as well as more informal swimming, splashing, and wading, which is particularly enjoyed by Saltaire's youngest residents. As a resident with several children tells the researcher, "The kids love the beach. They love the ocean. They love the bay. They go in the bay when they are younger and then gradually migrate to the ocean as they get older. Now my 12 and 14 year old – they love the ocean. And the younger kids are going up there more. So the beach is a big part of what they do." Residents partake in standard activities at the beach like swimming, sunbathing and building castles in the sand.

Rules and Regulations, Policing and Surveillance

Saltaire's incorporated status allows the village to issue restrictive rules and regulations.

As a resident describes,

We have fairly restrictive noise ordinances. You can't do any construction work during the summer. Night bike riding ordinances. So we just have greater control than the other communities. So the elected officials, have the ability, to the extent

that you can, to create the type of place that the residents want. So it is different than the other communities in that respect. Ocean Beach is also an incorporated village, but they have an established commercial district and much different issues than we have in Saltaire...Ocean Beach has its own police department. Saltaire used to have its own police department. They gave that up and now it is a security force. They are in power to enforce our code, so if someone is in violation, they issue a summons, and the person has to come to Saltaire court. And there is a judge...he will handle those cases. Typically...night bike riding and some noise complaints and during the summer and winter, there might be some vehicle violations and things like that.

Signs posted throughout the community display the rules, including prohibition of night time bicycle riding, no eating on the beach or public walks, and no barbequing anywhere in the community. Saltaire has a much more extensive and rules and enforcement structure than most Fire Island communities. Most residents try their best to comply with the regulations because they provide a desirable quality of life. However the village tries to be responsive to the people's needs and at the time of the fieldwork, the ordinance prohibiting barbequing was under discussion.

Natural and Cultural Resources Utilized

The bay and ocean beaches and water are a popular source of recreation, including swimming, boating and fishing. Fishing conditions vary seasonally and with water quality. A unique feature of the bay front is Fire Island's only naturally occurring harbor, Clam Pond. This natural feature, used to market property to Saltaire's first homeowners at the beginning of the 20th century, remains appreciated by residents today. When asked about clamming, a Saltaire resident tells the researcher:

There is clamming that goes on, but not a lot. It's hard to do – you have to find your spots and know where you are going. It's not as popular as it used to be. They just closed Clam Pond Cove for clamming – the DEC. This past spring, but it wasn't a very popular spot, so we weren't overly concerned about it... (Due to)

the water quality for clams. It was fine for swimming, but I guess not for clamming. So there are those who go clamming. It's not as popular as it used to be as I understand it – 10, 20, 30 years ago. They knew where the spots were too and no one gives up their clamming spots...the DEC came in and they closed all the marinas and I don't know what they found. Maybe it was runoff because they also closed everything on the south shore which is on the Great South Bay also. So generally the runoff from the developments on the land. I think that it is the same thing here for Clam Pond Cove – runoff from the development on the cove.

The resident's description of the clamming conditions point to the decline in harvesting activities. Poor water quality due to runoff seems to be a contributing factor to this situation.

In regard to terrestrial resources, blueberries grow in Saltaire. "People like to pick blueberries. They still do. That has always been a popular thing here. So people go out and pick blueberries and they have them in pancakes and things like that. We do that all the time." No other gathering activities appear very popular at this time. There is some hunting in the non-summer months. The village issues hunting permits to several individuals, but informants described this as an occasional activity by a small number of people.

The community itself and the amenities provided by the village are the greatest cultural resources for the people there:

I think that in this community people just love this community and this is their special spot. Either be on the ocean or coming to a ball game on Saturday... (children) love hanging in the community and being in a place, in the summertime, where they can go outside and hang out with friends and not have to worry about anything. Pick up a baseball game or a basketball game or make up their own games as they go along...when people come to Saltaire, this is where they stay and they generally don't wander out too much.

The activities and services described above and earlier give residents many activities to choose from, as well as a comfortable and safe quality of life. The gazebo and park on the bay front on Broadway was cited as special gathering place in the community. The general upkeep and maintenance of the attractive walks make everyone's time special in the community.

Cultural Character And Values Of The Community

As one resident explained,

Saltaire is primarily residential. Very little commercial. We have one market. There is a yacht club, which is private club. And a couple of churches. Outside of that, there are no commercial buildings in the village. So I think that it is a community for families, a community for people for people who just don't want too much activity, who want things on the quiet side. If they want to have more action, more activities, they can go to other communities. If they want to go to a restaurant, they can go to Kismet or Fair Harbor or Ocean Beach. So it is a quiet residential community and it is really geared towards kids. Kids and families and if you look at the original advertisements in the New York Times back in the 1900's, that was the advertisement – a community for children. And that has sort of been the guiding light in the community ever since then. And everything is structured around that. So I would characterize it as a family community geared towards children for quiet recreation.

This is how a resident describes Saltaire: a community for children focused on intentionally maintaining traditional family values. A resident in another western community describes Saltaire in a different light:

Saltaire is a much more finished place...They try to keep things the way that they like them. Up until this year, you couldn't barbeque anywhere in Saltaire. You got to have two and a half kids and a yellow dog to live there. And a lot of money. It is a very expensive town for real estate. There are no handyman specials down there. Everything is high end.

This person's perspective points to Saltaire's polished appearance, kept up as it is by strict village ordinances and conservative, upper-middle class values.

Overall, Saltaire is proud of its incorporated village status and its quality of life. The community is alive during the summer months, but quieter than the surrounding ones in part because of the minimal amount of commercial activity and lack of facilities for day-trippers. One also needs some inside knowledge to gain access to the community resources like how to get to

clam pond or the beach. People are proud of being able to provide a community for their children much like the one they experienced there as children themselves.

FAIR HARBOR

History Of Fair Harbor

The history of Fair Harbor is not well documented. At the time of the Great Partition in 1878, there were no owners evident for Lot 6, and David S. S. Sammis acquired it. The 1920s was a time of great popularity for the established resorts on Fire Island and a decade that saw the beginnings of several other communities. In 1923, Captain Selah T. Clock, known for his maritime activity and real estate development efforts in Lonelyville, together with George Weeks, purchased Lot 6 from the Sammis estate. They founded Fair Harbor as a workingman's resort and accordingly the early houses were bungalows, modest in size and design. Early property owners resided mainly in Bay Shore. By 1929, the community had become known as Fair Harbor with a major portion of the lots held by the Fair Harbor Development Company. By the early 1930s, there were some property owners from New York City and Brooklyn and a few out of state listings (Fletcher and Kintz 1979, Johnson 1983).

In the 1930s, the promoters of Fair Harbor went bankrupt. After that, the pattern of growth and development in Fair Harbor resembled that of other Fire Island communities in following national socioeconomic trends. The Hurricane of 1938 destroyed the majority of the existing community. Recovery from the devastation was slow until the 1950s, when the population in Fair Harbor, and the demand for summer homes there, began to increase. Consequently a community well and water mains were installed, which allowed for more houses to be built. The greatest period of growth for Fair Harbor was the 1960s. The mid-century houses built then were larger and more elaborate than the earlier ones, but still modest by today's standards (Fletcher and Kintz 1979, Johnson 1983).

Overall throughout its history, Fair Harbor has been a “family community,” although during the 1970’s, after the building boom of the previous decade, it was a popular location for group renters. Despite the intentions of its founders, the community has always drawn a large number of its residents from Manhattan. In the early 1980’s residents debated about whether or not to incorporate, finally deciding not to do so. Today Fair Harbor has grown to almost 400 homes. Its active commercial district on the bay side of the island is the social center of the community.

Community Layout and Social Organization

The elements that make up the physical layout in the community are varied, but blend together into a cohesive appearance. At present there are 392 houses in the community of varied ages and styles. Most are fairly modest bungalows with a smaller number of more modern design. At many houses the exterior facades and front walks are decorated with clamshells. As Fair Harbor lies on a relatively narrow stretch of the island, the community has only two lateral cement walks. The north-south walks, paved in a variety of wood and concrete materials, all provide access to the beach. However not all of them end at the bay walk. The easterly three walks end abruptly, the bay walk no longer in existence where it would intersect them.

In the commercial district, the westernmost dock is the Fair Harbor Yacht Club. The dock is gated and locked so that members are the only ones to make use of it. At the base of the dock is a space for wagons. Next to the yacht club is the main dock where the ferry lands. The dock is also used for small private boats to load as well as the water taxi. There are painted markers on the dock indicating boat use on the long side and fishing on the shorter one paralleling the shore. On the dock is a shed that is used to distribute packages. Just to the east of the dock are a small

playground and the bay beach, the latter with a lifeguard stand, a small roped off shallow section, and then swimming lanes and two floats slightly farther out. On a warm summer day, this area is a very popular spot for young children and their mothers. Closer to the bay walk by the lifeguard stand is an old fire gong, a relic of the early days of firefighting on Fire Island.

Many of the commercial establishments are located on Broadway. On the walk is the Pioneer General Store, an ice cream window that sells lots of candy, a pizza place, Le Dock Restaurant and the post office; also a garden center, contracting business, clothing store, and the wagon depot. Here too one finds the new and the old firehouse (both in service), a doctor's office and public restrooms and pay phones.

With its blue collar roots, Fair Harbor continues to be a popular destination for people from Long Island. A significant portion of its property owners reside in Bay Shore and other south shore communities; a smaller number come from New York City. The majority of the homes are owner occupied at least some portion of the summer. About ten families live in Fair Harbor the year around. The water system in the community was recently winterized. This will facilitate the conversion homes to accommodate more use in the winter months so the population in the non-summer months may increase in coming years.

A resident of a nearby community describes Fair Harbor as “a family community that became a grouper community that is going back to families and again the financial abilities of those families are rising.” The majority of the rentals are to other families, largely from Manhattan, who have a strong presence on summer weekends. There are still some grouper rentals but many fewer than in past decades. As one resident explains:

Fair Harbor is having a baby boom. All of these people who used to be groupers over here have gotten married and are all having babies – the clock is ticking – they are all around that age – late 30's and early 40's and we have more kids over here than I can ever remember seeing. So that is a difference and most of them

stay and will rent for a couple of weeks or a month and not so much the full season...It's a great place for kids here...You have teenagers and you don't have to worry about where they are because you know where they are. If they are going to go anywhere, you have to take them there.

In addition to the prominence of children in the community, note also that the population visible in public areas, like the beach and dock, is significantly more racially mixed than in the surrounding communities.

Rituals, Celebrations, And Gatherings

There is a long-standing tradition in Fair Harbor of gathering on the dock Friday and Saturday evenings in the summer. On a July Saturday, there may be as many as 300 people gathered there from Fair Harbor and other Fire Island communities, also people from Bay Shore and elsewhere on the mainland. A longtime resident in the community explains the ritual: “people bring cocktails and at sunset everyone goes down to the dock – it is jammed full of people, whether it is raining or if there is any sunset or not, it has become a social meeting place.” This cocktail hour served as a particularly important way for people to meet others when there was a larger population of groupers in Fair Harbor. Although this tradition is known as a Sixish by some people, longtime Fire Island residents say that “sixish” is misnomer for Fair Harbor because the tradition “started out in Davis Park and over the years it has started up and died down in various communities.”

Various fundraising activities occur each year to support the Fair Harbor Fire Department and Community Association. Most of the activities in the community occur to benefit one of these groups. Occasional arts and crafts fairs and the annual Pine Walk Fair all support the community association. The Fire Department sponsors two pancake breakfasts annually and

other events such as rummage sales or drinks and dancing. There are also holiday celebrations: a Fourth of July parade, which includes a kiddie parade and floats; and, if enough people are around, a Halloween potluck supper and a New Year's Eve party. The older firehouse hosts various community events like the Halloween dinner. During the summer on Wednesdays, the firehouse hosts a movie night for kids. At the time of the fieldwork for this report, the community was in the process of assessing the feasibility of holding a regular bingo night there.

Community Organizations and Associations

The Fair Harbor Fire Department is an important part of the community. It serves three districts, Fair Harbor, Dunewood, and Lonelyville. It is a volunteer company with persons elected to positions in each district, overseen by county fire officials in Yaphank. Currently there is discussion within the fire department about changing to a partly paid company to attract new people to the organization, but their tiny budget, supported in part by local fundraising activities, is constraining this development. A resident in the community explains the presence of two firehouses:

The original one which is the one in the front that face the bay was built by the firemen themselves back in the 50's – all volunteer labor. They used that for many years and then they had one built in the back, which is now the actual fire department. And the one in the front, it is for storage for some of the trucks, but they take the trucks out and they use it as sort of a community house.

The older one serves the community for various functions and fundraisers throughout the year because it is the biggest space in Fair Harbor.

The second major group is the Fair Harbor Community Association, a homeowners association with voluntary membership and dues. A resident estimates that only about a third of the residents belong to the community association. The association provides the lifeguards on the

bay and ocean beach and maintains the trash containers throughout. The organization does annual fundraising to support its activities, which serve a social function in the community as well.

The Fair Harbor Yacht Club maintains a dock with berths just west of the ferry dock on the bay and provide a small area for the members to keep their wagons adjacent to the dock. A swimming association provides a program for children.

Activities

Fair Harbor residents enjoy the same salt water activities as residents of other communities.. Boating is very popular and a lot of it takes place in the bay. Residents have sunfishes and other small sailboats, canoes, and motorboats of various sizes. Fishing takes place from boats in the bay and off the dock, a popular location for children to cast their rods. Some people in the community, mostly year-round residents, also go fishing offshore (i.e., in the ocean.) Fishing, as one year-round resident described, is “very prevalent – well all year, but especially in the fall when the striped bass are running because these guys go to work in the morning and bring their fishing rods and once the word is out – all they need to hear is one word that the bass are in and the whole island is up there. Even the guys from LILCO and Verizon. They all have their fishing rods.” Surfcasting is done seasonally, mainly for striped bass, fluke, flounder, and bluefish. The popularity of harvesting for clams and other shellfish has declined in recent years because of the diminishing stock in the bay.

Rules and Regulations, Policing and Surveillance

Like most other communities on Fire Island, Fair Harbor is an unincorporated locality in Islip. Law enforcement is the responsibility of the Suffolk County Police Department. The Fair Harbor Community Association also serves to guide behavior in the community. They post a sign on the dock welcoming people to Fair Harbor and listing rules of conduct, such as extinguishing all smoking materials and disposing of litter properly, keeping off the dunes, and equipping bicycles with a bell and light. The rules they promote are to ensure the viability of the community and facilitate all residents enjoying their time in the community.

Natural and Cultural Resources Utilized

Residents here take advantage of all the resources living on an island offers. They organize recreation and sports for a variety of ages and interests. The type of fishing and location vary from year to year and season to season. Harvesting of clams and other shellfish was a more prominent activity in earlier decades when the resources were more plentiful.

The bay front area, especially the dock, is the central social space and important cultural resource for residents. The dock is important for transportation serving as a landing for private boats, the water taxis, and the public ferry. It is popular spot for residents, especially families with children to fish. Also it serves as a meeting place and weekend locale for socialization. There are several locations on Broadway for the exchange of information: a bulletin board inside the Pioneer general store with small advertisement like the classified ads in the newspaper, a bulletin board outside of it laden with flyers, and two glass cases opposite the store on Broadway for the posting of more formal notices. This nexus of information is an important cultural

resource. Lastly, the institutions across the island like churches, school, and fire houses are significant to residents.

Cultural Character And Values Of The Community

A sign posted by the Fair Harbor Community Association on the dock calls it a “barefoot community.” We suppose this phrase is meant to signify informality, summertime relaxation, and lack of social pretension. A long time resident restates the stereotype appeal of summer communities everywhere:

There is the overall general feeling of the seashore and the quiet and the peace and it is a very peaceful place to live. You see these people who come in on Friday night and they are so tensed up from being in the city all week that they are nervous wrecks and after being here half an hour and taking off the ties and the shoes and everything else, they are totally relaxed. That is why they come out here. Just to get away from it all. That’s why there is nothing here – they come to get away from it all.

The resident also emphasized that things are not as important on Fire Island as on the mainland. Well being, health and happiness are a greater priority. The simplicity and tranquility of life here make it a special place.

Fair Harbor is a predominantly a family community with life oriented towards children whose vitality permeates the community in the summertime. Children participate in community life through activities like dog walking and babysitting, with money back guarantees advertised for their services. Shells decorate the homes, and children can be found on the walks selling plain and decorated ones for a small price. The ferry is no ordinary vessel, but rather a “daddy boat” or “mommy boat,” depending on its passengers. Residents have a heightened sense of safety and security. Life’s objectives are to have fun while being friendly and courteous to those around you. This is what it means to be in a barefoot community.

DUNEWOOD

History of Dunewood

Dunewood occupies the western portion of Lot 7 of the 1878 Sammis Map of Fire Island. Dunewood was the last Fire Island community to be developed. Murray Barbash, the developer, built approximately forty houses here in 1957. He calls this a noteworthy accomplishment, for at the time there was no bridge to Fire Island and all of the materials had to be brought over by boat. The first houses in Dunewood were occupied during the summer of 1958. Dunewood was laid out in a simple grid pattern with uniform, small, 1950s-contemporary one-story houses featuring expansive plate-glass windows and outdoor decks. Some wags called it “Levittown-by-the-Sea.”

Barbash says today that he would have been enriched by the Moses parkway. He could have built profitable commercial facilities along the bay front to serve the automotive crowds. However, thinking it more important to preserve the beach, he opposed Moses. Barbash helped form a committee involving major national conservation organizations, primarily the Audubon Society, to oppose the ocean parkway and lobby for a national seashore. Once he joined the fight for the seashore, Barbash suspended building in Dunewood to avoid a conflict of interest. After the inception of the national seashore in 1964, Barbash moved to have the bay front land zoned residential. Dunewood was thereafter a strictly residential community. Barbash then resumed residential construction until Dunewood achieved a buildout of 99 houses.

Community Layout and Social Organization

Like most other Fire Island communities, Dunewood was laid out as a grid with four walks extending from the bay towards the ocean and three lateral paths, the central one part of the Burma Road. It is a small community, twenty acres in size, of approximately 100 house lots.

Dunewood's wide, cement-paved walks provide an open and airy feeling for pedestrians and contribute to the quiet and low-key atmosphere in the community. Most of the original houses remain, with alterations and some additions over time. More recently several houses have been demolished and larger ones built in their place. Shrubs and trees have grown with the passage of time, including invasives such as bamboo, and the abundant vegetation conceals the view of some of the small one-story houses from the walks. It provides residents some additional privacy and gives the illusion of houses set farther back from the walks and on larger lots than they really are. The beach access in Dunewood is limited. Houses stand at the ends of the walks along the beach, in contrast to other communities where the walks lead to stiles over the dunes. Two minimally visible paths between the houses lead to the beach. In compensation for the concealed beach access, a sign posted close to the eastern walk directs walkers to the beach.

Dunewood has a ferry dock on the bay front, a simple wooden structure. People gather there to meet family and guests; the freight boat comes in at the same dock. Adjacent to the dock, there is bay beach, consisting of a small roped off area for swimming and several lanes with a life guard on duty. On the walk near the bay beach is a bicycle rack and wagon storage area. Adjacent to the beach is the Dunewood Yacht Club and marina as well as boats anchored in the bay alongshore.

Dunewood is a family community. Homeowners come predominately from New York City and its Westchester and New Jersey suburbs, with a few from Long Island. The houses are largely owner-occupied with many people spending the whole summer on Fire Island. Others rent their homes for parts of the season, usually to other families. Group rentals are strongly discouraged, but not legally prohibited in Dunewood. At present two families live in the

community the year around. Coincidentally, both lost their primary residences in Battery Park City as a result of the September 11th attacks and chose to move their families to their Dunewood vacation homes.

There are no restaurants or stores in Dunewood. The adjacent community of Fair Harbor provides the closest stores and services. Dunewood is a district in the Fair Harbor Fire Department. Additionally, most of the ferries that stop in Dunewood also stop at Fair Harbor.

Rituals, Celebrations, and Gatherings

There are few organized events in Dunewood. The yacht club sponsors some sailing races annually and the Property Owner's Association will periodically hold events to raise money, such as the Dunewood Fair in summer 2004.

Community Organizations and Associations

According to our community informant, membership in the Dunewood Property Owners' Association is mandatory for all property owners. The association collects annual dues to repair the tennis courts, walks, and bulkheads on the bay and for other maintenance of community property. It is overseeing the present repair of the tennis courts. The organization funds the sailing and swimming programs in the community and provides the lifeguards for the ocean and bay beaches during the summer season.

The other organization in Dunewood is the Dunewood Yacht Club (DYC). The club provides sailing lessons, maintains the marina, and organizes sailing races. Membership is only open to Dunewood residents.

Activities

The activities in Dunewood focus on recreation and leisure. Tennis is popular and residents make extensive use of the beach for swimming and relaxing on the sand. Residents also surfcast in the late summer and fall for striped bass and bluefish. The shallow bay waters provide a nice swimming area in Dunewood which is especially popular with the young children. Some enjoy boating--sailing in particular. Some residents fish from their boats in the bay and do a bit of clamming. Clamming was a more popular activity when the clams were more plentiful. Residents also enjoy gathering and socializing in one another's homes.

Rules and Regulations: Policing and Surveillance

The Suffolk County Police Department is responsible for law enforcement in Dunewood. Their presence in the community is minimal. Use of facilities is limited to Dunewood residents with signs forbidding strangers. No activities are explicitly prohibited in Dunewood; the quiet atmosphere is maintained informally. As a resident explains it,

We discourage group rentals, saying that you will make a few bucks, but will ruin it for all the families. And if you buy [your home] to live in it – don't group rent it! By and large, with rare exception, the residents have used their wisdom not to group rent...Occasionally there can be some loud stuff, but we try to nicely say 'the reason that you are here and not Ocean Beach is because it is peaceful, so don't disturb the peace. If you do, you will encourage others to do the same and then you will be unhappy here.'

Natural and Cultural Resources

As noted above, residents use the beach and bay for standard activities such as swimming and boating, also surfcasting, fishing, and clamming. The community maintains two all-weather tennis courts. At the corner of West Walk and the central thoroughfare, adjacent to the courts, is

a glass display case and notice board. People post flyers on the utility poles. The most important feature of Dunewood for its residents is the quiet and peaceful ambience.

Cultural Character and Values of the Community

Dunewood was created as a family resort and continues to regard itself as a family community. Its founder took into consideration lessons learned from the existing communities on Fire Island, particularly that commercial and residential interests sometimes produce conflict, so no commercial presence was allowed for to ensure a peaceful haven for families. As a resident explains,

The uniqueness of Dunewood is the absence of any store, any bar, any restaurant, anything. And so it is probably one of the more peaceful communities...People go to Fire Island because it is one of the ten greatest beaches in the world with the additional mystique of having no cars...It is a fabulous beach. The sand is soft and fine...Which is not the case of other world-renowned beaches, like the gold coast of the Mediterranean, like Nice in France—horrible! Have you ever been there? It's rock!

Residents feel fortunate to live in such a wonderful place. This informant's entire demeanor changed as he sought words to explain this to the researcher, becoming more emotional and finally saying:

...people will pay anything to live on Fire Island. It's beautiful here. I can't describe it, what it is like to live here...It is just marvelous. Just absolutely marvelous.

Dunewood is free of internal factions and contention, but residents fall into line on the island-wide issue of beach nourishment. Just prior to this research, Dunewood completed an expensive beach nourishment project in 2004 in cooperation with other nearby communities. This was the second rehabilitation of the beach in Dunewood, at tremendous cost for

homeowners—between \$4,000 and \$7,000 per household for several years to follow. A resident explained,

The primary [issue] is the preservation of the beach – the fact that we have no cooperation whatsoever...I think that there is becoming a realization on the part of the governments around here that if they don't do it and this thing goes, we are going to lose a lot more than just the houses on Fire Island. And the houses on Fire Island, because they are owned by a very geographically diverse population, they have no politically local clout. Nobody in Islip town hall gives a damn about Fire Island. Fire Island contributes to the tax base, but gets nothing from the town. Nothing at all. We get Suffolk County Police. We pay for our own lifeguards and lifeguard district. We pay for our own doctor in Fair Harbor. We repair our own walks...

Beach erosion is a consistently important issue in the western communities of Fire Island, but driving and permits did not enter into the discussion, as it often did elsewhere. This may be attributed to the newness and small size (two families) of the year-round community. The presence of a year-round group may foreshadow internal conflict to come. The other issue that may prove contentious is the practice of tearing down original houses to build larger ones. Two such teardown sites were being completely rebuilt in summer 2004.

At least some Dunewood residents find the community more affected than it used to be by the speedup of modern urban life. As a longtime homeowner explained,

I just love getting on the ferry. I don't have a power boat. And I love making the ferry trip and one of the disappointments in recent years has been that it used to be that you get onto the ferry and you are in a different world and now the guy next to you is on his cell phone and they are on cell phones next to you on the beach and on the walks and so on, so there has been that invasion or incursion into the calm of Fire Island which aggravates me, but what are you going to do?

The advent of cell phones notwithstanding, Dunewood remains for this informant “the most peaceful place on the planet.”

LONELYVILLE

History Of Lonelyville

The first development of Lonelyville was in the 1880's by Captain Selah Clock, of the Fire Island Fishing Company. At the time, to transport fresh catch from the ocean to the New York City market, small boats had to sail from Long Island ports like Bay Shore, through the Fire Island inlet, a long and tricky trip, out to fishing vessels in the ocean, retrieve the fish, and then sail back. Clock's innovation was to build two piers, extended out approximately 400 feet into the Atlantic Ocean and the Great South Bay. From the ocean pier, he ran a 1600-foot fishing net into the water. Each morning fishing boats gathered what had collected in the net and discharged their load at the pier, where there was a narrow gauge railroad that ran across the island and to end of the pier extending into the bay. A donkey or mule pulled a cart, filled with fresh fish, along the track between the boats, thus dramatically decreasing the time for transporting the fish to the bay side for subsequent delivery to the mainland ports. The track remained until the 1920's and the pier was an important landmark on the beach and cultural resource for the people until what was left of it was destroyed in the 1938 hurricane (Johnson 1983, Fletcher and Kintz 1979).

Throughout its early history, the land on which the contemporary community of Lonelyville sits changed ownership many times. At the time of the 1878 Sammis Map of Fire Island, William Briggs owned the eastern portion of Lot 7. On February 21, 1905, it was conveyed to the South Shore Realty Company, from J. B. Southard of Babylon, which began selling lots to individuals (Fletcher and Kintz 1979). One of the first people to build a home there was George S. King, known as a heroic doctor who braved extreme weather conditions to help people across the island. King was also the author of work on Fire Island shipwrecks (Johnson

1983). In 1915, John Thorton Jr. owned the area known as Fire Island Estates or Lonelyville. The 1922 Islip Tax Assessment Rolls show the S. T. Clock Realty Company as the developers for Lonelyville and owner of various parcels. The majority of the structures from this period were destroyed in the 1938 hurricane (Fletcher and Kintz 1979).

Following the hurricane, what is now the western half of Lonelyville was redeveloped with two story vernacular structures of similar design to the houses they replaced. After the Second World War, developers built bay-to-ocean walks, an east-west crossing, and put in a community water system replacing the individual wells. During the mid-20th century, residents in the western half of Lonelyville tended to be long time residents and those in the east, vacation homeowners. This initial divide led to bitter conflict in the community especially surrounding Moses's proposed highway in the early 1960's. Development of the easternmost part of the community occurred after 1975 at which time a survey of the land showed 73 vacant lots (Fletcher and Kintz 1979, Johnson 1983). About half of the existing houses were moved over on barges from Long Island and others were new, prefab houses, also transported by barge to Fire Island (interview with researcher, June 26, 2004).

Community Layout and Social Organization

Several aspects of Lonelyville's layout distinguish it from many Fire Island communities. First is the development of the bay front: rather than a large ferry landing, there are three slender docks, one with a small bench at the end of it. There is no commercial district on the bay front, or anywhere else in the community, only a small glass display case containing advertisements, old newspaper clipping and NPS material. Also there is no bulkhead along the bay. To prevent erosion, there are different measures in place along the shoreline: planting of grass, wooden

planks forming a wall along the shore and bales of organic material held together with honeycomb shaped netting, etc.

The next difference is the layout of the walks in Lonelyville. There are four north- south walks and an east-west path, but it is not a regular uniform grid and there are abrupt breaks in some of the walks, not allowing for a direct path from the bay to the ocean or through the community, which affects the course of the Burma Road. In the communities to the west of Lonelyville the Burma Road is of continuous concrete pavement; here, it is a sand path, separate from the slightly elevated, winding, narrow, wooden pedestrian walk. The wooden walk demarcates “Old” and “New Lonelyville” where it changes into a significantly wider cement path, capable of allowing the passage of automobiles. A resident in the community describes the first section of the walk as a “one way walk.” The vegetation in the older section is high, scrubby, and overgrown. The houses in the community are eclectic, varied in age and of many different styles.

Lonelyville residents agree that it is “definitely a family community.” It is one of the smaller beachfront communities on Fire Island. Relative to its size, it has a fairly high proportion of year round owner occupied houses, although not the greatest number of people. A resident describes the percentage of the year that homes are occupied as increasing: “People are spending more and more time here every year. The houses cost a ton of bucks so people want to get more use out of them.” It is a quiet community, however not lacking in character: The lateral path through the community ends abruptly at a homemade sign pointing in either direction to Atlantique and then other arrows towards the bay, beach, China and Mars. A longtime resident is known for saying “Lonelyville is what is what is.” There are the houses and private docks, but no public access nor facilities. The closest amenities are located in Fair Harbor. The community

seeks to preserve its quiet ambiance and private nature, displaying a large sign on its bayside border with Atlantique stating “Private Community, No Trespassing.”

Rituals, Celebrations, And Gatherings

There are no organized or annual events in Lonelyville. Lonelyville residents will often attend events occurring in Fair Harbor, such as the annual Pine Walk fair, craft fairs, Wednesday night movies, Fourth of July parade, and Fire Department fundraisers such as pancake breakfasts.

Community Organizations and Associations

No organizations are based specifically in Lonelyville. Lonelyville is part of the Fair Harbor Fire Department and emergency medical district. Some residents are involved in various elected and volunteer capacities in the Fire Department. Community residents are also involved in island wide groups like the committee working on forming a public library on Fire Island.

Activities

Residents of Lonelyville participate in similar activities to those in other communities on Fire Island: boating, fishing, beachgoing. A resident in the community describes the weakfish and striped bass fishing to be “pretty good in the bay these days.” He cites “a forty foot hole in front of the lighthouse and other deep holes along the beach that are maintained with rocks” as good fishing spots. Some people, especially those with children swim in the bay as well. In the winter, a small amount of duck hunting is done in the bay waters and marshy areas.

In addition to swimming, sunbathing, and relaxing on the beach, surfcasting is popular in the fall when there are blue fish up and down the beach. Flounder and fluke are popular fishing

catch in ocean waters in warm weather. Surfing is also a prominent sport on Fire Island. One resident surfs on the beach near his Lonelyville house, sometimes traveling to Democrat Point to catch bigger waves. Lonelyville residents socialize with one another: as one resident put it, “We like to hang out with friends – we like to party, and gather and talk...mostly at houses of friends.” Or just relax at home: “It’s great for us. We like to sit on the porch on a rocking chair. Hang out. Watch the waves. “

Rules and Regulations, Policing and Surveillance

There are neither posted rules in the community nor any internal governing structure, such as a home owners association to make regulations. Lonelyville, like Kismet, is a hamlet in the town of Islip. Suffolk County police carry out law enforcement. NPS rangers would be available as police back up, but there is rarely a situation in the community that calls for it.

Natural and Cultural Resources Utilized

People in Lonelyville make extensive use of the bay and ocean resources as described above. A longtime resident describes the tremendous decline in harvesting activities, especially in the bay, saying that “the activities are still going on, but the catch isn’t there.” In addition to over fishing, brown tides make “clamming, crabbing, and fishing difficult these days in the Great South Bay – it’s not very healthy.” He also cites Clam Pond in Saltaire as a place that used to be a popular gathering location for clam and bay scallops, but not anymore because the supply is no longer plentiful. He indicated that some people take seaweed from the bay to use as fertilizer.

When asked about harvesting activities on land, for beach plums, berries, and the like, the informant said this:

That still goes on, yes, but not to the extent that it used to. There are more houses and more people, so the houses have driven out the natural vegetation because you build houses and the people that came picked all of the plums, so the plums are the seed – you can't pick without planting – you have to plant. There were cranberries here. There was a cranberry bog down in the Kismet area which got filled in. You have to maintain it. You have to have a certain depth of water for cranberries.

He attributes the decline in these resources to over harvesting and residential development of the land.

At the foot of the middle dock on the bay in Lonelyville, one finds a small glass display case titled "Lonelyville News." Notices posted here include include safe boating information, clippings about lice and ticks, and a few advertisements. Overall it seems not so valuable an information source for resident.

Cultural Character And Values Of The Community

Lonelyville's name suggests isolation and solitude but its tranquility and freedom from commercial activities and automobiles is a source of satisfaction. One resident complained of barking dogs: "People come out and lock the dog in the house and the dog barks all day. It's a very quiet place here and the dogs are loud." This highlights the importance of the peace and quiet for residents. Lonelyville shares with other communities issues such as beach maintenance, piping plover habitat preservation, deer, deterrence, and decisions over mosquito spraying. There is also tension—perhaps felt more in quiet Lonelyville than in busier places—between preserving the atmosphere on Fire Island as it has been for decades and welcoming the things of modern life from the mainland and beyond. A resident describes this tension:

They try to maintain the feeling that was here in the fifties. There was no TV here, there was no cable, there was no radio. There was no electricity in the fifties and you came out here with your kids and it was a safe place, and you let them run wild – no one could get in a whole lot of trouble unless they swam into the ocean – so you had to pay attention a little bit, but not a whole lot. Very very laid back. People try to have that feeling here. Unfortunately that isn't the world that we live in, so the aspect of it that is the 1950's "Leave it to Beaver" sort of existence is not really here because everybody got DVD's with shoot-em-ups. Have you seen 'Kill Bill' yet...Anyways, this is what the kids are into, video games, and they need stimulation that the Fourth of July parade does not present. So there's no sort of outlet for that of activity.

Although this issue likely will persist in the communities in the future, it hardly prevents people from enjoying island life. A resident cheerfully observes that residents "enjoy living in one of the finest resorts in the world. Fire Island's beaches are the finest." A laid back, relaxed atmosphere and beautiful surroundings make every day in Lonelyville like a vacation.

ATLANTIQUE AND ATLANTIQUE BEACH

Atlantique, the next community to the east after Lonelyville, includes a residential community and a public beach and marina—Atlantique Beach—owned and operated by the Town of Islip. Atlantique proper, a small residential community just west of Atlantique Beach, comprises Lots 8 and 9 of the Great Partition of 1878.

History of Atlantique

According to Fletcher and Kintz (1979), Atlantique saw relatively little real estate development until 1965. They report 36 residential structures in the community in 1973. Then as now, Atlantique lacks a commercial zone; supplies are brought in from Ocean Beach or Fair Harbor. Fletcher and Kintz (1979) describe Atlantique as increasingly congested, yet also say that its “generally dispersed settlement” pattern contrasts with other Fire Island communities.

Atlantique Beach, the Islip town marina and recreational facility, has been here about 50 years. It occupies a spacious bay-to-ocean site. The marina facility, located on the bay, is organized into three long piers or docks that project out into the bay that serve a total of 157 slips. The marina is partially enclosed by land; it looks as if a basin was excavated from the shoreline for the original dock area. Thus the landward half of the east and west docks are bordered by firm land, and these land margins are heavily used by boaters for sitting, socializing, cooking out, and eating.

The marina is connected to the ocean beach by a long, straight concrete walkway. Along it are concrete-block-style restrooms, men’s on one side; women’s on the other. A bit farther on toward the ocean beach are a lifeguard station and a snack bar. The facility includes handball and basketball courts, playgrounds, cookout grills and picnic tables, and a bay beach.

Community Layout and Social Organization

Koppelman and Forman (2004) describe Atlantique as the smallest of four small satellite communities of Ocean Beach (the others being Corneille Estates, Fire Island Summer Club, and Robbins Rest.) They say it has only 16 houses, in contrast to the 36 counted by Fletcher and Kintz back in 1979. Atlantique is the site of the Appalachian Mountain Club's Fire Island Cabin, a hostel for AMC members. The central, lateral walk is all sand; some of the cross-walks (those running north to south) have raised boardwalks for pedestrians and a cart path at grade level. On one of these, where the house lots occupy low swampy land, the houses are reached by raised board walks that bridge over the cart path to connect to the public walk. Apparently these wooden bridges must be removed when the cart path is needed for a delivery. Street names include Sea Breeze and Montechristo. Four walks lead to the beach over stiles. The sand dunes in Atlantique seem much lower than elsewhere. (Later, a web perusal finds evidence of storm damage at Atlantique in April 2003.)

Like Saltaire, Atlantique is somewhat swampy and has stands of phragmites among the ample native vegetation of pine and cedar. It has an attractive although informal bay beach that adjoins the large Atlantique Beach marina. Approximately 30 pleasure craft rode at moorings or at anchor out on the bay on a Saturday afternoon in July. People could be seen walking through the shallow water into shore from their boats. Some were guests attending a party at a house overlooking the bay; the hosts, who were renting for a week, and their guests were all from South Shore towns.

The hostel, which has existed in some form at his location for a century, has a generous site, perhaps two acres, that occupies an entire block from the central walk to the bay. Although the AMC is primarily a mountain hiking and conservation organization, this barrier island hostel



Figure 22
Fire Gong, AMC Fire Island Cabin

is very popular. The hostel offers 24 sex-separated, bunk beds and communal meals on the weekend. At other times, visitors can make their own meals. It is run entirely by member labor, which extends to numerous group activities—one member cited baking, yoga, and bird watching. The hostel owns a fleet of kayaks, canoes, and sailboats. One member who comes regularly said that “everybody hikes down to the Sunken Forest.” She described the hostel as very socially oriented: after dinner, members walk the beach and play games such as trivial pursuit. They say the absence of television, radio, and cell phones makes the experience more convivial. Another member, a retired college professor, makes a habit of coming out occasionally for the day. He hangs out at the hostel, chatting with other visitors through the afternoon. He said that every time he expects to find people he already knows, although it is easy here to strike up new acquaintances. The hostel has its own length of bay beach, including a dock. Elsewhere on the grounds are a hammock, clothesline, and a traditional round iron fire gong (Figure 22).

Although mainly a seasonal community, Atlantique has a few year-round families.

Atlantique Beach is a Town of Islip marina and beach recreation facility that primarily serves the boating public. The marina usually fills up on weekends. Boats may stay up to 17 days, but they cannot come and go without losing their place. As a result, visitors stay put here, spending their days pursuing the available amusements. The marina is operated by a staff of 16,

mostly college-age people. The staff includes a supervisor and three dockmasters. Anyone can moor their boat here, but when the marina reaches capacity, vacancies are reserved for Islip residents. The home ports of the boats are generally South Shore locations, such as East Islip, West Islip, and Sayville. There are public restrooms and phones near the ferry dock and a small, one-room staff building with lockers. Marina attendants sit inside the building and on chairs placed in front of it. A sign that says “Please pay your docking fee before going to the beach.” Another sign gives dog ordinances; another prohibits the use of scooters or bikes on the dock.

There are extensive play facilities and a lifeguard-supervised bay beach. Young children play in the playgrounds and on the bay beach; older children go swimming and surfing on the ocean beach or skate boarding on the concrete walks. Children also fish off the docks. One July Saturday the marina held a snapper derby—reportedly the participants caught a lot of fish. An attendant added that children catch frogs here. She said that clamming is a popular activity among some adult visitors, and that a favorite clamming spot is along the northeast side of East Fire Island, or in the gut between East and West Fire Islands. The attendant thought there was no berry-picking among this crowd, and that people wouldn’t know where to go to find them.

Visitors tend to organize themselves in the marina by age group, the older boaters favoring the easterly dock, a mixed group on the central dock, and families with kids on the western dock, near the bay beach. Groups of friends patronize each of these zones regularly. According to the marina’s staff, many marina patrons are regular visitors who know one another. One young attendant said the regulars all become friends. Visitors carry cooking equipment and portable furniture on their boats, and move both ashore to the land areas adjoining the dock, adding considerably to the several permanent picnic tables and cooking grills (cooking aboard

the boat is prohibited while at the marina.) There is a lot of cooking, eating, drinking alcohol, and socializing on the margins of the dock. Hamburgers and chicken are standard fare.



Figure 23
Marina Pier, Atlantique Beach

A lot of gear is stored on the docks adjacent to the slips: tables, grills, coolers, portable chairs, water tanks, fishing gear, and other things (Figure 23). In the evening, some people sit around in groups in the sand, one person playing a guitar, others listening or singing. Some roast marshmallows (Figure

24). Others sit around talking and listening to recorded music. An attendant compared the activity here to camping—“anything you can do there, they do here.”

A volleyball game is under way on the ocean beach late one Saturday afternoon. It is past five o’clock and the lifeguards are no long on duty. A group of kids are climbing on the tall life guard chair and taking turns jumping off into a big pile of sand. The beach seems crowded for Fire Island, but nothing compared to Jones Beach. There is one person in a sea kayak and some big boats in the water.

There is limited ferry service between Bay Shore and Atlantique Beach.

Rituals, Celebrations, and Gatherings

We know of none in Atlantique, but Atlantique Beach patrons are highly engaged with one another. There are many informal social gatherings, including guitar and singing sessions on the sand in the evening. Walking into town—Ocean Beach or Fair Harbor—is ritual for many marina visitors.

Community Organizations and Associations

None we are aware of.

Activities

Swimming, surfing, walking on the beach, fishing, clamming, cooking out, playing basketball, skateboarding.



Figure 24
Saturday Evening at the Marina, Atlantique Beach

Rules, Regulations, Policing, and Surveillance

There is no visible surveillance or police presence in Atlantique. Atlantique Beach has a sizeable staff of attendants and life guards.

Natural and Cultural Resources Utilized

Ocean and bay are used for swimming, sailing and fishing, especially by the AMC visitors. Also, as noted, AMC sponsors activities that relate to seashore resources, including sailing, kayaking, and canoeing on the bay; bird watching, and hiking to the Sunken Forest. Clamming is popular among marina patrons, as is fishing. Clamming is practiced along the northeast side of East Fire Island, or in the gut between East and West Fire Islands.

Cultural Character and Values of the Community

Atlantique is very quiet, and to appearances, a not very cohesive community. The people we came into contact with were a year-round family and a Long Island family who rented a bayfront house. The latter group talked a great deal about Great South Bay and the south shore but had nothing to say about Atlantique. Although not a landed community, the boating patrons of Atlantique Beach have some characteristics of a community: many patrons return every year, many know one another, and most engage in social activities with other boaters.

ROBBINS REST

History of Robbins Rest

Robbins Rest, located east of Atlantique and west of Fire Island Summer Club, is separated from these communities by two undeveloped tracts of land owned by the National Seashore. The resort era here began with a land purchase by Ed Robbins and Selah Clock in 1904. A 1911 map designates that parcel as “Robbins and Clock” and a parcel to the west as “Ocean View” (Kahlke 2004). According to Fletcher and Kintz (1979), a few cottages, now much modified, date to the 1920s. A single north-south concrete walk transects the community; it was installed by Islip town in response to a petition by residents. The community is comprised of Lots 11, 12, and 13 of the 1878 partition. Josiah Robbins owned Lot 11 in 1915; the Hyde’s map of that year shows seven structures, one bearing the name “Robbins Rest.” Islip tax records for 1932 show negligible growth since 1915. More houses were built after 1947, reaching a total of 37 residential structures in 1975 (Fletcher and Kintz 1979), which is the number of houses today.

Ocean View became the site of the hotel and restaurant complex now known as Tequila Jack’s, begun by George Phillips after 1947. Phillips purchased three structures on Captree Island abandoned by the Wa Wa Yonda Club, and floated them over to Robbins Rest to be adapted for use as a hotel. The newly completed hotel was destroyed by fire in 1957 before it could open for business. Phillips soon recovered from the fire, building a pier and restaurant in 1961 and a hotel some years later (Kahlke 2004). Phillips owned the complex until 1999. Jim Casio, the present owner, bought the property three years ago (Kountourakis 2004).

Community Layout and Social Organization

Robbins Rest runs about 350 feet east to west and 600 feet from bay to ocean. Its walks are mainly sand. The community is bordered on both sides by wild land owned by the Park Service. There are three north-south rows of houses and two north-south walks; the houses, like most on Fire Island, face either east or west, toward the north-south-trending streets. The easternmost walk ends at a bay beach no wider than the walk itself, because it is hemmed in by private bulkheaded property. Someone has a rowboat tied up to the bulkhead. Elsewhere in Robbins Rest, a resident displays a catamaran in the front yard just as people elsewhere display old plows—that is, as an historic artifact characteristic of the locality. The researcher infers that sailing is seen as a thing of the past.

An article in the Fire Island News (Kountourakis 2004) reports on longstanding conflict between Tequila Jack's and Robbins Rest residents. The Tequila Jack's complex includes a restaurant, marina, and the Ocean View Hotel upstairs. Residents complain of loud music and of disruptive patrons in the community's streets and on its stretch of beach.

To an outside observer, Tequila Jack's is *the* distinctive element in Robbins Rest. It appeals to boaters as a somewhat exotic getaway, with its hedonistic name and big sunny deck where the patrons dine and drink in the shade of potted palmetto trees. Doubtless some Robbins Rest residents patronize Tequila Jack's, but the resort has little spatial relationship to the community; it faces out to the bay, turning its back to the houses of Robbins Rest. Boaters are its major constituency, as Robbins Rest is tiny and difficult to reach from other points on Fire Island. Boaters can tie up at Jack's marina and walk down the dock to the restaurant. One boater having a drink at the bar said he will spend three days here, possibly more.

You can get a slip or ride on the hook [i.e., at anchor]. The water's free. Great South Bay is the best place—it's huge; you can go anywhere. You've got places at Watch Hill, Shinnecock, up the Connetquot River, and some places in Babylon. This place is nice—quiet. Ocean Beach is so crowded; here you can relax. You can walk across to the beach—it's a great place. Nothing else like it—it's like someplace in Florida or California. You often can't get in at Ocean Beach—there's no place to moor or anchor because the state channel is right there.

Rituals, Celebrations, and Gatherings

None that we know of, but we were unable to find a resident key informant.

Community Organizations and Associations

None that we know of. Very likely there is some informal community council, as there is in similarly-sized Corneille Estates.

Activities

Swimming, relaxing at home, entertaining friends, walking on the beach... Tequila Jack's patrons relax at the resort or walk over to the beach.

Rules, Regulations, Policing, and Surveillance

We observed no signs of rules, regulations, policing, or surveillance.

Natural and Cultural Resources Utilized

No sign of any special uses beyond the usual swimming and beach walking. People say that you can't use vacant park service lands in this stretch of Fire Island, and to all appearances these tracts are little used. We observed young people walking along the Burma Road between Summer Club and Robbins Rest, and found a deposit of empty beer bottles here, which suggests

that some people, perhaps teenagers, hang out here at night. The wild lands are covered with apparently indigenous vegetation including pine and juniper, though we saw no sign of traditional harvesting varieties such as beach plum or blueberry. It would appear that some residents use the bay bottom right offshore for clamming. The presence of a rowboat tied up at one tiny bay beach suggested the possibility of clamming or fishing in the bay.

Cultural Character and Values of the Community

Robbins Rest is a quiet, seasonal beach community. Based on two newspapers published about the community in 2004 in the News and the Tide, it would seem that the key issue for residents is curbing the party atmosphere at Tequila Jack's.

CORNEILLE ESTATES

History of Corneille Estates

Fletcher and Kintz (1979) do not report on the history of Corneille Estates. Our community informant said there were only a few houses here when he and his wife bought property here in the 1960s. A year-round Fire Islander said that some of the property in Corneille was owned by the famous Dr. George King of Bay Shore. She thought the Fire Island school purchased its property from Dr. King. A Corneille resident said that Dana Wallace, the realtor, once owned much of the property near the ocean. This resident also said that back in the early 20th century, the land in Corneille was used basically as a changing room for its Babylon owners, who would sail over, anchor, and cross over to the beach to swim.

Community Layout and Social Organization

A two block-wide strip of buildings immediately west of Ocean Beach, Corneille Estates includes a tract of land occupied by the Woodhull School and the school's ballfield. Corneille begins at Surf Walk on the western boundary of Ocean Beach; houses facing Surf Walk on the west are within Corneille Estates. Ocean Beach's Midway continues through Corneille Estates and into the Fire Island Summer Club. Midway divides the school from the ballfield and, in this stretch of the island, serves as the Burma Road. Corneille Estates has one bay-to-ocean walk of its own, Clipper Walk, which was recently rebuilt. Clipper walk is unusual—it is an elevated board walk that turns slight angles and rises and falls by a few feet depending on ground surface conditions.

Corneille Estates is an unincorporated locality in Islip. It has an informal governing association with President and Treasurer, although our informant seemed to reverse himself after mentioning these positions, implying that it is too informal to say that they really have officers.

Corneille used to buy water from Summer Club; now water is supplied from local wells by the Suffolk County Water Authority.

Corneille Estates has been called a suburb of Ocean Beach. Corneille residents seem to be involved in Ocean Beach community life: they patronize its shops and other businesses, some are in the Ocean Beach Fire Department or they support the youth group in Ocean Beach. Like Ocean Beach, Corneille Estates had numerous grouper houses 20 years ago and now has very few. Real estate values have soared here as elsewhere. Our informant said that they experimented with private security guards at that time to keep order; he thought that had not worked very well.

Group houses can be a problem. We used guards some year to patrol, keep the noise level down. I don't think it did much good. If the men in the community can't go to the people and say look—then that's pretty bad. So we do the policing ourselves. Some people want guards, but I don't think we'll go that route again. We have what we call a beach custodian, or monitor. We police our own garbage off the beach. Everybody's a citizen of Corneille, so to speak; we take care of our own problems.

Rituals, Celebrations, and Gatherings

Corneille residents participate in Ocean Beach community rituals. We are not aware of any such events that are specific to Corneille Estates.

Community Organizations and Associations

The community is governed by an informal association of owners that has its own bylaws.

Activities

Our informant thought that some residents continue to do clamming and fishing. He mentioned tennis (at the Ocean Beach courts) and walking on the beach.

Rules, Regulations, Policing, and Surveillance

The community association works with local realtors to advise buyers or renters of the community's desires and standards. A resident said, "We try to get the realtors to talk to the people they're renting to, give them our community bylaws, tell them what we appreciate and don't appreciate." Corneille no longer uses private security, and it does not purchase police services from Ocean Beach. Our informant said, "If you want the police, you call the Suffolk County police."

Natural and Cultural Resources Utilized

Our informant talked about frequent walks on the beach. He and his wife occasionally will walk down to Cherry Grove or Fire Island Pines. Now in their seventies, they combine these walks with lateral ferry or water taxi trips, taking the ferry to Watch Hill, walking from there to Cherry Grove, and taking the ferry back from there. He thought other residents travel around the island in similar fashion, combining walks on the beach between various points of interest with rides on the water taxi.

Cultural Character and Values of the Community

Corneille is a quiet, very low-key residential area adjoining Ocean Beach. Informality and self-reliance in community issues are characteristic. There appear to be no important factions in the community. Our informant admitted that there was some controversy over the reconstruction of Clipper Walk a few years back: some residents thought that the new walk would bring too much traffic and intrude on their privacy.

OCEAN BEACH

History of Ocean Beach

The modern village of Ocean Beach, situated between Corneille Estates and Seaview, comprises lot numbers 15, 16, and 17 of the Great Partition of 1878. At that time the land was essentially undeveloped and owned by prominent South Shore families. By 1910, things had changed considerably: A “Bird’s Eye View of Ocean Beach,” a pamphlet published by the Ocean Beach Development Company, Bay Shore, Long Island (c 1910); shows 21 large, two- and three-story buildings laid out along new streets which run from bay to ocean. A large three-story structure with docks on both sides extends into the bay (Fletcher and Kintz 1979).

Wilmot Walk, in western Ocean Beach, bears a name associated with early 20th century speculative activity. Wilmot M. Smith bought Lot 15; upon his death his heirs subdivided the property and gave it the name Stay-A-While Estates. Meanwhile, the developer John A. Wilbur purchased tracts in Lots 16 and 17 in 1908, subdividing them into about 1,000 plots and calling the development Ocean Beach. In 1921, Ocean Beach and Stay-A-While Estates merged to form the incorporated Village of Ocean Beach.

Despite the trend in some Fire Island communities toward more New York City seasonal residents and fewer Long Islanders, early tax records for Ocean Beach demonstrate that the original purchasers of lots in Ocean Beach were predominantly city people from New York and Brooklyn. Fletcher and Kintz (1979) record the following:

Tax assessment records for Ocean Beach (Islip Tax Assessment Rolls 1912 Book 13: 81-91) document that most people with property in Ocean Beach maintained their primary residence in Manhattan, Brooklyn, or Bay Shore. A small number of people were from New Jersey with

the remaining addresses from Long Island, Queens, and a few out-of-region localities, such as Texas, Illinois, and Michigan.

The 1922 tax records (Islip Tax Assessment Rolls 1922 Book 7:216-236) for Ocean Beach show again many residents maintained primary residence in Manhattan, Brooklyn, and Bay Shore: with four listings for Islip and three at Ocean Beach. The remaining single listings include owners on Long Island, and New Jersey with some out-of-region listings as well. However, many listings had no addresses. In 1922, the Tax Records list a total of 170 houses in Ocean Beach. The 1932 tax rolls showed few property owners (13 from Manhattan, Brooklyn, New Jersey, and Long Island, and one from Georgia). The Ocean Beach Improvement Company still owned some lots at this time.

The Islip tax records for Stay-A-While for 1912 (Islip Tax Assessment Rolls 1912 Book 14:106-109) show a total of 39 listings (two with no addresses), 12 of which were Brooklyn, Manhattan, and Jamaica, with the remaining entries predominantly from Sayville, Bay Shore, and Islip, with two Ocean Beach addresses.

In 1922, after its incorporation with Ocean Beach village, Wilmot M. Smith is listed as the developer of Stay-A-While Estates. The property holders from the metropolitan area have increased with 18 listings from Brooklyn, 13 from Manhattan, two from Queens, 12 from Sayville, six from Islip, and five scattered elsewhere on Long Island. There were 11 in New Jersey, two in Ocean Beach, and one in Miami, Florida. In addition, 37 names were listed with no addresses. A total of 34 houses were recorded for 1922 in Stay-A-While.

A history of Ocean Beach prepared for the Bicentennial in 1976 notes the brief publication in the 1950s of a literary journal in Ocean Beach. Issued from May 28, 1954 until July 27, 1956, the Fire Islander was initiated by Ocean Beach residents Bill Birmingham,

Herman Wechsler, and Wolcott Gibbs, the last an essayist and drama critic at the New Yorker Magazine (Ocean Beach Bicentennial Handbook and Directory 1976:45). Gibbs set his 1951 play, “Season in the Sun,” in Ocean Beach. Through Gibbs’s connection to the Hotel Algonquin “round table” of authors and critics, a number of well-known writers contributed to the Fire Islander.

A great point of conflict in Ocean Beach over many years is that between residents and business people. From a business point of view, the more day-trippers and other visitors, the better. Residents, of course, prefer to keep the community quiet and orderly. The grouper issue is related to this conflict between residential and commercial interests. Historically, at least, some business people worked to increase the grouper presence in Ocean Beach because grouper houses increase the population. For example, Lee Pokoik, Ocean Beach businessman, told *Newsday* reporters in 1983: “I cater to singles. I like them; they spend money. Families don’t. The days of the family are numbered in Ocean Beach. The old group hasn’t realized that yet” (Vitello and Morris 1983). Mr. Pokoik remains active in Ocean Beach today. Clearly, the residential interests dominate in village politics, hence the persistence of restrictions on tourist activity and the forceful police presence. The *Newsday* article (Vitello and Morris 1983) suggested that about half the houses in Ocean Beach were rented to groupers. Pokoik’s 1983 prediction notwithstanding, that balance has surely changed today in favor of owner occupants and rentals to families.

Community Layout and Social Organization

Like most Fire Island communities, Ocean Beach was laid out with real estate speculation in mind. The street plan, a simple grid with short east-west blocks and long north-south blocks

between bay and ocean, provided the greatest possible number of house lots. The walks of Ocean Beach are all paved in concrete. The community once had wooden walks; they were removed shortly before the devastating hurricane of 1938. Local legend has it that Ocean Beach was spared the destruction visited on communities that had wooden walks, because uprooted sections of walks thrashed around in the storm surge, battering nearby houses.

The walks of Ocean Beach are lined with frame houses. Many are modest bungalows and other small, cottagey structures from the settlement's early days. There are many newer houses too, mostly closer to the ocean. The newer houses tend to be much larger and of contemporary design. They are also all built on top of pilings, as new construction is required to be several feet—five feet at least—above grade. This has the effect of making these already large houses tower over the smaller, older houses, which sit directly on the ground. The small yards around the houses are increasingly landscaped with exotic plant materials. Some of these, like bamboo, have been around long enough (fifty years or so) for many people to think they are native: One longtime resident talked of making fishing poles from the “indigenous” bamboo. Bamboo is one exotic that thrives in the sandy Fire Island soils. Some people say that the decline in native berry plants—beach plums, blueberries, raspberries—is due not only to deer but to the many landscaping projects in which the native plants are removed and replaced with nursery varieties. The owners of these lush plots then feel compelled to fence them with a rectangular wire mesh fencing. “Deer fencing,” as it is called, five or six feet in height, surrounds many Ocean Beach properties.

Unlike many seaside communities, the ocean is invisible from any street in Ocean Beach (this seems generally true on Fire Island.) Here, as elsewhere on Fire Island, the beach is reached by mounting a flight of wooden steps that leads to a stile straddling the sand dunes. The stiles

often have widened landings and sometimes benches where people pause to look out at the water. From there another flight of steps descends to the beach. The beach at Ocean Beach has a guarded swimming section, the lifeguards provided by the village. It also is distinguished by two concrete jetties that extend out into the water from the riparian zone, an experiment from the 1960s intended to protect the village’s nearby water supply wells.

Ocean Beach is sometimes called the “metropolis of Fire Island,” a distinction it earns by having the island’s largest commercial district. Located on the bay side, the commercial district



Figure 25
Downtown Ocean Beach
Bay Walk, with persons sitting on railing eating ice cream.

attracts people from Atlantique, Robbins Rest, Fire Island Summer Club, Corneille Estates, Seaview, Ocean Bay Park, and Point O’ Woods, as well as day-trippers and people off private boats. This district is comprised of a number of the earliest structures built in Ocean Beach, dating to the early 20th century. There are two focal points in the business district—the busy ferry dock basin, which includes separate passenger and freight docks, and the more sedate

village green a block or two to the west. These two nodes are connected by Bay Walk, the main, east-to-west downtown street.

This attractive area functions as a very important public space. Wooden benches along Bay Walk attract people who sit and socialize. Two ice cream shops and a bakery furnish passersby with treats which they consume sitting on the benches or along a portion of the low wall that surrounds the green. Ocean Beach's business district is a model of the intensively used "main street" district that epitomized community life across the country in the era before shopping malls. Here are most of the important community functions: the village government, the community house, post office, ferry dock, shops and restaurants, all in an unhurried yet concentrated environment with no cars. All Ocean Beach residents, and many others too, pass through the business district, frequently stopping to chat with friends and neighbors (Figure 25). The block of Bay Walk between the passenger dock and the green is the most public of the public spaces of Ocean Beach. Wooden benches line both sides of the street, and they are occupied much of the time, especially in the evening, by residents—mostly men—who observe and greet the passersby. One woman described this as "walking the gauntlet" (Figure 26).

Facing the green opposite a row of shops is the Ocean Beach Community House, a gambrel-roofed, dormered structure built in the 1920s. Community and island-wide meetings are held here, and movies are shown. The Community House has two one-story wings—the western one occupied by the village court, the eastern one by the Ocean Beach Historical Society. Behind the community house is a wooden deck and pagoda with benches, which overlooks a large sandlot playground (Figure 27). Regular evening musical events are held here—for instance, a "do-wop" band; another day, an a capella group. To the west of the playground is what remains of Ocean Beach's bay beach, a tiny strand used mostly by children. The area beyond the

playground is devoted to dockage and marina slips owned by the village and rented to boat owners. Boys and some other people fish and crab off these docks. The village maintains asphalt-surfaced tennis courts in an area along the bay across the walk from the passenger ferry dock. It also maintains a room called the “boathouse” next to the ferry dock, which contains various community activities—for instance, morning aerobic workouts for women. Across the basin, the freight dock is busy in the morning with stacks of pallets of goods to supply stores,



Figure 26
The “Gauntlet,” Ocean Beach

restaurants, and construction contractors, but in the evening, the wide levee is sometimes reserved for band concerts. People gather on Bay Walk and along the dock on two sides of the basin to listen to the music.

The passenger dock itself is an important center of activity. Everyone comes and goes by ferry, and each arrival is met by groups of people standing around waiting for family members and friends to disembark. As in other Fire Island communities, an area is provided next to the

ferry dock where residents store their wagons. One morning, a group of boys were asking people arriving with baggage if they would like help towing their stuff back to the house. The boys were unlucky that time, but said that sometimes they do well, often in the evening when people have more stuff. One longtime Fire Islander called this practice “wagoning” and said you never see it any more. Although we did see it that morning, business may have dropped off with the advent of wheeled suitcases.

One resident thought the business sense in Ocean

Beach was complacent, self-satisfied, unenterprising, as though they had arrived at a formula that works over many years. He saw little effort to do anything new. Certainly there is nothing edgy here.

Rituals, Celebrations, and Gatherings

The Ocean Beach baby parade is an annual Fourth of July event that involves many decorated floats (on wagons), contests, and wide participation. The Ocean Beach Community fund’s major fundraiser is the annual ball. The association also sponsors an art festival in late



Figure 27

Pagoda and Bay Beach, Ocean Beach

East end of the Ocean Beach Community House in the background, left. Here are restrooms and the Ocean Beach Historical Society. At right is a portion of the bay beach and playground.

July or early August. The Ocean Beach Association meets annually in the summer time.

Thanksgiving and December holiday dinners are held at the fire hall. A Corneille Estates resident and member of the fire company said that the Ocean Beach Firemen's Benevolent Association is the center of community life in the winter time.

Community Organizations and Associations

Our Lady of the Magnificat Roman Catholic Church, located on Midway Walk, serves



Figure 28

*The New Fire Hall,
with Commemorative Plaques, Ocean Beach*

central Fire Island communities from Point O' Woods to Atlantique. The church has one Saturday and two Sunday masses. Total weekly attendance is about 150. The Free Union Church (nonsectarian Protestant) is also located on Midway Walk. Here about 30 people attend an average Sunday service. We understand the church lacks a

permanent minister. Ocean Beach Volunteer Fire Department, on Midway Walk, is one of the biggest fire companies on the island (Figure 28). The Fire Department is important to community life, especially among year-round residents. It holds annual Christmas and Thanksgiving dinners. The Ocean Beach Firemen's Benevolent Association has its own hall separate from the F.D. adjacent to the commercial area. The Benevolent Association is for firemen and their families. One resident described the Benevolent as the center of social life in the area in the winter.

The Ocean Beach Association is a property-owners' group. It is not as important here as its counterparts in communities without their own municipal government. The Ocean Beach Community Fund sponsors some community facilities and activities. The fund holds an annual charitable dance, for which they sell maybe 1,000 tickets at \$75 per head.

The Ocean Beach Summer Camp is very big in the community. A day camp for hundreds of children and teenagers, it has its own property west of the business district. The camp sponsors waterfront and athletic activities (Figure 29).

Figure 29
*Ocean Beach Youth
Camp*



Activities

Ocean Beach is a densely settled beachfront community with a lot of relatively urban public space. As discussed earlier

(pp 104-05), much of the social and community activity is urban in nature. Many of the seasonal residents are New York City people, who know as well as anyone how to live an urban life style.

Routine activities include Sunday morning basketball events and an end-of-summer tournament (although held at Woodhull School outside the village limits, this involves many Ocean Beach residents.) Some people, mostly youths, fishing from docks. Some may still make fishing poles from local bamboo. Reportedly a number of people do regular surfcasting on the beach, although July, the month of our fieldwork, is not a good time for bluefish and striped

bass, and we did not observe much surfcasting. Ocean swimming is a popular activity by residents and the many day-trippers to Ocean Beach. Bay swimming is mainly for children. Lots of girls were observed selling decorated clamshells and lemonade at stands along the walks of Ocean Beach. One girl said everybody goes clamming—right off shore, nowhere special. Adults we spoke with deny doing such things themselves. The village maintains marina slips on the bay adjacent to the commercial area; we suppose that many of these slips are rented by resident boat owners.

Rules and Regulations, Policing and Surveillance

Ocean Beach has long been known for its summertime restrictions on everyday activity. Writing in 1979, Fletcher and Kintz called the restrictions “extreme.” The moniker “the land of no” has stuck to Ocean Beach, in large part through its repeated use by journalists in *Newsday* and other widely read periodicals. Some people in Ocean Beach today say that the restrictions have been moderated. Nowadays, for example, people are allowed to eat on the street in the commercial area, and they are permitted to ride bicycles in daylight hours on weekdays. Still, the village enforces stiff restrictions: no eating on the residential walks outside the commercial area or on the beach, no bike riding in the commercial area at any time; no bike riding anywhere else in the evenings or on weekends, and so on. The village takes an aggressive stance in communicating this atmosphere of regulation and control to all who enter. “Welcome” signs posted at all entrances to the community advise visitors of what they may and may not do while in Ocean Beach. The village maintains a highly visible police force whose shirt backs say “POLICE” in very large capital letters.

The restrictions exist to protect residents of the village from the press of tourists, known as “day-trippers.” Ocean Beach attracts many visitors who come out for the day on the ferry. It also attracts “night trippers” who come for the nightlife. Relative to other Fire Island communities, Ocean Beach has ample attractions: many restaurants and bars, food markets, some art and craft galleries and dry goods stores, frequent ferry service, public restrooms in the business district and at the beach, and an ocean beach staffed by lifeguards. Ocean Beach receives more day-trip visitors than the public areas of Fire Island National Seashore—Watch Hill and Sailors Haven—largely because it offers such a satisfying mix of attractions. The restrictions on eating are believed to cut down on litter. Those pertaining to bicycles are thought to keep the streets safe for pedestrians. The night-riding restriction is to protect the cyclists themselves from accidents on the shadowy walks.

Natural and Cultural Resources Utilized

Many points in the business district are important cultural resources for the community. These include the ferry dock, community house and historical society, the boathouse, the village green, the playground, the bay beach, and the Firemen’s Benevolent Association Hall. On Midway, important cultural resources include the Fire hall, Free Union Church, and the Magnificat Church.

The beach is a natural and cultural resource of critical importance. The Ocean Beach Lifeguard house, adjacent to the beach, is a community cultural resource. One year-round resident spoke of Sunken Forest as his favorite place on the island, although he thought the distance and difficulty of getting there from Ocean Beach meant that few residents visit the forest.

Cultural Character and Values of the Community

Despite tensions between residents and business interests, Ocean Beach is trying to be a family community. The surveillance and the rules and regulations are put into place in order to protect family values—quiet streets free of danger and undue noise, and life-guarded ocean and bay beaches for safe swimming. In addition, the community sponsors programs, rituals, and activities for children, including the annual Baby Day Parade, and provides tennis and basketball courts. The Ocean Beach summer camp is a major family resource that serves approximately 500 young people. One of the costs of enforcing a family atmosphere amid the competing interests of recreational day-trippers, commercial interests, and groupers is the comparatively heavy police presence and the imposition of rules and regulations. Ocean Beach residents by and large accept these measures as necessary to protect the community's family-oriented values.

As an incorporated village, Ocean Beach provides more services than many other Fire Island communities. Residents here pay the taxes necessary to provide village governance and services; in return more is done for them than in less organized communities. Ocean Beach has one of the larger year-round populations on the island. Among this number are several people who cross over between the two social categories that generally prevail on the island—summer person and year-rounder. Residents in this group may have come to Ocean Beach as summer people and become year-round residents. Some have come here from New York City and elsewhere to become business people; others to provide professional services. The presence of people in this crossover category helps to bridge the social rift between seasonal and year-round residents that prevails elsewhere. Moreover, a high proportion of the year-rounders are involved in village governance through service on various boards and committees. Persons in these

capacities have more opportunity for regular interaction with those seasonal residents who also engage in civic activities.

Ocean Beach's lively downtown area demonstrates the considerable overlap that exists between the residential and commercial interests. The business district is a distinctive public space that contains a series of formal and informal spaces much used by community residents. The downtown environment affords most residents regular interaction with neighbors and other community members. Residents also enjoy the urban amenities offered in the numerous shops, bars, and restaurants.

With its Protestant and Catholic churches, significant Jewish population, and some people of color evident in the bustling downtown, Ocean Beach residents regard the community as a cultural mix—perhaps more like a real city than other Fire Island communities. When asked, several participants said the community was a mix (although one knowledgeable year-round Fire Islander thought that Ocean Beach has become predominantly Jewish.)

SEAVIEW

History of Seaview

The modern community of Seaview, situated between Ocean Beach and Ocean Bay Park, corresponds, approximately, to Lots 19, 20, and the westerly portion of Lot 21 of the 1878 partition. The first community settlement here during the late 1800s revolved around the fish processing business. Wilson J. Terry, a name connected with fish oil manufacture, acquired Lot 21 in 1878 and there established the South Bay Oil and Guano Company (Fletcher and Kintz 1979). Lot 18, owned by Samuel Green of Sayville in 1878, also hosted a fish oil business—perhaps that of Gilbert Smith, who operated a menhaden-processing factory in what would become Seaview. Caught in the ocean, the fatty medhaden, or “bunkers,” were rendered into high quality oil used in paints and for lighting, also high-protein fish meal used for fertilizer and animal feed. The factories emitted powerful aromas (Levenson 1994). Terry, Wilson, and other landholders in what later became Seaview were citizens of Sayville and held substantial property there as well (Fletcher and Kintz 1979).

In 1894, the Long Island Chautauqua Assembly Association bought the easterly portion of Lot 21, measuring approximately 4,000 feet, from Wilson Terry’s Estate. This tract was soon to become Point O’ Woods. Although early houses in Seaview were built for fish factory workers, the fish processing business on Fire Island declined after 1900. Property owners at the time saw a future in real estate subdivision. Both Fletcher and Kintz (1979) and Madeleine Johnson (1983) cite a 1907 property transfer of Lot 20 and portions of Lot 19 and 21 that explicitly prohibited fish processing on the property.

By the 1920s Seaview was a lower-middle-class community of between 20 and 40 houses. Johnson (1983) writes that Seaview was restricted to white, Protestant homeowners until

1928 when “the ban against Jews” was lifted. Ralph Levy and Walter Weisman are thought to have been the first Jews to settle in Seaview. Once the restrictions were broken, Jews settled here in numbers, eventually becoming predominant (Levenson 1994). A knowledgeable longtime resident, corroborating Levenson, said that Ralph Levy was the first Jew to break into Seaview, she thought sometime in the 1940s. This informant said that Seaview is now 90 percent or more Jewish.

Growth in Seaview paralleled that of other Fire Island communities: a rise in the number of structures from 1947 to 1966, a period of leveling off, and another rise in building after 1971. The 1975 statistics show 313 residential structures and 175 vacant home sites in Seaview (Fletcher and Kintz 1979). A few home sites remain undeveloped in Seaview to this day; several houses were visibly under construction in summer 2004.

The Seaview Association was founded in the 1930s. After a subsequent move to incorporate brought controversy, its proponents abandoned the measure to keep the Seaview Association viable (Levenson 1993). In the 1950s, the association bought the streets and walks from the Town of Islip to gain control over vehicles and to discourage commercialization. The 1950s saw an influx of families and an outflow of singles (Levenson 1993).

Fletcher and Kintz observe that, relative to superficially similar Ocean Beach, “the larger and more substantial homes [in Seaview] are a reflection of socioeconomic differences” (1979:127). Although unsubstantiated by any quantitative data, the observation seems fair, even today. Seaview, in any case, is more private than Ocean Beach as it lacks a substantial commercial district. Seaview has one general store—Seaview Market—continuously operated since 1941 by the Little family, one liquor store, and one nursery.

Community Layout and Social Organization

Seaview shares the gridded street plan of neighboring communities. The Burma Road here follows Neptune walk from Surfview Walk in Ocean Beach to Ivy Walk (which marks the town line between Brookhaven and Islip) and then Thompson Walk to the border of Ocean Bay Park. The first letters of the names of Seaview's north-south walks follow alphabetical order from west to east: Atlantic, Beachwald, Crescent, Duneway, and so on. The area closest to Ocean Beach was first to develop as a residential area and has a number of older houses dating to the 1920s. Development in the eastern portion came predominantly after World War II. The differences in style from east to west observed by Fletcher and Kintz in 1979 seem not so noticeable today, as modernization, expansion, new construction, and landscaping have given Seaview a contemporary, leafy, affluent appearance throughout. Compared to Ocean Beach and Cherry Grove, the lots seem larger and less crowded with buildings. There are approximately



Figure 30
Wagon Storage, Central Walk, Seaview
Opposite Seaview Market and Ferry Terminal

360 houses in Seaview according to the Seaview Association Directory, 2000-2001.

Seaview's tiny commercial district is located on the bay around the corner from the ferry dock. The busy Seaview Market, on the corner of Duneway and Central Walk, is a crossroads for the community. Here a Seaview resident can have continuous

conversations with friends and neighbors passing by. It was on this corner that people

canvassing for the Seaview Association's Sunset Stomp event set up their tables. The ferry house on Central Walk has a bulletin board where people post notices. Across Central Walk is a spacious area where residents keep their wagons (Figure 30). Seaview has a conspicuous public park in this area, Seaview Park, which occupies less than a quarter-acre site at Fairway and Central Walk. Within it is a memorial to three Seaview residents who died in the World Trade Center attack of September 11, 2001. The park has a couple of benches facing each other under



Figure 31
Seaview Park

an arbor (Figure 31). A longtime resident thought that the park is used more by domestic workers than by Seaview residents.

The ferry dock shares the boat anchorage with a marina. Once owned by the ferry company (Fire Island Ferries), the property was sold to the disputatious

businessman Lee Pokoik, who built a marina there. The Seaview Association tried to buy it unsuccessfully. The marina provides a locally unwanted extra measure of public access. As one resident said of Pokoik,

...he hated us, so he made it into a marina and brought all these people into the middle of a family resident area where there's no toilets for them, no commercial use. [The Seaview Association] tried to buy it; he wouldn't sell it to us. But we get along...

A few blocks farther east, the community maintains two more prominent features: the bay beach and the ballfield. Seaview's bay beach has a spacious area of level ground in back of the actual beach where one finds ample playground equipment, and a relatively large, guarded beach. At one corner is a bike corral. The beach is the site of community events such as the Sunset Stomp, a fundraiser held on July 17, 2004. Farther east, on the border with Ocean Bay Park, is the Seaview ballfield. The field is divided between a baseball diamond and a series of tennis courts. There is a very high—maybe 40 foot-high—structure of poles and netting to keep fly balls from beaming the tennis players: this structure is visible from way out on the bay. Another visually prominent structure in this vicinity is a tall brick smokestack. As visible as it is, the smokestack seems to have no special significance for residents, and there appears to be some confusion over what it is, or was--either a disused incinerator or the remnant of a fish-processing factory (it may be both.)

Seaview is divided between the towns of Brookhaven (East of Ivy Walk) and Islip. It has no municipal government of its own, but in the Seaview Association it has a strong homeowners' association that resembles a local government. The Seaview Association owns all the common property, including the sidewalks, tennis courts



Figure 32
Fire Island Synagogue, Seaview

and ballfield, water company, and the beaches to mean high water. All property owners must pay the association's annual dues of \$1,100 per year. The association posts signs at all walks and

beach entrances to the community advising visitors of the local rules. The association won a case some years ago in the New York State Court of Appeals over its right to collect dues from all homeowners. A resident active in the association thought this was a bargain:

The homeowners association fees here are \$1100 a year, plus your water bill which is reasonable. I mean, look at all you get. You have to pay a little extra to play tennis, but you get a little league for the kids, free swimming lessons for the kids, you get life guards on the bay beach, you get a wading pool, and the glorious Atlantic Ocean, beautiful weather, wonderful neighbors and friends who are your friends for life-- a sweet, wonderful natural existence for very little.

Seaview has two synagogues: the Fire Island synagogue (Conservative) on Beachwald Walk and Neptune, and an Orthodox congregation on Homesite Walk near Bayview (Figure 32). A knowledgeable year-round resident thought the Fire Island Synagogue was Reform, describing it as:

...reformed reform—way out. You think there's not a difference? Let me tell you, there's a difference. When I go by that little [Orthodox] place there they have a full house crowd overflowing on the sidewalk. It's right on the Bay[view] Walk as you're going toward Ocean Beach—it's a white stone building. On Saturday morning they have a full house. And the other one—on the holidays they have a full house but otherwise [not.] It's very interesting to watch. People are wanting more structure, more rules and regulations with the religion. And they're not old people, they're 30 and 40 years old with young children.

The author Herman Wouk was among the founders of the Fire Island Synagogue.

Seaview is widely regarded as expensive, desirable, and prosperous. For example, an unidentifiable website compares Seaview to Westchester County:

If Ocean Beach is the New York City of Fire Island then Seaview, immediately adjacent to the east, is its Westchester County... Seaview has its own distinctive look and feel which sets it apart from its neighbors as one of the most beautiful and desirable parts of the island... Although groups have made some headway in renting in recent years, the tone of the community is definitely set by the idea of family, and the lack of attractions has served to virtually eliminate the problem of daytrippers.

The trope of “family community” appears consistently in references to Seaview. For example, Madeleine Johnson said that Fire Island resorts break down into two basic categories: “family” and “party-time resorts...Seaview is archetypically of the former type” (Johnson 1983:133). A community activist agreed, saying “this is a very family-oriented community. There used to be a lot of groupers,” she added: “We used to have a terrible grouper problem.” This informant explained that the strategy in Seaview was to make it the best kind of community they could:

If you want to get rid of groupers... make the community as nice as you can. Safety for kids, make your ballfields, your tennis courts, your bay beach where the kids swim, your transportation to the ferries, your doctor, the park—upgrade everything, maintain everything, keep the place looking gorgeous, so many people will want to move here... He said, if you build it, they will come. And no family, once they fix up a gorgeous house, is going to rent it to 25 crazy people. Why would they do that? Houses are now worth a million dollars here... People love it here, they’re house-proud. Why would they rent it to people who are going to trash the house?

Seaview homeowners do, of course, rent their houses, but to professionals—“mature people who don’t want noise and confusion either.”

Rituals, Celebrations and Gatherings

One event we are aware of was the “First Seaview Sunset Stomp,” an early evening jazz and dancing event held on July 17, a Saturday, at the Seaview Bay Beach.

As described by a year-round Ocean Beach resident, there is a weekly, Tuesday afternoon softball ritual at the Seaview ballfield, although participants may be mostly not from Seaview. There are teams—one is local bartenders, another is ferry employees. It starts at around 4:00 p.m. Players drink beer; their girlfriends come to watch.

Community Organizations and Associations

The Seaview Association is the obligatory homeowners' association with three membership meetings per year. It has officers, a 15-person board of directors, and two hired executives, the community manager and assistant community manager.

One community resident said there is a lot of volunteerism. Some of this activity involves serving on committees of formal organizations, such as the Seaview Community Fund. Much of the voluntary community activity in Seaview appears to occur on a less formal level. This particular informant gave as an example a group of women who have gotten together to write a cookbook. They will raise money for the community by selling the cookbook. She said,

It's an indication of civic pride and how much people love the place and want to give back. Plus it's a way of socializing, working on something with your friends and neighbors. A lot of people here are very busy, have a career on the mainland, and don't want to come out here and just sit on the beach. So the way I look at it is, there's some tennis players, some volleyball players, some softball players, some gardeners, and there's some civic servants. And it's kind of like a wonderful group hobby and activity, and it makes the place really hum along. So it's exciting that they're going to have a cookbook party.

This resident was emphatic on the subject of community activity in Seaview. She continued,

I love the social nature of it. It's one of the most rewarding political activities you can engage in. It's the essence of America--not grassroots but the roots of the grass roots... When they say all politics is local, this is about as local as you can get. It's satisfying because it's what politics should be about... I think it's what attracts people to a community like this, is that you can become involved in a series of issues in your community and you can get results. Very satisfying--especially in our current society... Everywhere you look in our communal life in this country it's not working. You can come out here and get a group together and publish a cookbook, sell the cookbook and make money to donate to the community organization which then builds a park where you can come and sit--and read your cookbook and plan what friends you're going to have over to eat a meal from the cookbook. After being out here I feel renewed, restored, optimistic again--I guarantee if you talk to 50 people here they'd all agree.

Activities

Like other communities around it, Seaview is a comparatively urban place, its land built up leaving little open space other than the beach. People relax, read, walk and bicycle, shop, garden, cook, watch television, work together on cookbook projects; they swim and play tennis and softball. The community has no facilities for boating; the new marina has no connection to the community. Some people fish off the docks and surfcast off the ocean beach. There is a swimming ladder on Bayview walk near the Ocean Beach line; here we observed teenagers getting in and out of the water and kayaking. The bay beach is well used by children and caretakers for swimming and playground activities.

One of the few year-round residents said that in the off-seasons, his wife and daughter and dogs take long walks on the beach, “exploring...for deer antler and everything else they can find. They walk for miles on the beach.” Speaking of traditional harvesting activities like picking beach plums, blueberries, and so on, this resident noted that “there’s a man in Seaview with a big piece of property within a fence—it has everything in there that you don’t see any more outside. I take my daughter in there, we have a field day.”

Rules and Regulations: Policing and Surveillance

Day-trippers and their nocturnal counterparts, the night-trippers, have been a problem for Seaview. Lacking any public facilities, Seaview does not attract many day visitors itself, but it is situated between the two communities that attract the greatest number among any community west of Sunken Forest—Ocean Beach and Ocean Bay Park. People walk through Seaview at night, often inebriated and behaving disrespectfully. Until 2004, the last boat out of Ocean Bay Park was relatively early—9:30 p.m. or so—and patrons of Flynn’s and other Ocean Bay Park establishments would walk through Seaview to get a boat out of Ocean Beach. As one resident said,

...these were roving bands of very drunk guys, angry guys—girls too—they would bash fences, turn over garbage pails; people would find people in their houses insisting this was where they were supposed to meet somebody—outside, deckhouses—you know—looking for a private place [for trysts]—all sorts of activity!

Figure 33
*Welcome Sign
With Warnings and Rules*

- No eating or drinking on the beach
- No changing of clothes on the beach
- No dogs or radio-playing on the beach.
- All vehicles must stop at every corner



A series of planning meetings involving Seaview, Ocean Beach, Ocean Bay Park, the ferry company, and the county

police resulted in (among other things) a new 1:00 a.m. departure out of Ocean Bay Park, which is thought to have resolved some of the problem. Nonetheless, the Seaview Association continues to provide a private security force on Friday and Saturday nights, as it has for 12 years. An officer of the association said:

We spend \$50,000 a summer...to have anywhere from 12 to 12 off-duty and moonlighting Suffolk County and New York City police. They're unarmed and supposed to be polite, but the idea is to politely but firmly move the crowd through.

The Seaview Association posts general community rules at entrances, as in Figure 33.

The traffic directive “STOP” is painted in yellow letters on the concrete sidewalk pavement at every intersection in Seaview, from all approaches. No one appears to obey these signs. The danger comes from collisions between people in different modes of transportation;

also from the poor visibility at most intersections because of dense vegetation that encloses the already very narrow streets. The transportation modes mainly include motor vehicles, golf carts, bicycles, and pedestrians. The author was riding around Seaview with a Fire Islander in his golf cart when, approaching an intersection, a woman on a bike from the opposite direction swerved off the pavement and onto the sand to avoid the golf cart. Immediately the woman lost control and fell off the bike down onto the pavement, skinning her knee. The driver of the golf cart had not stopped at the intersection. This incident also typified the good side of community life on Fire Island: the golf cart driver stopped, the two knew each other, and all was quickly forgiven.

In Seaview as in other communities, there is conflict between summer residents--the overwhelming majority of the population--and the year-round residents who drive necessary vehicles on the streets in the summer months when beach driving is banned.



Figure 34
Swimming Ladder and Kayak Launch, Bay Walk, Seaview

Summer residents cherish the peace and quiet of the pedestrian streets which they want to be safe enough to let their children roam freely. Some fear that the frequent intrusions of motor vehicles passing through these streets will sometime result in a serious accident.

Natural and Cultural Resources Utilized

Seaview is similar to the other comparatively built-up communities in the vicinity: other than swimming, little activity involves the resources of the National Seashore directly. Seaview residents swim in the bay, at their bay beach and at a point along Bayview Walk (Figure 34). The bay swimmers appear to be predominantly children and teenagers. Adults tend to prefer the ocean beach for swimming and sunbathing. Direct involvement with natural resources is mostly limited to swimming and beach walking. In this regard, one longtime Seaview resident made unfavorable comparison to the past: whereas today people want big houses and pools, as affluent suburbanites might anywhere, in his youth,

...you came to Fire Island, you had your bungalow, you did some gardening on your property, you waterskied during the day, went sailing during the day—you certainly included the water in a lot of your activities. And that included a lot of people—there was waterskiing all over the place, and clamming and seining [fishing with a net] and all that stuff. Kids would go down to the Ocean Bay Park area before it was all bulkheaded and seine for blowfish, and everybody had a bamboo pole on the dock... Now when you do it people go “Wow, look at that—that’s ingenious.’ Growing up, bamboo poles, put a couple coats of varnish on it, hang a bobber from it, and catch blowfish at the end of the dock all day... Now, Fire Island is about central air and big-screen TV... I am amazed by the number of swimming pools people have now--with these two fantastic bodies of water right here [ocean and bay].

At the same time, the two bodies of water and the beach are essential to the Seaview experience, indeed, to the Fire Island experience. People may not engage as directly with the island’s natural resources as their predecessors once did, but the sense of being on a traffic-free island in a clean, unpolluted environment, the immediacy of the water, and the presence of the beach are all critical elements of people’s sense of place in Seaview.

Cultural Character and Values of the Community

Seaview works hard to be a “family community.” The Seaview Association provides supervised recreation for children, athletic facilities for all ages, sharply limits commercial activity, and prohibits group rentals. There appear to be no factions with contrary ambitions in Seaview, for there are no groupers and almost no commercial interests. Both community informants interviewed were apprehensive of a trend toward excessive affluence. As one said, now:

...people come here with a huge amount of money who want increased services, gourmet food at the market; who would like to have sea planes bring in fresh lobsters, who get \$50,000 worth of landscaping around their houses because they want it done instantly. And it changes the character. It's more homogeneous. People of different background can't buy a house here--teachers, firemen. Retirees here can get seven, eight hundred thousand for their house that they bought for maybe \$20,000--like farmers in the east end.

One defining characteristic of Seaview's sense of itself as a family community is the freedom for children. As one resident argued,

Where in the world within an hour and a half of a huge metropolitan area could you come to a place where there are no cars, everybody walks around on bare feet, you shop with your wagon-- Kids start going to the market on Saturday morning for the newspaper and a bagel when they're four. They send them with a little note-- Dear Wes, please give Jamie 6 bagels--and they have special baskets. And they send them back. I've called to say at the market, Marylyn, watch out for little Katie, she's on her way down. It's such a personal small town life in the middle of booming suburbia.

The community character is also defined by the island's natural environment—the beach, the ocean and the bay. This informant talked about “the immediacy of the outdoors—get up in the morning, you're out with birds, bushes, trees, sun and sand, with your coffee, no elevators, car, lobby that you have to walk through.”

OCEAN BAY PARK

History of Ocean Bay Park

Ocean Bay Park, situated between Seaview and Point O' Woods, was developed in the mid-section of Lot 21—a 2530' portion of the 8002-foot-long lot. Fletcher and Kintz (1979) conducted interviews with residents John and Bertha Lindsay, whose descendants are still here in 2004, as well as Helen Driscoll and Frank Flynn, the latter of Flynn's Restaurant. FIIS has been unable to locate the interview notes. Fletcher and Kintz say that, as in other Fire Island communities, many early buildings were moved here from elsewhere, either from the mainland by barge, or from another location on the beach. John Lindsay, one of three builders active in Ocean Bay Park in its early years, came there with Bertha from Patchogue in 1930. Lindsay told Fletcher and Kintz that 26 structures were extant in Ocean Bay Park at the time he arrived there. Some of the early residents of Ocean Bay Park worked in Point O' Woods as carpenters, plumbers, cooks, housecleaners, and in other occupations—as did some residents of Oakleyville.

According to Madeleine Johnson's 1983 history, Lindsay's 1930s efforts were part of a speculative development for working class vacationers. The Depression pushed the developers into bankruptcy, and growth would not resume until after World War II. Fletcher and Kintz (1979) reported 280 houses and 57 vacant house lots as of 1975. Fletcher and Kintz described Ocean Bay Park as having a mixed social composition comprising families and singles.

The most noteworthy feature of Ocean Bay Park is Flynn's Restaurant, established on a pier at the foot of Cayuga Street in the 1930s, very close to the border of Point O' Woods. After the Second World War, the Flynn's acquired the Point O' Woods life saving station, which is within the boundaries of Ocean Bay Park, and modified it for use as a hotel. They later floated

the former Forge River life saving station over by barge to expand the hotel, known as the Fire



Figure 35
Snack Bar Deck, Ocean Bay Park, 1950s

Commercial establishments like the Snack Bar that were located upon the primary dune have been discontinued and removed since the establishment of the Fire Island National Seashore. Private Collection

Island Hotel. Also in the postwar years the Flynns operated the Snack Bar, a snacks and light refreshments establishment with a big deck built on top of the primary dune facing the ocean (Figure 35). The Snack Bar was removed

sometime after the National Seashore was established, as result of a storm, but also in

keeping with a Park Service policy against oceanfront commercial establishments.

Johnson (1983) writes that Ocean Bay Park attracted many day-trippers because of its public facilities. She adds,

Diversity is the theme. Here, a minimum of regulations encourages free spirits and behavior. Families, groupers, day-trippers, working people, and party-goers jostle each other, pursuing conflicting visions of happiness at the shore... Most families in Ocean Bay Park...deplore the hedonistic way of life displayed in the community (Johnson 1983:135).

Originally a working class resort, Ocean Bay Park has more recently been known for grouper rentals and a party atmosphere. One informant, a year-round resident of neighboring Seaview, explained the cycle as he had witnessed it:

In the '50s, '60s, '70s, Ocean Bay Park had a strong working class bunch-- firemen, schoolteachers. After Saturday nights attracted the kids, a lot of them picked up and moved to the Hamptons. Their houses were replaced with 20-something Wall Street workers who wanted to let loose on the weekends. I used to call Ocean Bay Park 'Dodge City' on Saturday nights. An older crowd came back in later on; the new owners often rent their houses part of the time to pay their mortgages but rent to other families. But Saturday night is the remaining problem.

The "Saturday night" problem refers to the day-trip visitors to Ocean Bay Park who come over from Long Island to party at Flynn's, Schooners, and the Inn-Between. Ocean Bay Park is one of the more popular destinations for both day and night visitors to Fire Island because of the access, available public facilities, and relative lack of policing and surveillance.

Groupers are not necessarily Wall Street workers, as the informant quoted above described them, but most are young adults from Manhattan with white-collar jobs. One longtime resident said the groupers are "all from Manhattan." Although it may occur elsewhere, the grouper phenomenon has long been associated with Fire Island. Manhattan contains a huge reservoir of post-collegiate young adults looking for social opportunities at the beach, and Fire Island is close and convenient to reach by train from the city. Groupers meet up through ads posted in the winter time. The advertiser is usually the one who has taken out the lease on a summer rental and must find others to share the rent. Groupers apportion the rent among them according to the space and the amount of time they wish to occupy. As a park service ranger noted,

Ocean Bay Park has huge, huge problems with groupers, where you get 30 people that'll buy a share in a house. All of a sudden somebody says, "Oh, I didn't think it would be that big," and then 35 people show up to share one bedroom. And either they have a fight or they become friends.

The "huge problems" arise from the inside density in the rental houses, the party atmosphere, and the unconcern of such renters toward the usual homeowner perquisites of keeping up appearances, respecting and getting along with the neighbors, community involvement, and so on. The problems themselves include excessive noise, disrespectful behavior, vandalism, and litter. Although the groupers and the day-trippers are different groups, to the seasonal family resident, or the neighbor in "respectable" Seaview or Point O' Woods, they are equally responsible for these problems. Year-round residents of Ocean Bay Park may not be so concerned. When the author mentioned to one such resident another informant's concern with what she had described as "night trippers," the resident said "Yeah, but don't forget, people tend to look down their noses at transients." For the year-rounders, the summer time scene is relatively short; they have the rest of the year to enjoy the quiet life on Fire Island.

Community Layout and Social Organization

Ocean Bay Park could be called the "vale of humility" between two "mountains of conceit"--Seaview on the west and Point O' Woods on the east. The eastern boundary is fenced and, during the summer season, sealed off by the Point O' Woods Association. The party action in Ocean Bay Park occurs mostly in this area: here are Flynns', Schooner Inn, a smaller establishment, a motel, and the Fire Island Hotel, a rowdy establishment near the beach and the Point O' Woods boundary on the site of the Point O' Woods Life Saving Station. The westerly streets of Ocean Bay Park are mostly residential.

Bay View Walk parallels the bay and provides access to all the commercial establishments except for the Fire Island Hotel. It is a divided walk with a larger walkway on the south side and a narrower one on the north. In between is a median strip planted decoratively by the Ocean Bay Park Association. Moving from east to west on the bay front are four important establishments: Flynn's, the ferry dock, the bay beach, and the Ocean Bay Park Fire Hall. The ferry dock is a spacious structure that projects out into the bay, like a pier, in contrast to the ferry basins of Ocean Beach, Seaview, Cherry Grove, and other communities. The dock affords beautiful sunset views over the bay; however, access is blocked except during ferry arrivals and departures. The Ocean Bay Park bay beach lies between the ferry dock and the fire hall. Here, along a curving path, are several benches donated in memory of deceased members of the fire company. One resident described the beach thus:

It's a marvelous spot for women and their children... they have benches down there that have been donated for the firemen that died. Great spot. Go down there and look at it, you'll see the benches. And if you want to go down there one evening and see the sunset, it's a glorious spot.

Immediately east of the bay beach is the fire hall. Like Flynn's and the ferry dock, the fire hall is built out over the bay on a pier. Only the space where the fire trucks are garaged is visible from Bay View Walk, but behind it, over the water, are a large indoor function room and an area of outdoor seating at the end of the pier. The Ocean Bay Park Fire Department is a major community institution, perhaps the only one that integrates summer and year-round residents among its members. It is one of the larger fire companies on Fire Island. The community's tennis courts are located on Bay View Walk across from the bay beach. Both bay beach and tennis courts are maintained by the Ocean Bay Park Association. A short distance to the west of the fire hall, along the bay front, is Schooner Inn, another large drinking establishment.

The gridded street pattern of Ocean Beach and Seaview continues through Ocean Bay Park. Here the north-south cross streets take the names of upstate New York localities--Seneca, Oneida, Ontario, etc. Some of these streets have the mode-separation configuration evident in some other Fire Island communities, in which half of the right-of-way is paved in concrete at grade level, and the other half is devoted to an elevated board walkway. The walkway is for pedestrians, the at-grade pavement for wheeled vehicles.

The walks and ocean beach in Ocean Bay Park are owned by the town of Brookhaven. Ocean Bay Park has no government of its own. The Ocean Bay Park Association is a homeowner group; reportedly it represents mainly seasonal owner occupants. Year rounders and grouper rental house owners are not much involved. There are 11 or 12 year-round resident families. The weakness of the Ocean Bay Park Association, as compared to the Point O' Woods Association or the Seaview Association, may be attributable to factions in the community. A Seaview informant, speaking of Ocean Bay Park, said:

[Ocean Bay Park has] a homeowners' association but it doesn't have any power, because they're very persnickety with one another. There's a lot of adversarial relationships over there because they have the homeowners and the groupers and they have the Flynns, who are entrenched over there in that hotel. And they have the boat people. Flynn's is a Fire Island institution, been there for years and years and years, and it's wild over there on a Saturday night. Oh! I mean, go down there tonight. It's really wild.

If this assessment is fair, it might also be fair to speculate that Ocean Bay Park is like Ocean Beach without a village government—that is, it has similar factions to those in Ocean Beach--residents, business people, seasonals, year-rounders—but no village government to negotiate the differences and impose order.

Ocean Bay Park has had grouper houses for a long time—as one informant noted, at least since the 1970s. Another informant thought the proportion of Ocean Bay Park houses rented to

groupers had declined from 50 percent some years ago to about 30 percent now. He attributed the decline to rising property values, saying “the owner can’t afford to get group rents and make it worthwhile, so they sell the house to a family which occupies it or rents to another family.” The informant quoted above (History of Ocean Bay Park) agreed that the proportion of family occupants has risen, but saw a cycle at work that depends in part on the popularity of Fire Island, and Ocean Bay Park in particular, with day-trippers:

We have our share of idiots coming over from the mainland on Saturdays. But it’s cyclical: There was a big crowd in the late ‘80s, early ‘90s. After that it fell off, then grew again in the late ‘90s. Now it’s fading again. A lot of people were selling out in the early ‘90s when real estate values dropped, and some of the share houses were taken over by young families. Now Ocean Bay Park has crossed the line. Then there were storms in 1992-93. There were no beaches the next year and people weren’t coming. Also we lost eight or nine share houses to the storms.

As stated, the cycle depends also on the weather. A severe storm can deplete the beach for the following summer season and reduce demand for Fire Island rentals. In this assessment, the trend over the last 10-12 years is for absentee owners to sell to families.

Another informant noted that today’s “young families” buying houses are yesterday’s groupers:

...families--not so much families as I’d say married couples. They were all groupers, all groupers. And I wouldn’t be the first one to tell them they’re all like reformed drunks. They can’t party [any more]--you know, you’re older, and you want the peace and quiet.

As this informant put it, “we have two different groups in Ocean Bay Park—we have our groupers and we have our family groups. And that’s uptown and this is downtown,” (“downtown” referring to the eastern end of the community where the commercial establishments are located and groupers predominate.) She added,

We have a mixture of everything—Protestants, Catholics and Jews here. Quite a mixture. If you really went down to the percentages you'd probably have a larger Jewish population than anything.

Rituals, Celebrations, and Gatherings

The Ocean Bay Park Fire Department sponsors its annual Fourth of July barbecue at the fire hall, in 2004 held on Saturday July 3 (Figure 36). The commodious fire hall has facilities for dinners, pancake breakfasts, and the like. One resident described the weekly round of social activity among year-round residents in the period before the bridges were built:

Back then, we would have dinners all winter long. Every Saturday we would have a get-together either at Ocean Beach Fire Hall or at Ocean Bay Park. The women would cook dinners. Remember, we couldn't get off the island, so all our entertainment was on the island. We were down together; it was a great family spot. Of course, like all places, changes—people coming in, people wanting the latest thing—made big changes on the island. But that's true everywhere. People didn't have washing machines and dryers. I don't know what year the old washing machine came in. As I say we were all very family oriented and we made our own amusement. A few people had televisions. We played a lot of cards. We weren't classy bridge players, just ordinary pinochle players. Today they're all playing bridge.

She said that even today there are dinners at the fire hall but not weekly.

The Ocean Bay Park Association runs several annual affairs in the summer time, such as a boat ride on a floating nightclub, an annual art show, a gourmet block party, and an occasional white elephant sale. The "white elephant" on Fire Island is anything a resident wishes to be rid of that cannot easily be thrown away. Because large objects are so difficult to dispose of, communities sponsor "white elephant" sales and similar kinds of events where people sell, even exchange their unwanted possessions.

Community Organizations and Associations

Homeowners are represented by the Ocean Bay Park Association. As noted above, association membership is not mandatory, and it appears to represent mainly owner occupants.



Figure 36
*Manning the Grill at Ocean Bay Park Fire Hall, Annual
Fourth of July Barbecue,
July 3, 2004*

A year-round resident described her community organizations as a church group, a post office group, and a school group. As is generally true for year-round residents, these groups transcend community boundaries: the “school group” refers to the Woodhull School Scholarship Fund. The other two are informal gatherings of islanders who get together on a more-or-less monthly basis.

Activities

The round of activities in summer time is mainly social: eating out, drinking, meeting up, dancing, and such recreational social activities for people on vacation or out for the weekend.

Such activity is focused most on the three bar-restaurants, Flynn's, Schooner Inn, and the Inn-Between. This activity peaks on Friday and Saturday nights when it is swollen by weekenders and "night-trippers" as one seasonal resident called them, who come over from mainland Long Island. The night trippers may be mostly young adults, like the groupers, but some are older—for example, two retired couples from Massapequa, Long Island, who came over together late in June to walk on the beach in late afternoon and then dine at Flynn's.

For at least six months of the year, Ocean Bay Park is a quiet place, with only ten or eleven year-round resident households. The summer season is Memorial Day to Labor Day. One year-round resident gave her perspective on the annual round:

Well, this is my observation: people are coming out later. You'd think they'd come earlier, but they're not. It's too wet in the spring, and it's cold. And there's nothing worse than going into a house that's been closed up all winter. If possible they'll stay later. But you know, watching it, it's almost the Fourth of July before the island really gets going, and the day after Labor Day it's dead again. It's a very funny feeling. Every house is dark. July and August every house is lit up. Then there are the people who come back for weekends, and they'll come—maybe—maybe—till the first of October. After that it's few and far between unless they have a good heating season in the house. October is about it—for most of them they already have the water turned off because there could be a sudden freeze. And that's why they don't turn them on earlier. You never know when there could be a sudden freeze and a busted pipe. They keep talking about the season is longer—I don't see it. And I'm here.

So it's pretty quiet after—

It's dead.

And the year-round people like it that way.

Ah—our life goes on summer and winter, the same thing. I don't think that we mix in that much. They're working in the city and they've worked all week and they come out here—in this community, they're partiers. That can't be part of our life because we're here just to work.

Rules, Regulations, Policing and Surveillance

Ocean Bay Park relies on the Suffolk County Police Marine Unit, which maintains a substation on Bay View Walk. There is very little police presence in Ocean Bay Park, where an

atmosphere of freedom, even license, prevails. A community informant compared life in Ocean Bay Park favorably to that in Ocean Beach:

You know I love Ocean Bay Park—groupers, homeowners... I have no desire to move anyplace else. I think of the convenience of living in Kismet and being close to the bridge, but I'd say it's too close...my freedom here...it's the best of both worlds. Peace and quiet all winter long, and lots of noise and people for those few months of the summer. People mind their own business, and everyone's doing their own thing. It's a great spot. I don't think I'd want to move into Ocean Beach—there are too many no-no's. If I want to get up at four o'clock in the morning and just ride around on my bicycle, I can do that. A lot of no's—after awhile, you don't know what is yes and what is no. Can you ride your bicycle or can't you ride your bicycle? We're allowed to ride our bicycles all winter long. Down there, somebody plants a sign—'As of four o'clock there will be no bike riding. Only on the side streets.' All of a sudden a sign goes up. If you couldn't read you'd be in trouble... You can eat on Main Street—you can only go so far up a street and eat—from this point on you can't eat...

Natural and Cultural Resources Utilized

Two different informants noted the ferry dock/bay beach area as a place to go down and watch the sunsets: "A lot of people go down because they love the sun going down and they love to watch it. Years ago we'd go out on the dock, and on Flynn's dock, but now you have fences and gates, so you can't do that." The other informant said,

This dock here and the ones in Ocean Beach and Fair Harbor are huge attractions. People come down with cocktails, watch the sunset. Davis Park and Fair Harbor have the sixish—the cocktail and hors d'oeuvres hour"

Obviously, Flynn's and the two other bar-restaurant complexes are important places for leisure-time socializing among the non-traditionally-associated groups—the groupers and the day/night trippers. Flynn's at least, because of its age, good reputation, and appeal to all age groups, would appear to be important also for some longtime residents, both of Ocean Bay Park and other nearby communities—including Point O' Woods.

Ocean Bay Park has its stretch of beach. No one said anything about it, but the beach is important public space for all the Fire Island communities.

Cultural Character and Values of the Community

The seasonal community in Ocean Bay Park is divided among entrenched business owners, residential owner-occupants, and groupers. The business interests seek to attract more groupers and day/night visitors so as to make the most of the short summer season. Residential owner occupants, many of whom are represented in the Ocean Bay Park Association, seek to curtail groupers and day visitors and make the community more of a family domain. An example from the 2004 season of the conflicts that arise was the decision to provide late-night ferry service out of Ocean Bay Park—a one o'clock a. m. boat—to take day/night trippers back to the mainland. Previously the last boat left Ocean Bay Park at 9:00 p.m. Some members of the Ocean Bay Park Association were unhappy with the decision, arguing that the later departure would attract more party activity. An official with the ferry company described the conflict:

The homeowners mostly understand the ferry company's position and we have a terrific line of communication. A few people think [the new weekend night departure for Bay shore from Ocean Bay Park at 1:00 a.m.] is not an asset to Ocean Bay Park. But I presented the stats--the late boat does not attract more people to come into Ocean Bay Park for the night, it just gets them off the beach at night, and Sunday morning trips are down by 75 percent. They're the worst group you can imagine after spending the night on the beach--sick, hung over, cold. The general membership applauded what we're doing. A few moaners can eat crow.

The small year-round population takes little note of these differences, tending to lump everyone else into a seasonal category. The year-rounders in Ocean Bay Park, as elsewhere, have mainly a business relationship with the seasonal population; there is little social intermingling. In addition, some year-rounders feel that the seasonal residents, renters and owner-occupants, want

them out of the way. One resident said, “They think we should get lost...they don’t want us here. When they come, they think that this belongs to them.” Conversely, the year-rounder is happy to see the summer crowd leave in September: as this informant said, “We like to see them come and we like to see them go.” Ocean Bay Park is an important locus of year-round residents. Although the population is not so large as that in Ocean Beach, Ocean Bay Park may have more working class Fire Islanders, and even in its summer manifestation, the community embraces working class values. Ocean Bay Park is unpretentious, unadorned, and relatively unregulated. There is no one with enough authority in the community to tell the year-rounders what to do, and they like it that way.

POINT O' WOODS

History of Point O' Woods

Point O' Woods, located between Ocean Bay Park and Sunken Forest, was founded in 1894 by the Long Island Chautauqua Assembly Association, formed by a group of Long Island Methodist ministers. The name "Point of Woods" was already in use, presumably to refer to the stretch of beach where the forest begins (Shaw 1895:22). This followed a general movement prevalent in the United States at the time that began in 1874 on Lake Chautauqua in western New York. The Chautauqua was a religious and cultural revival movement "devoted to the advancement of Religion, Science, Art, Innocent Recreation and Physical Perfection" (quoted in Fletcher and Kintz 1979:131). Its founders planned Point O' Woods to support the intensive intra-community involvement implied by the organization's goals. To this day, Point O' Woods is physically more like an academic campus community than the patently speculative developments that lie to the west.

The land to be occupied by the Chautauqua and soon by the Point O' Woods Association originally formed part of Lot 21, owned in 1878 by the South Bay Oil and Guano Company, of which Wilson Terry was a principal. The 1915 Hyde Map clearly shows the major divisions of Lot 21, which had taken place in the intervening years, including the section known as Point O' Woods. The Point O' Woods tract was sold to the Chautauqua Association by Isaac and Morris Terry, heirs of Wilson J. Terry, on 5 May 1894 (Fletcher and Kintz 1979).

The association hired J. Y. Cuyler, a Brooklyn landscape architect, to lay out the Chautauqua. Cuyler situated an auditorium at the center of the 175-acre property and planned eight streets to radiate out from this structure like the spokes in a wheel. The area between the auditorium and the ferry terminal, on the Ocean Bay Park border, was designated for stores. A

hotel was planned in the southwest section overlooking the ocean, and a park, university, and athletic grounds proposed for the eastern portion. The remaining land was proposed for cottage development. An interesting design feature of the plan was to build “some of the cottages in blocks of 25 or 30, built about a square with a dining pavilion in the center, where table board of the best quality may be secured at a reasonable rate” (Point O’ Woods Review, 1894, quoted in Fletcher and Kintz 1979:134). Not all of Cuyler’s plan was put into effect, but Point O’ Woods has Cuyler to thank for being the only major community on Fire Island without a grid street pattern. Its streets were illuminated by kerosene lamps, since replaced with electrified reproductions.

The Chautauqua attracted thousands of visitors to Point O’ Woods. Visitors paid 10¢ per day or 50¢ weekly, or \$3.00 a season, to participate in the extensive cultural, educational, and recreational programs. Although Point O’ Woods became a popular summer retreat operating from July 4th to Labor Day, problems were evident from the start and the Chautauqua went bankrupt in 1898. Its problems included the difficulty of providing adequate ferry service and of getting building materials over from the mainland, as well as sponsoring more activity than the association could afford. The Point O’ Woods historian Henrietta Prentiss, writing in 1927, guessed that “the prime movers were not business men... there was inadequate provision for building the cottages to which the Chautauqua hoped to attract summer residents” (Fletcher & Kintz 1979:134). One resident said,

I don’t know how they ever thought it could succeed. When you think of the problems! Even now it’s hard to get to Point O’ Woods in bad weather, but then it was mostly by sailboat—later on a steamer, but poor ferry service. And no plumbing, electricity—it was rustic living.

In 1898, the bankrupt Chautauqua Association sold the property to a newly organized group calling itself the Point O' Woods Association, which assumed the Chautauqua's debts and instituted the following

...policy of bringing under Association management all income-producing sources, and of encouraging the erection of cottages on building lots leased by the Association for a period of ninety-nine years. Thus it was made possible to control the property and to maintain a social atmosphere in keeping with the surroundings (Prentiss, quoted in Fletcher & Kintz, 1979: 136).

Fletcher and Kintz report that the Brookhaven tax assessment rolls for 1898 and later years follow a fairly consistent pattern. The addresses for owners and lessees show that Point O' Woods people generally came from Brooklyn, New York City, and Long Island south shore communities--notably Babylon, Bay Shore, and Sayville. The geographical distribution had broadened by 1915, as evidenced by the primary residences of the association's board of directors, who came from Brooklyn, Pelham, and Flushing; Westfield, New Jersey; Hartford, Connecticut; and Boston.

With the frequent and dependable summertime ferry service one expects today, it stretches the imagination to realize how difficult the access was in the early days. One resident talked about how the process went for her forbears, residents of a nearby south shore town.

They had all these baymen who did fishing and stuff and they would just get one of these big sailboats and the man would sail them across. My grandmother, three children, the sewing machine, mosquito netting, supplies of all sorts--kerosene--that was how they got there. Then some wagon to get them up to the house. Like pioneers--no doctor, unless a resident happened to be one. My grandmother went when she was six years old... When these people took my family over from here, no power. You just had to wait for the right day. Mom said they would be out playing somewhere and they'd come looking for 'em and say 'The boat's here, we've got this kind of a wind,' and back they'd go. When the boats arrived off Point O' Woods the sails came down before you got anywhere near the dock. And then out would come these poles, a couple of them on each side, and pole in. Because to bring a boat with that much sail into a dock is quite a trick. The first

thing you learn sailing small boats is docking it—as you know you have turn fast into the wind.

Point O' Woods was and remains unique on Fire Island in the high degree of control retained by the Point O' Woods Association. Fletcher and Kintz wrote that “at present [1979] it is still an exclusive community with restricted membership whose members continue to be upper-middle and upper-class whites.” The residences at Point O' Woods, many representative of the Shingle Style of residential architecture, are some of the largest on Fire Island.



Figure 37
Circa 1910 Postcard of Ocean Front Boardwalk and Margaret Fuller Memorial, Point O' Woods
All since lost to storms.
Montgomery 1994



Figure 38
The Inn and Beach Scene, Point O' Woods, circa 1930
Dunes visible in the middle distance protected the Inn from winter storms.
Private collection

Point O' Woods has lost numerous houses to storms, particularly the northeasters of 1962 and 1992-93. A couple of different community informants remembered the way the ocean front looked before these storms: a row of substantial cottages facing a boardwalk, then an area of scrub vegetation and dunes, and then the beach (see also p. 109). Early 20th century photographs reveal a memorial pavilion along the boardwalk commemorating the feminist Margaret Fuller

who lost her life in a shipwreck off Fire Island in 1850 (Figure 37). Also facing the ocean was “the Inn,” later known as the “Club,” a rambling wooden structure with public dining rooms and many guest rooms (Figures 38 and 39). All these structures were lost to the sea—some destroyed by storms and others so weakened that demolition seemed to be the only feasible solution. The present line of primary dunes is perhaps 200 feet north of where the dunes stood a century ago.

Point O’ Woods has one great advantage over any other Fire Island community in coping with this encroachment—its

common ownership of all the land by the Point O’ Woods Association. Even though many houses have been lost, the association has been able to move a number of other houses away from the ocean front to more protected areas. Other

communities, where people

own the land under their houses outright, are limited by the multiplicity of privately owned lots from working on a community level to cope with the changing terrestrial environment.



Figure 39
The Club (formerly Inn), After Storm Damage and Prior to Demolition, 1993
Private collection

Community Layout and Social Organization

Not too much of the radial street pattern planned for the Chautauqua has survived, yet the street layout in Point O’ Woods is quite different from the standard speculative street grid. The

main walk follows the planned diagonal route connecting the community center with the ferry dock. It then continues to the east following the alignment of the secondary dune system on a course that is neither ruler-straight nor gratuitously curved, but rather one that makes small adjustments along the way in keeping with the landform. There are a few straight streets too, most of them leading to stiles and the beach. In Point O' Woods, the stiles informally bear the family names of nearby homeowners.

In the center of the community is a building they call the "Casino," used as the tennis clubhouse, which incorporates some of the fabric of the original Chautauqua auditorium. The Casino also functions as a community center—here they have masquerade dances, art shows, association meetings, and the like. Next to it are the tennis courts. A landmark of sorts is the "stone bench," located at a prominent intersection, which commemorates a founder of the community. A short distance to the west is the Church. A short distance in the other direction is the market and "Candy Store" and the post office. The latter is no longer part of the U. S. Postal system since Point O' Woods, in the course of a lawsuit, was faced with a choice: Either make the post office accessible to everyone on Fire Island (i.e., open up the gate) or lose its postal service. Point O' Woods chose to give up the post office but the PoW Association continues to operate it, getting the daily mail from Bay Shore and distributing it to the residents' mailboxes. The post office also houses the Point O' Woods historical society, which uses the public area to display its artifacts—in summer 2004, some historic photographs from the collection of longtime resident Marion Eldert, who is no longer living.

Another center of community activity is in the northwest corner along the bay front by the ferry dock. Here is a large artificial anchorage where the community's many sailboats are docked. The Point O' Woods Yacht Club faces out toward the bay overlooking this boat basin.

Here too is the “store,” a small grocery and convenience store, located only steps from the pedestrian gate to Ocean Bay Park. Nearby and inland from the bay shore are the Point O’ Woods Association offices and the Point O’ Woods Firehouse.

Point O’ Woods has only about 130 houses on a tract of land that is larger than the one



Figure 40

Field, Walk, and Marsh, Point O’ Woods

Illustrating the spacious layout of Point O’ Woods. Note the characteristic street lamp.

occupied by Ocean Beach, which has 600.

As a result, this community has a large amount of green open space, some of it a big

open field, but most in wooded and marshy

land (Figure 40). The larger house lots in

Point O’ Woods, in comparison to other Fire

Island communities, allow much more space

between the houses than exists elsewhere on

the island. Point O’ Woods has kept to

tradition in its architecture and its

landscaping: none of the houses appeared to

deviate from the weathered shingle and painted wood trim vocabulary of the late nineteenth-

century shingle style, even the few that are more modern in form. Here, unlike many other

communities, there seemed to be much more of the indigenous varieties of trees and shrubs, and

the house lots are for the most part quite wooded. Many houses are largely out of sight behind

the trees.

Point O’ Woods has a unique narrow-gauge railway that connects the community’s

residential sectors with the dock (Figure 41). It was originally provided for the convenience of

residents and guests of the Inn (a/k/a Club) who stayed for weeks at a time and arrived with

unwieldy steamer trunks. Where other communities rely on miniature flatbed trucks to haul goods, and on wagons to haul baggage, Point O' Woods has its railway. A resident recalled,

When I was young, they did have the railway, but just flatcars and no power. We had a lot of workmen then, Italian for the most part, and these were hard workers. And I can remember they'd load these flatcars with everything—trunks; people would bring trunks for the summer, you know, no little suitcases—and groceries and all the rest of it, and these guys would come behind them and stretch out, about three of them, right behind it, and give a mighty heave, and push these things that way up to behind the store and behind the club, delivering. And... Wright Touseck—he was a wonderful engineer who built a big house in Point O' Woods that went out to sea some years ago—was the first to say this is ridiculous, you know: why not make a little gasoline engine to pull the flatcars. Now I notice they box them in, which is new. They used to just pile them up with things, and the workers would just sit on the edge and ride up with them.



Figure 41
Pier and Narrow-Gauge Railway, Point O' Woods

Another distinctive Point O' Woods feature is its notorious fence along the

western boundary with Ocean Bay Park. The fence has a pedestrian gate near the ferry dock and the store, just across the boundary from Flynn's in Ocean Bay Park. Farther along is the vehicular and service gate where the Burma Road enters Point O' Woods. In the summer season, the gates are locked. All residents of Point O' Woods have keys. In a *New York Times* story in 1977, Irvin Molotsky wrote that "Just about anyone can ask a Point O' Woods resident to unlock the gate near Ocean Bay park and the resident more times than not will comply with the request."

The author was successful both times he tried that approach in the summer of 2004. Molotsky

noted the march led by Nat Hentoff and others in 1969 to protest the locked gates and the community's exclusionary practices. A Point O' Woods resident said, after the march, that Point O' Woodsers simply ignored the protesters. In 2004 we uncovered no rancor in the other communities over the presence of the gate; perhaps people today are more accepting of the idea of "gated communities." Point O' Woods disputes the idea that it is a gated community: there are no guards, and as Molotsky noted in 1977, anyone can walk in over the stiles from the beach or across the eastern boundary from Oakleyville and the Sunken Forest.

Considering the raucous atmosphere across the fence in Ocean Bay Park, the use of locks in the summertime is not surprising. Point O' Woods is eminently a staid, respectable, predominantly Protestant, upper and upper-middle class community. Point O' Woods cannot keep out the noise of Ocean Bay Park revelers, but it avoids the indignities suffered by equally prosperous Seaview by locking out the *hoi polloi*. Point O' Woods residents use the gates themselves; some eat out at Flynn's occasionally, or go shopping in Ocean Beach. Point O' Woods has no liquor for sale—a vestige of the Chautauqua era—and residents have gone to Flynn's sometimes for a drink. Of course, they can bring their own to any social occasion. Malcolm Stearns, of a long-established Point O' Woods family, told the *Times* in 1988 that "[Point O' Woods is] frozen in time. When I was a boy [in the 1930s], we used to call the other side of the fence 'Mexico'." He said that young adults in his day would slip across the fence to "Mexico" for an evening's entertainment at Flynn's. The term "Mexico" in reference to Ocean Bay Park persists. An Ocean Bay Park summer resident and volunteer fireman, serving hamburgers at the Ocean Bay Park Fire Department's annual Fourth of July festival (Figure 36), commented that Ocean Bay Park carries on in its plainspun way like "Mexicans" between two socially lofty extremes, Protestant Point O' Woods and Jewish Seaview.

Admission to Point O' Woods is like getting into a selective country club. Newcomers must have letters of recommendation from two present residents. Additionally, they must be couples with children: no one without children can get in. The children-only policy was not always the case—an older resident remembers childless couples summering there years ago. Today, however, the only childless adults in the community are people whose children are grown up. New families must rent for at least one season before they can buy a cottage. As in other Fire Island communities, many Point O' Woodsers rent their houses for part of the season, but here all rentals are handled by the Association's real estate committee. Newcomers are reviewed after the season and in some cases asked not to come back. One resident related a story of some "nice people" who suffered that fate because the wife was heard swearing on the tennis court. After the required rental season, new residents can go on the buyers list, to which the real estate committee turns when members offer their houses for sale. The buyer gains title to the house but not the underlying land, which remains Association property.

A resident called the system in Point O' Woods a tyranny:

You have to have children and you have to know people. Point O' Woods is resented by all the other communities—and with good reason. It goes against the grain; it's fenced, gated, exclusionary. It's prejudiced—not overtly, but more in the way of entitlement, of having privilege. As a group, they see themselves as the ones who should enjoy it. And it's a tyranny. No one wants to go against it.

There's a group ethos, the tyranny of the association. People don't go against it because it's enforced homogeneity: 'We get our kind'—and it perpetuates itself.

Is Point O' Woods still restricted to white Protestants? Explicit discrimination is illegal in most social arenas, probably here too. People on Fire Island will say that Point O' Woods used to be restricted, thus implying that it no longer is. Yet the rules of admission and the privileged group culture of the community tend to maintain the status quo. Such barriers have been breaking down in many social institutions, sometimes voluntarily, other times through legal action.

Harvard, for instance, once excluded Jews but has not in many decades. More recently, prestigious men's clubs, such as the University Club in New York, have been put under court orders to admit women. Although changes of this type eliminate certain barriers to admission, they often do not affect an institution's social status: Harvard is hardly less prestigious for opening its doors to non-WASPs. So far as we know, no one has challenged Point O' Woods's exclusivity in court. Are there any Jews or Catholics or blacks in Point O' Woods? Reportedly some Point O' Woodsers attend services at the Catholic church in Ocean Beach; otherwise we do not know. We do know that Point O' Woods above all prizes its legacies, the continuity in its families from one generation to another. That is the reason for its families-only policy, to keep the youngest generations in the fold. One resident, whose family came originally for the Chautauqua, claims that his family is entering its seventh generation in Point O' Woods.

Another resident explained,

It's definitely a generational thing, Point O' Woods. That's what they want, and that's why they insist on all these children: They want families. No groupers. You can't come to Point O' Woods and rent a room somewhere. Even to come to the club you have to be recommended. It's not open city.

Rituals, Celebrations and Gatherings

The yacht club sponsors regular sailboat races, weekly or twice weekly. An annual boating event is the Snapper Inn Race. Any kind of sailboat can participate; they sail over to the Snapper Inn in Oakdale, on the Connetquot River, to have lunch. Informal groups will also sail or power over to the Snapper Inn to have lunch.

The association sponsors lobster parties on the bay in front of the yacht club, one in July and one August. On Labor Day weekend they have a traditional masquerade ball at the Casino. There's a different theme for the masquerade every year. The organizers reportedly go to great

lengths to decorate the ballroom. Saturday evenings they have band concerts—recently a Dixieland band.

There is an annual, mile-long “flotsam and jetsam” ocean swimming race.

Community Organizations and Associations

The following entries quoted from the Point O’ Woods Association 2004 Calendar provide a thorough overview of community organizations and associations.

The Assembly. Everyone at PoW belongs to this umbrella organization, but read on for each Committee’s activity. Use this Calendar as a schedule, but **CHECK YOUR POST OFFICE MAILBOX AND THE STORES’ POSTER AREA FOR UPDATES AT LEAST ONCE A DAY.** Contact Committee members for details and to offer your help—volunteers make it happen here.

Art Association. Established in 1984, the PoWAA presents exhibitions at the Casino and the Club, sponsors cultural awards, and works with the 5s-12s Activities Program. All PoW artists/curators are welcome to participate.

The Church. “At the heart of our community, our non-denominational Church invites ministers of various faiths to be in residence on-Season. Thanks to our Choirs—for children, Grades 3-8; Adults; and HS/College Handbells—music plays a primary role at our services. You’ll find the 10 am Sunday service an integral part of life here (arrive early to assure a seat.)

The Club. All PoW gathers here for BYOB cocktails and our Chef’s cuisine, eaten in, taken out, or catered. Receptions for the entire community are held in July and August.

Doctor’s Cottage. A physician is available 24 hours a day on-Season and can arrange emergency transport off-Island. The Doctor’s Cottage is on the Main Walk opposite the Church.

Fire Company. Drills on Saturdays; new members welcome.

Flotsam & Jetsam. In July and August, we have a one-mile Ocean Swim and Lifesaving Demonstration. All ages take part in this decades-old event. Some opt to race the distance; the victor wins the Irving Wright Trophy. Join the 1,000+ who have completed the Mile Swim!

Historical Society. We all belong to this group that collects and conserves the community’s written, pictorial, and physical history from its origins in the Long Island Chautauqua Assembly. Your project participation, archival loans, and reminiscences are encouraged. Share PoW’s past

at exhibits, special events, and the Library Archives; books and reproductions are available at the Stores.

The Library. Check out BOOKS FOR ALL AGES from the many collections on the Yacht Club Balcony, Mondays & Thursdays, 2:00-4:00, Saturdays, 9:30-10:30. Help-yourself PAPERBACKS available 24/7; return or replace your find with its ilk.

The Nature Center. As stewards of our barrier island milieu, all PoW applauds expanded electives with our counselor and intern and Tuesday evening presentations. Questions and project help welcome!

Social. Our social Chairpersons arrange festive events for the entire community held each Saturday night. LOOK AHEAD IN YOUR CALENDAR for a Lobster Party by the Bay, a Family Picnic at the beach, or a theme dance at the Casino—meet your neighbors, bring your house guests! Event Hosts welcome your help and inquiries.

Sports and Swimming. On weekday mornings, children ages 5-12 enjoy counselor-supervised sports, crafts, nature, swimming, sailing, and tennis. Afternoons offer electives. PARENTS: to keep track, POST the loose CALENDAR sheet inserted between July, which lists scheduled Children's Activities. CHANGES and special events never stop: LOOK FOR NOTICES RE!

Teens. Tuesday is Event Night for all teen residents, au pairs, PoW Staff, and house guests. For what's on when and where which week, watch the Candy Store poster area. The Teens Committee invites your questions or a helping hand.

Tennis. Multiple tournaments and programs, an excellent Pro Staff, and an extensive facility with eleven Har-Tru courts and a backboard accommodate players of all ages and levels. The Courts open at 8:00 am, 11:00 am on Sundays. TENNIS WHITES & TENNIS SHOES ARE REQUIRED.

Thriffany's. Located in the Dock House adjacent to the Boat, our Thrift Shop opened in 1975. All proceeds from sales of welcomed donations and consignments go to PoW community projects. Open weekdays 10:00-Noon, Saturdays 9:45-11:45, we also provide unique Christmas gifts!

Yacht Club. This PoW landmark on the Bay is our boating center, a social facility, and home to the Library and cultural exhibits. Jr. Sailing Instruction is held weekday mornings; electives and lessons for all ages are available most afternoons. Cup Races are a Saturday PoW focus.

Activities

Along with Saltaire, Point O' Woods is a major sailing center on Fire Island. As noted above, the PoW Yacht Club sponsors Saturday races of day sailers (small class boats) and



Figure 42
Point O' Woods Yacht Club

provides weekday sailing instruction (Figure 42). More than a few residents have larger boats suitable for cruising. One resident described extensive cruising activity among a group of residents who had an informal cruising club. All

had sailboats with auxiliary engines. This resident recalled day cruises to Snapper Inn, and overnight cruises across the bay to Great River or to a cove they called Hemlock Heading. They sometimes took longer cruises:

Then a lot of the cruising club people went through Shinnecock canal and up to Newport. And they'd go together; it'd be a cooperative effort. They'd have to dismast to get through the canal. The cruising club was so active at one point, but all of us now are older, and I don't think it's remained as big as it once was--very big operation, with races and get-togethers, and all go down to Great River and tie up together.

She added,

The cruising club did a lot of cruising but also a lot of racing. With handicaps naturally, with all sizes and shapes, spinnaker and non-spinnaker. It was fun. And as kids we all raced in class boats like this Cape Cod knockabout. Then they had snipes which were popular. Now the kids have an Optimist—like a pram with one little sail. Toys really, but you certainly get the feeling for sailing. It's a wonderful thing. And this bay is very popular for sailing, always has been. But this bay is shallow, it's all centerboard boats.

This informant and another both mentioned the *Narrasketuck*, a traditional Great South Bay day sailer—designed, she said, by Wilbur Ketcham of Amityville, Long Island. “They were [also] called the flatboat. [‘Narrasketuck’ is] an Indian name. It was designed especially for the

bay—it's just flat, with a centerboard. Little freeboard, but very fast boats.” This informant thought that sailboat racing on the bay had declined:

Racing on the Great South Bay is not what it used to be. Babylon Yacht Club used to have a Fourth of July invitation regatta year after year. And we had really big boats, a lot of Stars and R class and P class, and they were really big boats. But they're all gone. Now it's mostly small boats. I remember a cousin of mine... a Star sailor—got to the Olympics being a Star sailor. But I remember when he switched to a sailfish or something because people just gave up on the Stars; they were just too impractical—because of the keel.

The informant added that the Robert Moses bridge across the bay was too low for the masts of the larger boats, making it impractical to keep them on the bay.

Another popular sport at Point O' Woods is tennis. A resident said,

Tennis is very, very popular. They have something like 11 courts, Har-Tru, and two are all-weather. I think nine Har-Tru and 2 all weather. Har-Tru is like dirt—softer than cement. A lot of experts won't play on anything else. And all kinds of tournaments—there's mother and child, men's doubles, mixed doubles, juniors this and that—and they maintain competitions with... various clubs on Long Island, on the north shore—I forget the names of all of them, but very nice clubs, and the kids switch back and forth. Which is a good experience for them, playing other places.

The tennis programs are staffed by a paid professional tennis player and a number of college-student instructors.

The Point O' Woods church is an important institution. As one informant explained,

The church at Point O' Woods is very, very important. It's non-denominational, and they have visiting ministers. They have a very, very nice minister's house which is part of the church complex, and the minister and his family stay there while he's-- And the minister they find by having people recommend their hometown minister, and a committee goes to listen to different people. We had somebody this spring—forget his name—but he was from the Marble Collegiate Church in New York. I mean they get some quite prominent ministers. Our choir director is an owner, a resident, and she has 50 million initials after her name, and she directs the senior choir and the junior choir and a handbell choir. This is out of 130 houses—they have the most exquisite music, all volunteer, naturally.

The church may be non-denominational but considering the use of the term “minister,” the clergy recruited are always from mainline Protestant congregations. Another informant noted the importance for newcomers, who are there on a trial basis, to do the expected things, which include volunteering for various committees and attending church regularly.

Unlike most other communities, Point O’ Woods has considerable woodlands within its borders. The nature center sponsors nature walks, which are popular. The nature center is staffed by a college student. Our informant said,

They have nature trails, take people on walks to point out this and that. The seashore does that too; they used to send somebody to take you on a nature walk around. Also we have a couple who lives there—both have Ph.D.s—Cramer the name is—in oceanography, something of that nature, and they do a great deal on their own, showing things to children and so on. It’s wonderful.

Residents pay a flat activities fee for the season. Our informant explained,

The sports program is simply fantastic. They pay a flat fee for the summer—owners and renters—doesn’t matter how many children, and they’re all entitled to the same programs—sailing, swimming, tennis, crafts, all those things. Instruction, which is just like having your kids at camp and having them at home too.

This informant thought there were about eight or ten “regular fishermen” who surfcast on the beach for bluefish and striped bass. The informant added that “kids” fish off the dock (on the bay side); they get flounder and weakfish. The informant remembered clamming on the bay bottom:

And then there was—not doing so well now—but clamming. We always clammed. Went in the bay, not off the dock where it’s deep, but further down. There’s a walk called Lover’s Lane that goes down to where you can just step into the bay and walk out. And you tread for clams. And we always did that, my husband and I, and all the kids did too, and sell them. And everybody knew how to make clam chowder. And when the kids got older, the kids would just go around door to door and sell them. But now the clams seem to have just

disappeared. They're very, very scarce. You rarely hear of anybody getting any clams.

You just walk out—

Yes. Well, low tide's best, and you feel them, of course, and the clams lie sitting up this way, so what you feel is the sharp shell. And of course you feel a million other things that you think could be a clam—broken glass, something like that—and then you go down and just pick it up. My husband had a clam rake—not the kind you use on a boat, but just this kind, and he would just do this. It's a long pole with a metal cage sort of thing, and just do this about four times, then pull it up and see what you have. Take out the clams, if any.

You bring a bucket?

Yeah. They get one of these metal baskets, usually, and they put them in an inner tube—they inflate an inner tube—and this basket sits right in it. It's perfect. And you have a line on it, of course, and as you move around, you pull this thing with you, which works very well. And then you just toss 'em in. Course, there were a lot of these clamming machines out there—we'd be sailing and we'd see these things go by, almost like a kid's toy, it'd go round and round, moving all the time scooping up clams. And that may have done some damage. And then there was all the trouble about pollution—where they were safe and where they weren't. Lot of people got scared I think. I know one friend of mine just will not eat raw clams unless he knows where they came from.

Rules and Regulations: Policing and Surveillance

Point O' Woods maintains its privacy by locking the gates during the summer season and by posting signs at all the beach entrances that say "Point O' Woods is a private community. Please do not enter." Once inside there is no visible security presence. As a community in which only members and their invited guests are present, we saw none of the rules and regulations posted so prominently in Ocean Beach and other communities that welcome visitors.

Natural and Cultural Resources Utilized

As noted above, clamming has been popular in the past. Based in information gathered in other communities, there may still be some clamming in Point O' Woods. residents use the bay mainly for sailing and other boating, also for children's swimming. The ocean beach at Point O' Woods is the only part of the community open to the public, and people walk through from other

communities to get to the Sunken Forest or to wherever they are going. Point O' Woods residents use the beach for the standard activities—swimming, picnicking, sunbathing. A few people reportedly fish off the beach. The Point O' Woods beach seemed empty compared to the beach in other communities. One resident thought that ocean swimming had declined over the years:

Ocean swimming I don't think is what it was in the old days, when everybody used to swim. Now a lot of people just don't swim in the ocean, which to me is unusual. But then we have a bay beach where the kids have their lessons. Most of these families in Point O' Woods are pretty well-heeled, either have a pool or belong to a country club—they're used to pools. Then they bring these kids to Point O' Woods, and if you've ever been swimming in the bay—

I haven't—

Creepy crawley, seaweed—you know, a lot of stuff, and boats and dirt. It's not very glamorous if you're used to a nice pool. But they set up their own laps and that's where they swim.

As noted above, residents in Point O' Woods are interested in the natural ecology of Fire Island, and the community has left a significant portion of its territory undisturbed in the form of woods and marsh. The community supports a staffed nature center that sponsors nature walks and other nature-oriented activities.

Cultural Character and Values of the Community

Life in Point O' Woods is about participating in a special community, one in which the hegemony of group values takes precedence over either individuality or cultural diversity. The sense of shared values is paramount: even from the language used in the community calendar quoted above, one gets a sense of enforced community consensus. Everyone is expected to share the group's values of proud exceptionalism: of the community's history, its active church and yacht club, its well preserved architecture and landscape, its abundant opportunities for children, its involved community life, and so on.

“I think it’s fantastic,” a woman eating her lunch on the porch of a large house said to a reporter in 1977. “There are a lot of fine, smiling people here. It is relatively conservative, and I don’t know whether that’s good or bad, but it keeps the place calmer. It is great for children, and that may excuse it for its lack of reality.” She saw its exclusiveness as a sign of its “lack of reality” but excused it because “we don’t have the problems that a real community has.” This resident told the reporter that blacks, Jews, and Catholics were no longer excluded, but “it is slow to overcome age-old prejudices--old prejudices die hard, and I can remember when I first became conscious of the fact that there were no Jews or Catholics here” (Molotsky 1977).

The resident who called the community “frozen in time” had a point: little has changed socially and culturally in Point O’ Woods over the decades. Here the mainstream is all there is; there are no factions, no tensions over absorbing newcomers, no cultural shifts. The newcomers here are carefully selected to be just like everyone else. There is no diversity, nearly all the children are blond, and people, for the most part, are content to leave it that way.

OAKLEYVILLE

History of Oakleyville

The term “hamlet” enjoys widespread currency on Long Island in denoting a minor civil division. In sharp contrast to these mostly ordinary suburban places, Oakleyville, located in the Sunken forest just east of Point O’ Woods, is a true hamlet of eleven modest houses located on winding lanes in the woods. Fletcher & Kintz (1979) repeat the conventional understanding that Oakleyville began in the late nineteenth century as a squatter community. This is disputed by our informant. Undisputed, however, is the notion that the various Oakleys who founded the community worked for Point O’ Woods as electricians, carpenters, maids, cooks, and housecleaners. Like other island families at the time, the Oakleys were keepers of the life-saving stations, baymen, hunters, and hunting guides. Oakleys and their inlaws, the Rhodeses, also worked in fish processing factories. The informant’s grandfather, also related to the Oakleys, worked as a cartoonist, bayman, carpenter, and plumber. The first Oakley to build in Oakleyville, Selah, came in 1897. The land at that time was part of the Terry tract; the Terrys had recently sold a large tract to the Chautauqua association which became Point O’ Woods. Ownership of the land in the Oakleyville area passed to George Mills, a Brooklyn doctor, after Wilson Terry’s death in 1894. The Oakleys rented their house sites from Mills. Upon Mills’s death the land was sold to Howard Snedecor of Sayville. Our informant said that two householders in Oakleyville owned their own land; the rest had groundleases from Snedecor. Fletcher and Kintz’s account, based on interviews with a Mr. and Mrs. John C. Griek, has Mr. Snedecor selling plots of land to individuals generally from Sayville and thereabouts.

The Oakleys, including John and Bill Oakley, were “fanatical” hunters. They shot birds and ducks for the New York market; they also acted as guides for city sportsmen, both on the bay and at the South Side Sportsmen’s Club, now Connetquot State Park. An informant said:

Bill Oakley—basically his house was an arsenal. One of the Oakleys—now in her 80s, she still lives in Sayville—but up until 10 years ago, her and her daughter would go hunting. That was so ingrained in that culture. And when they cleaned the old homestead out, the attic was full of tintypes, old photographs on tin plate—not one was labeled, nobody knows who the people were—and almost every one had a gun in their hand.

In the 1960s, ’70s and ’80s, Oakleyville attracted well-known artists, including David Hockney, Paul Tech, and Robert Mapplethorpe. Other residents and houseguests in those years included John Lennon and Yoko Ono and Greta Garbo—“people who wanted seclusion,” as one resident put it. He added, “Once the artists came, the curators showed up. They bought three of the houses.” One of these was Sam Wagstaff, a Metropolitan Museum curator who assembled one of the largest photographic collections in the United States, which he later sold to the Getty.

He had been renting this house and then offered the women who had it so much money that they sold it. They didn’t want to sell but he offered so much. Peanuts for him since he’d just sold that collection to the Getty. And he owned it for six months and he died. Then Robert Mapplethorpe had it.

An ignominious chapter in Oakleyville history is the notorious burning of houses here by the Park Service. A resident said that the Snedecor Oakleyville tract did not include a parcel just to the east of the Oakleyville right-of-way where three houses stood. One of these houses, the resident explained, had been moved there by the Point O’ Woods Association in 1927—an Oakley house that “Point O’ Woods decided they didn’t want...and picked it up and dropped it at the border on land that wasn’t theirs. And that was basically the only squatters in Oakleyville.” In time the Park Service took title to the non-Snedecor Oakleyville parcel, and in 1967, “the

Seashore burned [the three houses] to the ground.” One of the occupants, an elderly woman, was forcibly evicted that same day, and that the contents of her house were burned with the house. Another of our community informants, a woman who lived in Oakleyville in the early 1950s, said that the Park Service came and burned Oakleyville down. “There was a big controversy over squatters—terrible thing.”

Community Layout and Social Organization

Our community informant spoke of an Oakleyville east and Oakleyville west, each being a cluster of several houses on winding wooded lanes near the bay. There are no improvements here other than houses. Oakleyville residents have no dock and must arrive by private boat. Hidden in the woods in an unvisited corner of the Sunken Forest, Oakleyville is virtually invisible to anyone not looking for it. No doubt the extreme seclusion, for a community so close to New York, was a key attraction for the celebrities who came here into the 1980s. Oakleyville residents can lock up their bikes at the end of the lateral walk in Point O’ Woods, from where they must walk through the sands to reach home. A resident showed the researcher an obscure footpath route through the woods to Point O’ Woods; otherwise one walks on the winding lanes which become soft sand as they enter federal land.

Oakleyville has one longstanding family of Oakley descent who own and occupy two of the houses on Mosquito Lane. No persons named Oakley remain here. Three of the houses are owned by a Met Museum curator; at the time of our visit in July 2004, at least two of these were rented to Dutch families. Life in Oakleyville is about as low-key as can be imagined in a place this close to New York. In contrast to the elaborate social structure of a place like Point O’ Woods, tiny Oakleyville, like Blue Point Beach, is utterly informal. Yet people are friendly with

one another. A longtime resident who had just arrived on the island for the summer season stopped to chat with neighbors also returning for another season; their respective daughters immediately got together to play.

Rituals, Celebrations, and Gatherings

A ritual observed by Oakleys and some current residents is the practice of making family markers in the nearby holly trees. Our informant took the researcher to a place in the woods nearby where Oakleys in the 1920s and earlier had carved names in the bark and also knocked quarter coins into the trees. He commented,

I've seen Liberty quarters embedded in trees. The earliest one I found of Bill Oakley when he was working for the Life Savers at Lone Hill. Here—'Bill Oakley-Mary Potter.' A lot of other families all in here—Ethel Horton would be over on that tree—Here's Walter Oakley, 1913—somebody built a tree house in that tree; I took it down because I didn't want a tree house in that tree. I'll show you our family tree. Here's my uncle, 1940; here's my grandfather—this is his son; this is me from 1969. We have a tree house here—but the seashore knows all about this. Just about half the Fire Island school knows this tree house too. Who built this we have no idea.

There are two more recent cultural markers in Oakleyville. One is a rose garden, built to commemorate the AIDS victims, including Robert Mapplethorpe and other artists who stayed at Oakleyville at times until the disease decimated the arts community in the 1980s. The rose garden is a small memorial, originally of rose plantings, on a rise near the informant's house.

The informant said that

...the ashes of many of those people are right there.

His wife: That's in the category of sacred sites. We do get people visiting.

Informant: from the Metropolitan Museum of Art—'May we come and look at your garden?' About once a year, while we're here. Right over there, behind the oak tree. We've let it return to nature, but I've made a circle of holly. What was there was expensive rose bushes which the deer love and there's no way I can keep these going, so I replaced the roses with holly. And you'll see a

stone with a cross on it at the top. It's also many people who have been here are still here... the ashes all spread around in urns under here. This was built by Jim Nelson and Sam Wagstaff. The deer immediately got to it.

The other memorial is a piece of driftwood about 25 feet high that stands in a clearing in the woods off the road leading into Oakleyville: "...a monument for all the people who have lived, loved, and died in—had some connection with—Oakleyville."

Community Organizations and Associations

None that we know of.

Activities

Traditionally people in Oakleyville lived close to the land and water through hunting, clamming, oystering, and fishing. Today's Oakleyville residents appear to be an urbane group who are more likely to spend their time writing articles than clamming and fishing. At least one resident, however—our informant—continues to do both.

Rules, Regulations, Policing, and Surveillance

Oakleyville is very small and informally organized. There is no evidence of rules, policing, or surveillance.

Natural and Cultural Resources Utilized

Our informant said,

I'm probably the only one who will go out and clam. I'll clam and crab, eel, and whatever, in season. But I've forgotten a lot. My father—he could catch anything. He knew how to change a hook in a second, and I'm sitting there—it's basically died out.

So you go out and dig—how do you do it?

Use a scratch rake. I can show you the old tools if you'd like to walk out to the shed. I have my father's old tongs and scratch rakes, and down at the bay

there's a jerk rake... I just walk out—like I said you could walk a mile out and you're only up to your waist.

His wife: there are a lot of clams just right out.

Informant: Yeah, basically most people go in the deep water; they think the clams are out there, but that's been overfished. I can get more clams right in the shallow water, up to my knees, than somebody who'll be working out there for hours in the deep water.

Deep meaning seven feet or so?

No, just up to your waist—or people using jerk rakes. That's the long-handled ones, you see them in the middle of the bay, pulling on it. In high school I was a clam digger. In two months I would make enough money to support myself until the next summer—at that time. But many people discovered that and it became overfished.

Fin fish, however remain plentiful. The informant said,

We still have the deep fish—striped bass... it's unbelievable.

In the Fire Island Inlet?

No, just along the ocean. Basically what I do is wait for the fish to show up and then I'll run home, get the fishing pole, and cast right into the middle, and each cast I have a fish. I take my one or two fish and go home... My father and his generation; they used to go there and catch 200 striped bass right here, then try to give them away or freeze them, whatever. We just take what we need.

Sounds like it was very easy to get 200.

Oh, I could also get 200. At that time of year—the fall. If you had an oar you could hit them over the head. It's ridiculous! Like last year, the school bus came right to Oakleyville and I was going to the school bus, and I heard something like a kite flapping in the wind. Coming from the beach. So I ran home, got my pole, caught three fish real quick before the school bus showed up, gave it to the bus driver. The sound—you could hear them just jumping out of the water—that's how thick they were. So with each cast you have a fish. And that happens in the bay also. If I see the birds off the Point O' Woods dock I just take my bike down to Point O' Woods with my fishing pole, cast, and get a meal.

The informant spoke also of the effect of deer on the forest understory:

Look into sunken Forest—all the underbrush is gone. The deer have demolished everything.

His wife: They eat all the small trees.

Informant: And there's nothing coming up behind it. When I was young you could not walk through the forest, it was so thick. But the deer have just destroyed everything. And when I was young, if you saw deer tracks, you got excited. We'd all go and look at the deer track. Cause we never saw a deer track; they were afraid of people and there were only a few around. Then they walked down from Smith Point and keep just on taking over. Actually we saw some

swimming over from Heckscher State Park because that was also overcrowded—bucks swimming across the bay. Now they've taken over.

What do you attribute that to?

No hunting—they have no predators. Before the seashore there was hunting.

Cultural Character and Values of the Community

A striking characteristic of Oakleyville is the degree to which some residents here are engaged with the natural environment. Oakleyville is a collection of houses in the woods and near the bay, and people here seem to sense the natural rhythms in a way that residents of the urbanized communities to the west do not. The markers of the recent and more distant past are around and evident in Oakleyville—some inscribed in the landscape, like the rose garden, the memorial, and the carved names; others in the form of old bay harvesting tools stored in a shed or left on the bay beach. Some Oakleyville residents—notably our informant—have a deep personal connection with Fire Island history, especially the period of hunting parties, baymen, and work at the life saving stations. People in Oakleyville come to Fire Island in their leisure time, just as people do in other communities, yet the sense of place attachment is grounded in historical narratives inscribed in the local landscape and in some ways still lived.

CHERRY GROVE

History of Cherry Grove

Esther Newton (1993) writes that Cherry Grove is the oldest continuously inhabited resort on Fire Island. Cherry Grove began in 1869 when Archer and Elizabeth Perkinson bought Jeremiah Smith's house and land for \$1,250 and began serving shore dinners to the public. Archie Perkinson built the two-story Perkinson's Hotel on the site in 1880. Oscar Wilde reportedly spent several days there in 1882 (Newton 1993). By Newton's account, Perkinson's Hotel was a social catalyst from the beginning. Jeanne Skinner, one of Newton's informants, said that her parents met at a dance at Perkinson's sometime before 1920. Gradually Long Islanders built cottages at Cherry Grove, occupied either by baymen for hunting purposes, or by local families. The sociable atmosphere of shore dinners, dances, and other hotel events helped to attract a few of the more prosperous families in Sayville to build cottages at Cherry Grove.

Given the transport difficulties, most cottages were adapted from corn cribs and other utilitarian structures floated across the bay on barges. Newton writes that the typical cottage stood on stilts high off the ground to keep it free of sand and flooding. It would have been small, one-story high, with a screened-in front porch, living room-kitchen area, and two bedrooms, "each about big enough for a bed and chest of drawers." Cottages lacked running water, plumbing, and electricity. Perkinson's Hotel had a generator, and sold kerosene and other supplies. Provisions--vegetables, milk and ice, meat if you ordered in advance--were brought in twice a week by Captain Nelson Warner's vegetable boat (Newton 1993). As late as 1920, Cherry Grove was still a small settlement of tiny cottages, the hotel, bayside dock, and a single wood-plank walk that ran parallel to the beach.

At the time Sayville had three big hotels that attracted a wealthy and sophisticated clientele, many from New York City. Hotel guests would cross over to Cherry Grove for the day, gathering of an evening at Perkinson's. Cherry Grove grew during the prosperous 1920s, building on its link to fashionable Sayville to attract a clientele of New York theatre people as hotel guests and cottagers.

Ocean Beach, already an incorporated village in 1921, had police and fire departments, a church and elementary school (Newton 1993:21; Johnson 1983). This level of urbanization was just what the hardier "locals" in Cherry Grove did not want: "Jean Skinner said 'Some of the people [in Ocean Beach] had real grass in their yards and sidewalks, and a movie. My folks wanted to get away from that' (Newton 1993:21)". In the 1920s, the theatre people, many of them gay, found the middle class atmosphere at Ocean Beach wanting and relocated to the more informal Cherry Grove. At this period Cherry Grove first began to attract the gay clientele for whom it subsequently became an important retreat from the restrictions of mainstream society. Over the years Cherry Grove grew into the summer capital of the gay world, developing into a flamboyant community with a reputation for creativity and fun.

Ed Duffy, an Irish tavern owner from Yonkers, took over Perkinson's Hotel in 1938. Duffy's Hotel became a center of gay social life in Cherry Grove. Newton (1993) suggests that Duffy's provided the critical social space in which the gay community in Cherry Grove coalesced. "Without the hotel, the resort could never have become so vibrant or so cohesive, and indeed might never have become a community at all (Newton 1993:69). As a lesbian resident told Newton,

...the sense of a common destiny was nurtured on the every-night stage that was Duffy's Hotel...It was like a private club, really, to so many people. It was part of us... We all met there and we all drank there and we all danced together there (Newton 1993:70).

The historical development of Cherry Grove has resulted in large part from the geographical situation of Fire Island. Its relative proximity to the city of New York combined with the relative isolation that comes from being on an island provided a suitable environment in which a more open gay culture could develop. The feeling of isolation offered by its location engendered a sense of freedom from conventional social mores that encouraged the development of an openly gay lifestyle. The sense of leaving one world behind as the ferry leaves Sayville and arriving in a place where a radically different mode of expression is possible still excites passengers arriving in Cherry Grove. For gay and lesbian couples Cherry Grove is one of a few locations that offer the freedom to openly engage in public displays of affection, providing the opportunity to stroll through the town or along the beach hand in hand.

Community Layout and Social Organization

Today, the community of Cherry Grove consists of approximately 300, mostly fairly modestly built, although extremely pricey, summer cottages. These are connected by about 16 wooden walkways that run from ocean to bay and are crossed by two lateral walkways, Bayview and Lewis. The boardwalks cross the dunes to where nine sets of wooden stairs provide access to the beach on the ocean side. A few homes survived the Hurricane of 1938, but the majority have been built or rebuilt since then. A notable feature of the homes in Cherry Grove is the fanciful names that have been given to many of the homes such as Doc's Knot In, Oedipus Wrecks, Sin and Tonic, and other names that reflect the gay culture that flourishes there.

The house plots are generally fairly small, and the majority of the yards have been left in their natural state, with scrub pine, holly, shadblow, and the like. These trees provide considerable shade for the narrow boardwalks that connect the homes in Cherry Grove. A few

yards have been fenced against deer intrusion and landscaped with patios, lawns and flower borders. The streets are wooden plank walks elevated above the hilly, wooded terrain, too narrow and insubstantial to permit motor vehicle traffic. Thus there is no Cherry Grove version of the Burma Road; all motor vehicles moving east or west must drive on the beach.

Cherry Grove has a small Post Office that is open during the summer months, located close to the dock area in what is often referred to as the “commercial district.” Two notice boards on external walls of the Post Office serve as advertising sites for upcoming performances and shows as well as general community information sharing and personal advertising of goods and services. There is also a Community House located roughly a hundred yards to the west that serves several functions, which will be fully enumerated below. A realty office across from the Post Office deals with sales and rentals of properties in Cherry Grove.

There are several hotels, restaurants, and clubs in Cherry Grove, which provide various forms of entertainment, and draw crowds both from the mainland and from neighboring communities on Fire Island during the summer months. The Ice Palace is perhaps the most famous of these. It is situated close to the dock and has a pool, restaurant, bar and dance hall. There is also a gift store and art gallery in the same complex. A primary feature of Cherry Grove is the late night entertainment and social activities that keep summer residents and visitors up late. On several visits to Cherry Grove the researcher observed and overheard conversations in which participants revealed that they had just woken up in the early or mid afternoon, and discussed how late they had stayed out and how much they had drunk the previous night. In general, there is little activity in the public spaces in Cherry Grove before mid-day.

The Belvedere Guest House, situated on the bay to the east of the dock, is a conspicuous landmark from the approaching ferry (Figure 43). Its flamboyant rococo architecture, so very



Figure 43
The Bebevedere, Cherry Grove

different from the general style of Cherry Grove, remains controversial among summer residents today.

Built by John Eberhardt and Joe Furen (the Eberhardts) in the late 1950s, its size and campy splendor made it a symbol of Cherry Grove's

evolving identity (Newton 1993).

The population of Cherry Grove tends to be drawn mainly from Manhattan, although a few residents come from farther away. Some of the older residents who had originally lived in Manhattan now live in Florida during the winter months. Some eventually give up returning to Cherry Grove in the summer, opting to live permanently in such places as Fort Lauderdale. According to a key informant the current population breakdown at Cherry Grove is roughly 70 percent gay male, and 30 percent lesbian, which is held to represent an increase in the female population over previous years. There are also a few heterosexual couples with families. A recent survey conducted by the Cherry Grove Community Association revealed that around 70 percent of the seasonal renters and homeowners who responded had partners, a figure that is considerably higher than the national average.

The high value of property at Cherry Grove makes it very difficult for younger buyers to acquire homes there, and privileges older buyers, especially partnered couples, with greater equity and higher disposable incomes.

Residents of Cherry Grove take a keen interest in environmental issues. Preservation of the dunes is a dominant local environmental topic that also reflects a desire to protect their community from the unwanted effects of nature. As shown in Figure 44, the houses closest to the ocean tend to be small and built well behind the primary dune. Informal conversations with residents often turned to the topic of their support for environmental causes beyond Fire Island.

In general residents seem to approve of their community's association with the national seashore, although some suspect that the Park Service and organizations such as the Nature Conservancy favor flora and fauna over human habitation of Fire Island.



Figure 44
Primary Dune and Houses, Cherry Grove

Summer residents of Cherry Grove by and large do not have driving permits, and depend upon the ferry service to access the mainland. One informant talked of applying for a driving permit but commented on the time that it seemed to take to get one. The lack of vehicular access makes driving less practicable than in some other communities. One year-round resident appears to act as security patrol for the community.

Houses are located behind the dune rather than upon it as in many other Fire Island communities.

Community Organizations and Associations

There are a number of community organizations in Cherry Grove that take care of different aspects of the life of the community.

The Cherry Grove Community Association, Inc (CGCAI) takes on the responsibility of enhancing the quality of life at Cherry Grove through protecting the social, economic and environmental concerns of residents. It is a 501c(3) charitable organization that is made up of community members. Standing committees of the CGCAI deal with Building Maintenance, Business Relationship, Community Development, Fundraising, Integrated Pest Management, Membership, the Newsletter, Walk Captains, Capital Finance, Website maintenance, and updating the Resource Directory.

The Cherry Grove Property Owners Association (CGPOA) is a not-for-profit 501c(4) corporation. The role of CGPOA is to represent residents' interests to any organization whose activities may affect the social, economic, or environmental quality of life at Cherry Grove. In pursuit of this objective CGPOA interacts with such bodies as the Town of Brookhaven, Suffolk County, and New York State, as well as other organizations such as the Fire Island Association.

The Arts Project of Cherry Grove (APCG) is a 501c(3) not-for-profit community organization that encourages artistic expression and appreciation within the Cherry Grove community. It reflects the Grove's longstanding association with creative people. The APCG organizes fund-raising events for CGCAI, the Dunes Fund, the Fire Department, the Memorial Fund, and the Doctor's Fund, through events such as art shows, classical recitals, stage shows, bingo, flea markets, a Homecoming party and annual Ball. Many of these events take place in the Community House.

The Cherry Grove Fire Department (CGFD) maintains a fire station next to the Community House and close to the dock area. A volunteer organization, it is currently run by women.

The Cherry Grove-Pines Animal Welfare Society (CG-PAWS) is a volunteer group that is concerned with the welfare of resident and visiting pets. They are involved in tagging pets and returning lost pets to their owners.

The Dunes Fund, Inc., is an organization that raises money for the maintenance, repair and protection of the dunes at Cherry Grove. Their activities include installation of snow fencing, an educational program to raise awareness of the importance of dune maintenance, and the planting of dune grasses to stabilize the dunes.

The Dr. Elmer A. Lindsay Memorial Center, Inc., is a non-profit organization that aims to provide medical care for the Cherry Grove community. Currently the Center is closed for reorganization, but normally there is a doctor in residence full time during July and August, and at weekends between Memorial Day and Columbus Day.

The Cherry Grove Garden Club, open to all members of the community, organizes garden visits, garden sharing, the exchange of knowledge and experience in gardening on Fire Island, and the exchange of cuttings and plants. There is a monthly gathering at a member's garden, an annual Cherry Grove Garden Tour, flower arranging demonstrations, volunteer planting and community beautification projects, and lecture and conservation activities.

The Cherry Grove Memorial Fund, Inc., is a charitable foundation that receives gifts and bequests on behalf of the community. These are invested and administered by the foundation for the purpose of providing for the health and general welfare of the community, including beautification and safety-related programs. Examples of their activities include the installation of

boardwalk names throughout the community, the provision of bulletin boards, flag poles, safety ladders, and the wagon rack by the dock.

The Community House is owned by the CGCAI, and is rented through a lease agreement to the Arts Project. CGCAI is responsible for the maintenance of the Community House building and capital improvement. The Arts Project uses the Community House to raise money, and the CGCAI has an office there.

Activities

The summer population of Cherry Grove can be roughly divided into two groups, the seasonal renters and owners, and the group renters who come for short stays or over a series of weekends. Their activities are markedly different, although not entirely mutually exclusive.

Seasonal renters and homeowners at Cherry Grove tend to be there primarily for relaxation and socializing with friends and neighbors. Common activities are gardening, home maintenance, sunbathing on the patio or terrace or at the beach, and walking on the beach. Socializing takes place at the homes of friends or neighbors, or through involvement in one or more of the civic organizations. Generally this section of the summer population prefers a relatively low-key, domestic lifestyle. The kinds of common activities favored by this group were listed above under the heading of community organizations and associations. Activities such as bingo and yoga classes are offered on a regular basis at the Community House.

Many, especially younger people, come to Cherry Grove to enjoy the nightlife that centers around the bars, restaurants and clubs. Drag shows, revues, and comedy acts are popular, as well as live music acts. These events are more popular with the group renters, but are also enjoyed by some of the seasonal renters and homeowners.

Inquiries into harvesting of resources, both from key informants and from casual conversations with residents and visitors, revealed that such activities as fishing, clamming and gathering of wild foods are not widely practiced at Cherry Grove. One person reported knowing someone who used to clam in the past, and another had used to go on organized fishing trips. On several visits to the beach at Cherry Grove two or three surfcasters were observed to be fishing from the beach in the late afternoon. From these observations and reports there appeared to be little involvement with the harvesting of natural resources in this community.

The beach at Cherry Grove, a popular place for sunbathing and swimming, is commonly recognized to be a clothing-optional beach. Observations over several visits revealed that around 60 to 80 percent of those on the beach wore bathing suits. Of those sunbathing nude the vast majority were men, while a few women were topless. The nude bathers tended to avoid the more populated parts of the beach, lying towards either end of Cherry Grove, especially towards the east end.

The Carrington Tract, located between Cherry Grove and Fire Island Pines, is commonly known as the “Meat Rack.” It is an area of scrub pine, holly, oak, and other trees and shrubs that survive in the sandy soil. This area has long been established, and remains today, as an area in which gay men engage in casual sexual encounters.

Summer residents reported taking visitors to stroll around the Sunken Forest, and walking along the beach to Fire Island Pines as things to do.

Rituals, Celebrations, and Gatherings

As previously noted, Cherry Grove has an extensive network of civic organizations that provide opportunities for involvement in sponsoring, organizing, and taking part in a wide variety of social, environmental and cultural activities.

A non-organized and recurrent event that takes place in the evenings consists of summer residents and visitors wandering down to the dock to watch the sunset. Generally, only a handful of people gather for this event on any given evening. Sunset watchers mingle with those waiting for the next boat back to the mainland and those awaiting the arrival of friends or guests on the same ferry.

Summer residents also enjoy walking on the beach in the evening, once the heat of the day has passed. Walks eastwards towards Fire Island Pines or westwards past the Sunken Forest are popular.

Cherry Grove shares with Fire Island Pines the annual “Invasion” held on Independence Day weekend.

Rules and Regulations, Policing and Surveillance

The Suffolk County police force maintain a small station between the ferry dock and the Community House in Cherry Grove. On several visits the police presence was evident after disembarking from the ferry with several police standing at the center of the commercial district as passengers made their way to their destinations.

Both Park Service vehicles and Suffolk County Police vehicles patrol the beach at Cherry Grove.

With regard to specific regulations that emanate from the community at Cherry Grove itself there are only a few posted signs. One set of signs warns residents and visitors to stay off the dunes. Another set of signs on the boardwalk that leads from the ferry dock to the ocean includes symbols that warn passers by to refrain from throwing litter, feeding the deer, lighting fires or throwing cigarette butts.

A private security firm provides surveillance of many of the properties at Cherry Grove. a year-round presence is maintained in order to guarantee maximum security coverage.



*Figure 45
Ferry Pier, Cherry Grove*

Natural and Cultural Resources Utilized

The natural resources of Cherry Grove include its dunes, which the community

has expended considerable effort in stabilizing and enhancing (Figure 44). For some residents and visitors its proximity to the Sunken Forest is an additional natural resource. Another valued natural resource is the considerable quantity of original native flora that provides shade to many of the walkways in the Grove as well as many residents' gardens. As with all the communities of Fire Island, the beach and the ocean are also highly valued resources for this community.

Cultural resources at Cherry Grove include its commercial district, in particular the hotels, bars and restaurants that provide food, drink, and the venues for entertainment. The relatively compact nature of this area affords ample opportunity for residents to engage with each other on a spontaneous basis. The small Post Office, in particular, provides an informal meeting point as residents pick up their mail. Two sides of this small building serve as announcement boards on which events, attractions and personal ads are displayed. The CGPOA also maintains a series of notice boards throughout Cherry Grove that provide information on events and domestic issues for residents and visitors alike. The ferry dock is another resource that provides a

meeting point for arriving and departing visitors and residents, and a place to watch the sunset and enjoy the evening (Figure 45).

The Community House is another important cultural resource for the residents of Cherry Grove. It provides a venue for regular yoga classes, bingo, concerts and performances, as well as providing a location for community meetings and the holding of local records and archives.

Cultural Character of the Community

Cherry Grove's unusual blend of small-town ambience and metropolitan sophistication beguiles its residents. As one former resident wrote,

When I first began going out to Cherry Grove in the early 1990s, the community felt like a strange hybrid, part small town, but also an outgrowth of urban gay culture. As in a small town, people knew each other, would pass the time gossiping with neighbors over the back fence; and you could easily bump into an acquaintance several times a day (grocery store, post-office, beach, Michael's restaurant, Ice Palace). Even Cherry Grove's idea of a community celebration had a small-town flavor for me: the hoopla surrounding the Invasion of the Pines brought to my mind Memorial Day or Fourth of July parades in my home town, when as a child I would stand watching as my five uncles, veterans of World War II, paraded down Main Street turned out in their spiffy American Legion drill team uniforms.

As the first gay and lesbian haven in the United States Cherry Grove has a long history of development with regard to gay-lesbian-bisexual culture. It is a community that is proud of its history and accomplishments. The former resident quoted above also wrote,

One reason why The Grove remains so special, I believe [is that] it's not just a picturesque resort town in a beautiful natural setting, but also a settlement with a special, idiosyncratic history. That history includes not only the literary/cultural/arts associations, but also, as Esther Newton argues, a significant chapter in the development of gay and lesbian identity movements in the US. An old friend of a next-door neighbor...told of police raids on the Grove in the late 1950s, which so panicked some of his friends who did drag that they rushed out and buried their gowns in the sand in order to hide the 'incriminating evidence.' A pretty vivid piece of history to pass down to the younger generation! He and his

partner Irving Drutman (whose memoir is cited in Esther Newton's book) worked in the theater, and had known The Grove in its literary/theatrical heyday, so there were anecdotes to share about Auden and Isherwood, Janet Flanner and other lesser (but also memorable) lights.

The association of many creative and performing arts individuals with Cherry Grove over many decades has left an indelible imprint. Conversations with residents revealed a high proportion of theater-goers, and discussions of current plays and shows are often from first-hand experience.

The "Meat Rack" is a specifically male cultural space that emerged as a function of male promiscuity. It has no relevance for the female population and there is no matching lesbian space or practice. Esther Newton (1993) reports accounts of a corresponding lesbian practice located in Cherry Grove, but is unable to find definitive evidence that it endured over any significant period of time.

Aside from its reputation as a center of gay culture, Cherry Grove is also associated with flamboyant and exotic art and entertainment. Cabaret and drag performers are a regular occurrence at Cherry Grove. Along with this goes a reputation for wild and excessive partying, drinking, and drug use. While Cherry Grove is now home to many aging gay couples, pioneers of the gay lifestyle, it still attracts a summer crowd of younger "groupers" and day and night trippers who come for the wild entertainment and parties. Many residents of Fire Island Pines go to Cherry Grove for their evening entertainment, to eat in the restaurants, enjoy the cabaret, and party.

One result of the particular culture of Cherry Grove is that very little happens in the community in the mornings. It is not until the afternoon that the boardwalks of Cherry Grove begin to get busy as residents begin to emerge to eat or meet with friends. Residents and summer

visitors spend the afternoons recuperating by dozing on the beach or relaxing on their decks in preparation for the next evening of entertainment or socializing.

Cherry Grove residents take pride in the level of environmental concern that the community has developed over the years. In part, as in other communities on Fire Island this sense of environmental concern has developed from the recognition of the fragility of the Fire Island ecosystem and the consequent threat that disturbance of this system poses to their homes. Research at Cherry Grove found little evidence of direct connection or interaction with the natural environment of Fire Island amongst residents. Instead, a more general sense of ecological concern was expressed, with widespread support for environmental organizations.

FIRE ISLAND PINES

History of Fire Island Pines

The development of Fire Island Pines (or just “the Pines”) did not begin in earnest until 1947. The site had been purchased in 1925 by the Home Guardian Company, a real estate development company that was active elsewhere on Long Island, notably at Mastic Beach. The Pines initially developed as a family-oriented community. The first homes to be built were of fairly modest proportions. However, its advantageous location led to real estate speculation and attracted those who sought to build outstanding homes, pricing plots and houses beyond the pockets of many families. Today, a peeling painted sign from the early days hangs outside the Post Office, which indicates a highly moral, upstanding, family-values kind of community. It appears somewhat ironic in light of the subsequent development of the Pines as a predominantly gay community where alcohol and recreational drug consumption has been popular. The Pines was “discovered” in the 1950s by the affluent New York fashion and artistic community, which further spurred the construction of larger and more modernistic homes than those of neighboring Cherry Grove. Swimming pools and jacuzzis proliferated under the ownership of relatively young and predominantly gay couples.

Community Layout and Social Organization

Today, Fire Island Pines consists of roughly 600 houses, making it second only to Ocean Beach in size. The summer population is estimated to be around 5000. There are, according to one year-round resident, about 40 residents who live there year round. The ferry dock and small marina, unlike many of the other Fire Island docks, is in the form of a small harbor around which the commercial heart of the community has developed. The ferry boat sails in through a narrow

harbor entrance to a small dock, from which it reverses out once passengers are aboard.

Alongside the dock are several cafes, bars, restaurants, real estate offices, a supermarket, and stores. A small public square beside the dock contains two large covered areas equipped with benches and lined with notice boards. Behind these the Burma Road runs through the Pines, on the far side of which sits the Fire department, Police station, Post Office and Community House.

Two principal boardwalks run laterally through the Pines, Fire Island Boulevard and Ocean Walk. A third, Bay Walk, is bisected by the harbor. Roughly 22 walks cross the Pines from bay to ocean, although only 12 of these lead to stiles over the dunes and steps down to the ocean beach. The boardwalks are made of wood and the trash cans for each house are hidden beside the boardwalks inside slatted wooden constructions with lift-up lids. This gives the boardwalks of the Pines an exceptionally clean appearance in comparison with other communities in which the trash cans are exposed. In addition, the boardwalks are often shaded by the scrub trees that abound throughout the community.

Many of the homes in Fire Island Pines are exceptionally modern, large, and well appointed. Contemporary architect-designed houses line the dunes with panoramic views from the upper decks and upstairs floors. Roughly three quarters of the swimming pools on all of Fire Island can be found in the Pines. The homes reflect the affluence and culture of those who have chosen to construct summer homes in the Pines.

In keeping with the lavish and stylish houses many of the gardens have been extensively landscaped using non-native species of flowers, shrubs, and trees, with the addition of lawns, rock gardens, and water features such as rock pools. Such creations require elaborate fencing against the deer and rabbits that are common on Fire Island. However, many of the less

ostentatious houses have preserved the more natural appearance that typifies the yards on the eastern end of Fire Island.

Socially, residents of Fire Island Pines tend to be drawn from New York's rich, artistic, gay community. These include designers, fashion models, photographers, architects, and so on. Residents of the Pines also tend to be younger than their counterparts in Cherry Grove. However, Pines residents follow the trend amongst Cherry Grove residents to enjoy rising late and partying long into the night.

Residents of the Pines display a sense of the importance of attending to environmental concerns, especially with regard to preserving the dunes. In part this awareness has resulted from neglect of the dunes and even destruction of parts of the dunes in the past in the service of building some of the more imposing houses. Fire Island Pines has financed its own dune conservation and beach restoration programs. This latter project, which involved having the Army Corps of Engineers dredge sand from the ocean floor and pump it onto the Pines beach, became a source of contention between Pines and Grove residents. The latter were concerned about the fact that much of the dredging was being done from the ocean floor close to the beach at Cherry Grove, and worried about the consequences for their own beach. The attitude of Cherry Grove residents was that Pines residents had brought the problem upon themselves by neglecting their dunes in the past.

Another notable aspect of the social scene at Fire Island Pines is the degree of AIDS activism and gay politics in which its residents are engaged. This will be explored in greater detail below.

Socializing between summer residents in the Pines, according to several sources, is largely a matter of meeting in small parties, for drinks and/or dinner at the homes of friends.

Community Organizations and Associations

Fire Island Pines Property Owners Association (FIPPOA) is a 501(c)3 charitable foundation that was formed in 2000 to look after the needs of the community. It has roughly 600 members. Its mission includes managing the allocation of bequests and donations to projects that enhance the health, cultural life and environment of the community. Beautification of the harbor and surrounding area is a primary focus.

A number of committees have been formed to oversee various tasks within the community. These include the following: The Bay Beach committee, the Bay Front committee, Beach Erosion Control committee, Community Center Building Project Committee, Community Relations committee, Disability Cart committee, Finance committee, Fire Island Boulevard Management committee, FIPPOA Charitable Foundation Governance committee, Harbor Management and Planning committee, Lyme Disease Control committee, Political Action committee, Save the Trees committee, Special Events committee, Voter Registration/School District committee, and the Zoning Advisory committee.

The Pines Marina is also owned and operated by FIPPOA.

The Community House, located at 577 Coastguard Walk is home to a book swap library, an auditorium, the Pines Care Center Medical Office, and the Post Office.

The Cherry Grove Pines Animal Welfare Society (CG-PAWS) is a volunteer group that is concerned with the welfare of resident and visiting pets in both Cherry Grove and the Pines. They are involved in tagging pets and returning lost pets to their owners

Activities

Involvement in gay politics is a prominent activity at Fire Island Pines. This takes the form of frequent fundraising activities carried on within the community that benefit AIDS

causes, the advancement of the gay lifestyle, and the welfare of the gay population. Activities take the form of fund-raising parties and social events, art shows, balls, and concerts and dramatic performances that are virtually weekly events. Many of these draw on associations between residents and professional performers from the Manhattan entertainment world.

Socializing is a major activity at the Pines. Residents reported gathering at the homes of friends for small dinner parties or drinks. For the group renters the primary activities involve alcohol and parties, late nights, and days spent recovering on the beach or sitting in the bars or restaurants around the harbor.

Activities that involve the natural environment primarily take the form of lying on the beach and swimming in the sea, strolling along the beach in the morning or evening, dog-walking, and using the beach for activities that promote physical fitness such as running and exercising. One informant reported occasionally walking with a visitor to the Sunken Forest, stopping at Cherry Grove for a drink or a bite to eat. There were no reports of any harvesting or gathering activities amongst informants from Fire Island Pines. One day visitor from Sayville reported wanting to camp at Watch Hill, something that he does during mid-week when it is easier to get a permit. Recreational boating is another activity for a few residents of the Grove, a pastime that may or may not include a little recreational fishing.

Rituals, Celebrations, and Gatherings

The biggest event of the year at Fire Island Pines, and the event that draws the greatest crowd is the annual Invasion that takes place on July Fourth. A large boat arrives from Cherry Grove filled with Grove residents dressed in drag and sporting flamboyant costumes. The boat

steams into the harbor and docks to the cheers of a packed crowd that fills the bars, restaurants and public spaces around the harbor (Figure 46).

A beach party is held in August to raise money for AIDS charities. One resident involved in this event reported that it raises around half a million dollars. There has been some contention in recent years about this event as some recipient charities, objecting to its wildness and rampant drug-use, have declined to accept donations of funds raised in this way. They see it as inconsistent with their mission of helping people who have suffered from similar excesses.



Figure 46
Cherry Grove Residents in Drag During the Annual Invasion of the Pines

<http://www.asthearoverturns.net.html> Julv 5. 2006

Rules and Regulations, Policing and Surveillance

Fire Island Pines has a small police station next to the post office. A police presence was regularly noted during research visits to the Pines. In addition, property surveillance is carried out by a private firm. There are few posted signs that set limits on the behavior of visitors and residents. Signs warn against walking on the dunes, and against falling into the water at the edge of the dock.

Natural and Cultural Resources Utilized

The natural resources associated with Fire Island Pines include the beach, which is popular both with residents and summer renters as well as day-trippers from Sayville and

beyond. The beach is used for sunbathing, nude sunbathing, swimming, walking, and exercise. The dunes that border the beach are another valued natural resource. Considerable time, effort, and money has been expended on restoring and protecting the dunes.

The commercial area that borders the harbor and associated public spaces are a valuable cultural resource at the Pines. These areas provide considerable opportunity for residents and visitors to socialize and relax in a public setting. The compactness of the public area increases the likelihood of chance encounters between friends and acquaintances. The two large covered seating areas that front onto the harbor offer a shady place to sit and watch what is going on, or wait for the ferry. The notice boards that line the covered seating disseminate information on current events and community affairs, and draw passers-by into this area.

The harbor itself with its slips for private boats is another asset to the community. Boaters who moor their craft in the Pines marina tend to originate from Manhattan.

Cultural Character of the Community

The physical appearance of Fire Island Pines is that of a considerably more affluent community than the others at the eastern end of Fire Island. In addition to the grandeur of many of the houses, its boardwalks and public areas are clean and well maintained. The community gives the appearance of being well organized and self-directed in a manner befitting its affluent, professional, New York-oriented residents. Conversations with residents affirmed a sense that the community knows what it wants and knows how to go about achieving the desired result. To quote the words of one resident who summed up the attitude of those who come to the Pines, "They care about the community, they care about the environment, they care about having a

good time, and they care about making everything more beautiful. People at the Pines are smart in that they know that they have to work with those around them, including the Seashore."

Reports painted a picture of the Pines as an independent-minded community that uses its relative affluence to achieve its ends. The Pines taxes itself in order to fund various programs. Beach nourishment is a prime example. In addition, according to one informant, in the face of a certain apathy from Brookhaven town when it comes to maintaining the boardwalks, the Pines repairs them itself. It also dredges the harbor itself, as well as paying its own postal delivery service, planting beach grasses, and funding its own medical facility.

The Pines gay community does not share Cherry Grove's sense of being a locus of the historic struggle for gay rights. However, gay politics and gay issues are important factors in the cultural landscape of Fire Island Pines. One resident reported proudly that "the Pines raises more money per capita for gay causes than any other community period."

A notable difference between the populations at Fire Island Pines and Cherry Grove is that walking around the Pines one sees significantly more shaved heads and pierced nipples than one does in the Grove. This population of professional gay males in their late 20s and 30s contrasts with the more mixed residents and visitors at Cherry Grove.

WATER ISLAND / BLUE POINT BEACH

History of Water Island and Blue Point Beach

Water Island is a small community east of Talisman/Barrett Beach. It was originally the site of the White House hotel in the late 1880s. Guests were ferried across from the mainland on two 50-person yachts. The Atlantic House and Water Island Hotel were two more hotels that attracted guests in the late 1800s and early 1900s. The First World War led to the decline of Water Island as a vacation spot. This decline was briefly reversed during the years of prohibition when the hotel was revived under new management, openly serving liquor and operating as a casino. The repeal of Prohibition ended this revival and the hotel was eventually demolished. Water Island became a quiet backwater community that resisted the introduction of piped water and electricity long into the 20th century. Following World War II some new homes were built at Water Island or floated over from the mainland. For a considerable time there was no ferry service to Water Island, residents using their own boats to get to and from their summer homes. It has become a family-oriented community that enjoys the tranquility of the natural surroundings.

A little to the east of Water Island lies Blue Point Beach, once the site of the Blue Point Lifesaving station. The community developed through an informal network of local tradesmen. According to an informant who had lived there for over 45 years, the first house was built by a local plumber, Edwin Usher, who had bought the land after the Second World War. Usher decided that it would be handy to have a carpenter living close by so he sold a plot to a local carpenter to build a house. Subsequent plots were sold to electricians, painters, and others, yielding a tight-knit community of tradesmen. At one time all the houses at Blue Point Beach

were connected by their own telephone system, rigged up by one resident who worked for the telephone company.

Some houses have been passed from one generation to the other, while others have been sold to people of similar values. Today Blue Point Beach remains a local, family-oriented community.

Community Layout and Social Organization

The communities of Water Island and Blue Point Beach are fairly similar. Water Island has around 40 homes, which includes four houses to the west that are known as Spatangaville after the man who built them, Hugo Spatanga. According to an informant Spatanga still owns one of the houses. Blue Point Beach is smaller, with 11 homes. The houses in both communities are built according to fairly traditional and modest designs. Only Water Island has a ferry dock and regular service during the summer months. The jetty is a simple, long and fairly narrow wooden structure that juts out into the bay. One boardwalk that runs along the bay side, and three boardwalks cross the island to the beach. Adjacent to the ferry dock, the focal point of the community consists of a notice board that contains a history of Water Island and other local information, the site of a now removed public telephone, and a wide bench. There are no public services at Water Island.

Blue Point Beach has a very small jetty for private craft to moor, and a single boardwalk that leads only as far as the Burma Road. A sign posted at the Burma Road end of the boardwalk proclaims that it is a private boardwalk. Approaching Blue Point Beach from the ocean side there is no boardwalk to mark the community. Instead, one or two narrow tracks through the dunes

indicate the path to the houses. Once through the dunes a short section of boardwalk runs to the Burma Road.

Both Water Island and Blue Point Beach are quiet, family-oriented communities. Blue Point Beach residents are primarily, but not exclusively, local people from Patchogue and nearby localities. Water Island residents come from farther afield. Two summer residents with whom the researcher talked extensively came from Manhattan and Maryland. Both communities are primarily inhabited by owner-occupants during the summer months, but there are some rentals, especially in Water Island. In Blue Point Beach renting is most often a means of making ends meet rather than being conducted as a money-making venture. Rentals are usually let by word of mouth, as residents always tend to know someone who would like to rent when the opportunity arises. One resident of Water Island also reported renting out their house occasionally in order to be able to afford to continue living there.

In both communities the season extends from roughly late April/early May to October, with one or two owners coming out during the winter months for occasional days, often for maintenance or to check on the property. One Water Island informant reported that his family used to come out in the winter from time to time, and that there had been another resident who was frequently there during the winter months. However, this is no longer the case, partly because of the restrictions on driving on the beach. Access is either by private boat to the jetty or via the ferry at Davis Park, which makes for a 30-minute walk along the beach.

Residents of Water Island resisted modernizations to their homes, such as installation of electricity, preferring a simple lifestyle. Although most have yielded to modernization, residents of both communities take pride in the sense of connection with the natural environment that comes from living in relatively simple homes. A general opinion amongst owners is that their

presence on Fire Island is fairly benign, with some residents taking great pains to minimize their impact upon the surrounding environment.

The demographics of Blue Point Beach have changed to a certain extent since its original settlement with the sale of houses to new owners who are not local Long Islanders. However, new residents have preserved the characteristically simple, family-oriented life style.

Water Island has experienced an influx over the past couple of decades of gay couples from Fire Island Pines and Cherry Grove seeking a quieter setting for their summer retreat. They have been welcomed into the community and are integrated with the existing summer population, enjoying the simple, quiet, and natural surroundings.

House prices in both communities are very high now, causing informants to note that if they had been looking to move there now they could not have afforded to buy their homes.

Residents of Water Island have installed fencing to prevent further erosion of the dunes. Their most pressing environmental concern is the severe erosion taking place on the bay shore. One informant thought that the construction of bulkheads in other places was causing the erosion here. She commented on the difficulty of getting permission to do anything about it, which makes residents feel as though they are in something of an adversarial position with the Park Service.

Community Organizations and Associations

The Water Island Property Owners Association looks after the interests of the homeowners of Water Island community. Water Island also has its own community bulletin board on the internet on which events and local news are posted, and to which residents can post their own comments and responses. Some homes, however, lack computers and internet access.

Governance within Blue Point Beach is a matter of informal communication among residents.

Activities

Summer residents of both Water Island and Blue Point Beach primarily enjoy the quiet and natural surroundings of their homes on Fire Island. Informants in both communities reported spending time around the house as a major activity. Yard and building maintenance, reading, meeting neighbors, and entertaining friends were listed as the primary means of spending time in these communities. Sitting on the beach, walking with or without a dog, reading on the beach, and sitting by the bay were also reported as regular activities.

Harvesting of the natural resources of the sea and bay by such activities as fishing and clamming were much more common in Water Island and Blue Point Beach than in the surrounding communities. However, these were often referred to as activities that had been engaged in during residents' early association with Fire Island. With reference to clamming at Water Island the decline in the stocks of clams was partly blamed for the decline of this activity. In addition, for a resident who had been coming there for over 35 years, age and the convenience of ordering seafood from the mainland were also factors in the decline of this activity. Another Water Island resident, whose association with Fire Island had begun in the 1960s as a renter and squatter at Skunk Hollow, reported extensive harvesting of marine resources, particularly clams, and crabs. This resident still clammed occasionally and reported that several residents still fished, both from the beach and from boats, regularly.

In response to questions about the gathering of fruits residents responded that the beach plums had disappeared from around these communities. Deer were held to be possibly

responsible, and the risk of exposure to ticks carrying Lyme disease is also a major disincentive to searching for edible fruits.

Rituals, Celebrations, and Gatherings

Residents of Water Island often walk to the bay in the evening to watch the sunset and enjoy a glass of wine together. This is enjoyed from any spot on the bay. The boardwalk that runs along the bay is only about a hundred yards long. A “sunset bench” there was put up by a former longtime resident. This bench also doubles as a site for residents and summer visitors to place unwanted items in a “swap box” that other residents are free to take. Typical items are unwanted kitchen implements and unused food left by departing residents and visitors.

Every other year an art show is held at Water Island at which residents display their own artworks along the bayside boardwalk. These are for sale, and offer an opportunity for residents to socialize.

Some years they hold a Fourth of July picnic on the beach. Such events are dependent upon a resident stepping forward to take on the responsibility of organizing the event. In 2004 no one volunteered so the event did not take place.

There is an annual pie contest at Water Island. Any kind of pie can be made, sweet or savory. It is rare to have a pie made from any local berries as these are hard to find nowadays. A dance is held at Water Island at the harvest moon. This takes place on the beach and is widely attended by the community, young and old, adults and children.

At Blue Point Beach a “fake Thanksgiving” is held in October when many people are still in residence. It is a Thanksgiving-style meal prepared by several members of the community and

eaten at one of the homes. A traditional Long Island Clam Bake, once an annual event at Blue Point Beach, has become less frequent in recent years.

Rules and Regulations, Policing and Surveillance

For lack of any kind of public facility, these communities do not draw casual visitors from the mainland. As small communities they tend to rely on common standards and mores to guide their development, especially Blue Point Beach. Water Island does issue guidelines to its residents through the property owners association. For example, one informant reported her intention to push for a regulation to make all dog owners at Water Island responsible for any dog mess left on the boardwalks. This was prompted by several incidences of dog excrement appearing on the boardwalks, followed by assurances from all the dog owners that it was not their dog who was responsible. In general, however, residents of these two communities prefer informal agreement and resist the tendency to over-regulate their lives. One such agreement at Water Island is that rather than banning barbecues because of the fire hazard they present, residents soak their decks and surrounding areas with water prior to lighting up in order to minimize the risk.

The entrance to Blue Point Beach is not clearly marked from the ocean side. Visitors finding a way through the dunes via one or two narrow paths discover a sign where the boardwalk begins at the northern side of the Burma road that informs them that the boardwalk is private. This sign thus discourages casual visitors from exploring the community. No signs were observed affixed to the houses warning of private security surveillance in either community.

There are fire hoses on all the walks of Water Island, and residents carry out regular fire drills in order to be prepared for an emergency.

Natural and Cultural Resources Utilized

For residents of both Water Island and Blue Point Beach the location of their homes, in small communities nestled within the environment of the Fire Island National Seashore, is of the essence of their relationship with the seashore. In response to a question inquiring about her favorite place one elderly resident swept her hand around her, indicating that her Fire Island home was it. This sentiment was shared by other residents, who indicated that sitting on the deck reading and being able to look up and realize where they are, is a source of great satisfaction. Being part of a national park and feeling that their fairly simple lifestyles are relatively benign was important to residents of these two communities.

Another highly valued natural resource is the beach as a place for sitting, sunbathing, strolling, surfcasting, or walking the dog. The bay shore is another valued resource, especially for those with dogs, who reported that their dogs could splash about in the shallow bay water for hours while they sat and read. The bay itself, for clamming, crabbing, and fishing, was also reported as a resource by some residents, although as previously noted, it is less utilized now than in the past.

Cultural resources in Water Island include the small ferry dock and the adjacent area that contains a swap bench and a community notice board. The small size of these communities, particularly in the case of Blue Point Beach, means that personal contact and word-of-mouth communication maintain community cohesion and provide a sense of inclusion that promotes satisfaction among residents.

Cultural Character of the Community

The cultural character of both Water Island and Blue Point Beach is predominantly that they are family-oriented, quiet, simple, environmentally concerned communities that enjoy their

unique surroundings. Once constituted predominantly by local Long Island families, both communities are now home to individuals and families from farther afield. Informants reported coming from Manhattan, Maryland and New Jersey. However, these incomers preserve the same values as those established by the long-term residents. This is especially the case in Water Island where several gay couples have bought homes, having fled livelier communities such as Fire Island Pines. One informant had ended up buying a share in a house at Water Island because it is the community that most resembles her early, peaceful experiences at Skunk Hollow.

Along with a history of resistance and eventual capitulation to modernization in the form of piped water, electricity, and telephones, residents of Water Island have resisted the practice of naming their homes, a common practice in other Fire Island communities. One informant related how horrified the community had been when a newcomer to Water Island whose family owned a house in Davis Park took the step of fixing a name board to their new home. When pressed as to why this caused such a reaction she replied that it was much too "cutesy" for Water Island.

Residents of both Water Island and Blue Point Beach are keenly aware of environmental issues, especially as these affect their communities. Talking with one group of residents, the fact that they were on an island made a significant difference to their experience of the place. One described herself as an "island person." Another household, who are inveterate bird-feeders, used to rent a house on the bay but have now moved 200 feet away. They had observed that the birds were noticeably different even over that short a distance. Another resident commented that there were three distinct ecosystems across Water Island. Birds on the ocean are different than birds on the bay, and still other birds appear in the middle. She had also noticed that the vegetation had changed significantly since her first visits to Water Island, in the 1940s.

A Blue Point Beach resident reported having been active in the development of the Long Island Beach Buggy association:

We had rules and regulations--you don't ride on the dunes, we made driving paths at the foot of the dune, how to pass people, not run over people, clean up all the garbage, help people, tow people, bring people in emergency. We did all that because we respect the environment. We even built flush johns for families that were picnicking. We built a flush toilet because otherwise people wouldn't have it. My husband built a house boat. We had acquired a piece of property but didn't have the money to build so we put the anchors up on our own land. I first bought an airplane john that had to be pumped out. We always used biodegradable when we washed anything, because we were going to eat the clams. It is very important to be ecologically conscious.

DAVIS PARK

History of Davis Park

Davis Park grew up as two separate communities, Davis Park on the west, and Ocean Ridge on the east. Ocean Ridge is now more a section of Davis Park. Davis Park began with the floating of a building from the mainland in 1945 for use as a casino at Leja Beach, next to Davis Park marina, which was operated by the town of Brookhaven. Construction of vacation homes began in the 1950s and '60s, attracting mainly local Long Island residents. There are now about 250 houses in all. The marina has been expanded to provide slips for about 200 boats.

Community Layout and Social Organization

Davis Park lies about one and one-half miles east of Water Island. A ferry connection carries passengers during the summer months between Davis Park and Patchogue. The marina is located to the west of the ferry landing. Along the shore that fronts the marina one finds a fast food restaurant, a small supermarket, a drinks-vending machine, and public restrooms.

A central boardwalk called Dune Walk runs the length of Davis Park and Ocean Ridge, paralleling the Burma Road. Numerous boardwalks cross this, running from bay to ocean. The most heavily trafficked of these begins at the ferry landing, and carries the majority of Davis Park day-trippers. A small post office is located on one side of this walk together with a line of call boxes, close to the ferry landing, while on the opposite side the fire department and the police station are located. The post office contains a small book and video lending library. There is a community notice board outside the fire station. Continuing on this boardwalk and crossing the Burma road on the way towards the ocean one finds a bar/restaurant/casino on the left, close to the dunes.

The boardwalks that provide access to the homes at Davis Park are generally shaded by scrub trees native to Fire Island. Many of the homes have names, such as Spindrift, Sunset House, Dunewood, and so on. The great majority of yards have been left in their natural state, with a very few owners attempting to create lawns or gardens. Several distinct populations make use of Davis Park: owners and long-term renters, groupers, and day-trippers who come for the day to go to the beach. A fourth group are the boaters who moor their boats at the marina for up to two weeks at a time during the summer months. These groups do not always see eye-to-eye on issues that affect the ambience of Davis Park. These differences will be explored further in the Cultural Characteristics section below.

Community Organizations and Associations

The Davis Park Association looks after the interests of property owners at Davis Park. The Davis Park Fire Department protects the communities of Davis Park and Ocean Ridge, as well as providing fire protection for Water Island and Blue Point Beach. The Fire department also organizes other community events such as barbecues and dinners. According to informants in other Fire Island communities the Fire Department at Davis Park takes a very independent attitude, tending not to be involved with or cooperate with other departments.

Davis Park Citizens' Watch is an organization that one or two informants seemed to think they had heard of, although many others did not know anything about them. The Catholic Church at Davis Park organizes social and charity events such as a Labor Day Ball and an annual art show.

Activities

Davis Park attracts many day-trippers who come to enjoy the beach during the summer months. Owners, long-term renters, and group renters also make use of the ocean beach for swimming and sunbathing. Walking along the beach in both directions, with or without a dog, is another activity favored by residents



(Figure 47). One informant reported

Figure 47

Beach, Dunes, and Houses at Davis Park After Storm Damage, October 2005

<http://www.lejabeach.com/Leja/Endless/davispark101505.html>

feeling restricted in walking with his dogs toward the east, into the wilderness area, by having to keep them on a leash, especially during nesting times. He walks as far west as Fire Island Pines, and east as far as Bellport Beach. This informant also reported having surf-fished and clammed in the past, but not now. However, he knew of several people who come out to Davis Park regularly to clam in the bay at weekends, although the clamming is reported to not be as good as it used to be.

Rituals, Celebrations, and Gatherings

One place that residents meet informally is at the beach. Small groups of friends often form spontaneously to sit with chairs, umbrellas and coolers on the beach, drinking beer and soda. The researcher observed older individuals and couples arriving at the end of the boardwalk where the steps lead down to the beach, and stopping to locate people they knew before descending to the sand. People going to and from the beach meet as they pass and arrange to get together in the evening for drinks or to play bridge.

Small groups of teenagers, all of one gender or the other, were observed during the day wandering the boardwalks, and sitting on the beach.

Two events, a Labor Day Ball and an annual art show are organized by the Catholic Church in Davis Park.

The “sixish” was an Ocean Ridge innovation that developed as a social event at which residents met at a chosen house, bringing their own alcohol. Tales of collapsed decks due to the size of the party led to its decline. However, the spirit of the event lives on as residents enjoy frequent get-togethers of a more manageable size and less boisterous nature.

Rules and Regulations, Policing and Surveillance

Davis Park has a police station located beside the fire station, close to the ferry dock. Four or five police officers were observed on two occasions standing close to the ferry terminal as passengers disembarked and made their way towards the beach or into the community. Accounts from informants both within the community and from current and retired Seashore employees indicated that there is often trouble in the form of drunkenness and fighting around

the marina area. Residents of Davis Park tend to disparage the boaters, saying that many of them come there to have a wild time. Thus, a police presence is often needed.

There may be an independently formed citizens' watch program running at Davis Park. The researcher saw two men wearing T-shirts with small citizen's watch logos on them but, due to circumstances, did not get the chance to talk to them and was unable to find them later. Subsequent conversations and a call to the local fire station received mixed replies that neither confirmed nor disconfirmed their presence.

As far as rules and regulations imposed by the community, there are few posted signs that restrict the behaviors of residents and day-trippers alike. The Davis Park Property Owners Association seeks to establish limits on certain behaviors, from the boaters and from the operators of the casino. A longstanding complaint within the community has been the noise generated by the live bands that play at weekends at the casino. One informant connected with the DPPOA indicated that they will consider taking out an injunction this year to prevent the casino from making such a noise.

Natural and Cultural Resources Utilized

The beach and the ocean are the primary natural resource for residents and visitors to Davis Park. It is a place for sitting, sun bathing, swimming, meeting friends, strolling, and dog-walking. The proximity of Davis Park to the wilderness area is another factor for some residents who like to penetrate this area by walking along the beach.

Parents value the absence of traffic as a factor that makes Davis Park a relatively safe place for children to wander about on their own. It is common to see small groups of young children wandering the boardwalks, or going to and from the beach unattended by adults.

The cultural resources of Davis Park include its commercial area that fronts onto the marina and the bar/restaurant complex of the casino. This last is something of a contentious resource as it caters to day-trippers more than residents, many of whom would prefer that the casino be permanently closed. In addition, the adjacent area that encompasses the Post Office with its small book and video swap, Police Station, and Fire Department with its notice board, and the line of telephone kiosks are also important resources for the people of Davis Park. This area has the only benches that can be found, and the two directly beside the Post Office are the only two that offer the possibility of shade, depending on the time of day. Between this complex of offices and the ferry dock an open area that contains a couple of benches offers a location for young girls to sell home made jewelry to those coming to and from the ferry or the other stores that front the marina.

Cultural Character of the Community

From the reports of various informants a picture emerges of four principal groups who are represented at Davis Park. These are the owners and long-term renters, the short-term summer renters, the day-trippers, and the boaters. Each brings a unique set of traits and characteristics to the overall population of Davis Park.

The makeup of residents and visitors is overwhelmingly white. Very few black or Hispanic faces were seen on research visits, and Spanish was only overheard being spoken on one occasion.

The owners and long-term renters at Davis Park tend to be Long Islanders from Patchogue and surrounding towns. Among these are many retired and semi-retired individuals and couples. Some have had professional careers, while others have been tradesmen and

contractors on Long Island. Informal networks of friendships and acquaintances between members of this group have been built up over many years of summering in Davis Park. Some of the homes have been passed on to the next generation who themselves grew up spending their summers there with their parents. Thus, there is a mix of older and younger couples and families at Davis Park that creates a family-oriented community. Two principal causes of concern for residents are the noise from live bands playing at weekends at the casino, and the presence of the boaters who are generally looked down upon as being “slobs” who drink too much and make too much noise.

The short-term summer residents tend to be younger families who come for two weeks to enjoy the quiet, family orientation, and relative safety of Davis Park. These families tend to bring as much with them as they can in terms of food and supplies for their stay in order to avoid paying the inflated prices at the supermarket. One informant explained that he would probably take a trip to the mainland at some point during their stay in order to restock for the remainder of his family's stay. Some owners have expanded their homes in order to create rental units that cater to this population. Some younger group renters come to Davis Park to spend two weeks at the beach partying together.

The day-trippers arrive at the beach with coolers filled with drinks, beer and food for the day. Some day-trippers visit the casino bar to drink or eat on the terrace or listen to the live music at weekends. A cover charge is levied at the bar when there is live music. From around 3.00 p.m. onwards day-trippers begin to stream back to the ferry dock for the return ride to Patchogue.

The boaters are the population around which most of the tension within the community revolves. The large number of boats in the marina makes for a significant contingent of boaters

in the overall mix at Davis Park. The boaters consist of young families, couples, and small groups of young men. This population has a reputation for consuming large amounts of alcohol and getting rowdy, sometimes ending up with altercations and outright fights.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH AND ACTION

Following are two sets of recommendations, one for further ethnographic research, the other of actions NPS could take based on the data and findings of this Ethnographic Overview and Assessment.

Recommendations for Further Research

1. The continuing ethnohistorical relationship of the Unkechaug/Poosepatuck to FIIS resources needs to be better understood and actively negotiated. The park should retain a Native American specialist to continue the work begun in the EO&A. We know little about the contemporary community. Having spoken only with Chief Wallace, we do not know whether, for example, he represents the community in expressing a lack of interest in the William Floyd Estate. We recommend further research into the structure of the community, its economy, internal politics, and use of natural and cultural resources. Further research with would provide an opportunity to negotiate a relationship between the Unkechaug and FIIS.
2. As the EO&A demonstrates, the year-round population is very different from the seasonal population in its values and socioeconomic makeup. We recommend that the park do further research to understand the problems of the year-round population and the constraints they live under. They are essential to the island's functioning, their numbers are increasing, and they are the most dissatisfied segment of the population.
3. The emergence of the "family community" idea as the prevailing identity among Fire Island communities is a significant finding of the present study. The "family community" association with the Seashore's natural and cultural resources could become a basis for distinguishing some community populations from others along the lines of traditional association. Whether and how this might be workable is a topic for discussion. We suggest a meeting of interested parties (including the authors) to discuss

this and other findings of the study and to set an agenda for making use of the findings in general and specifically for the new GMP.

4. The William Floyd Estate, including grounds, house, and archive, is an extraordinary cultural asset and legacy and an underutilized resource. The estate appears to be operating on a starvation budget with essentially no local base of support. The Park Service could initiate a planning and strategizing project toward building public support, raising funds, and increasing visitation. Partnerships could be built with local and regional conservation groups, such as the Society for the Protection of Long Island Antiquities. The Park Service could also conduct a needs assessment with regard to the park's relationship with the adjoining Mastic Beach neighborhood. The frequency of woodland fires is attributed to local youth hanging out on the grounds of the estate. Other historic houses in the area, such as the Knapp house, Pattersquash (the Richard Floyd house), the August Floyd house, and Moss Lots (home of Katherine Floyd Dana and William Dana) were lost to arson (Spoonercentral.com). Woodland fires put the Floyd house, archives, and outbuildings at risk. Constructing a fence around the property has evidently not reduced the hanging out or the incidence of fire. We feel that to protect its assets, the Park Service needs to make a concerted effort to build good working relationships between the community and the estate.
5. Earlier in this report we suggest that the historic use of fire as a land management tool, both by the Floyds at this site and by Native Americans generally, may have implications for present-day management of the William Floyd Estate. We recommend that FIIS consult with fire specialists within the Park Service or other Interior Department agencies as necessary to find out whether fire could be used in some historically appropriate, culturally relevant, and ecologically beneficial way that does not pose undue risk to property.
6. Although day-use visitors may not be a traditionally associated group, they constitute the Seashore's major constituency. Some "day-trippers" visit the Seashore's public areas but most reach Fire Island through Ocean Beach, Ocean Bay Park, Cherry Grove, Davis

Park, and other communities. The EO&A did not focus on day-trippers. We advise conducting another ethnographic study, such as REAP, to assess the needs, problems, values, and other issues relating to day-use visitors.

7. Another visitor group that lay beyond the scope of the EO&A is the boating public. The present study learned enough to know that real conflict exists in some communities between boaters and residents, especially at Davis Park. It would be well to learn more about the boaters and build relationships between the Seashore and yacht clubs, marinas, and other boating institutions. Some residents feel that boaters on Great South Bay are increasingly careless and heedless of maritime traditions. Considering that the maritime history of the region, the Park Service could work with maritime history organizations, boating institutions, and other relevant groups to promote awareness of and interest in seamanship, navigation, rights of way, historic craft, and other naval and maritime traditions.
8. The Park Service could initiate a working relationship with Nancy Solomon and Long Island Traditions to further study the baymen of Great South Bay. Research might be directed toward promoting awareness of the history of bay fisheries and the men and women involved in the fishery. It could also look toward the future, perhaps working with the Nature Conservancy which has acquired some of the bay bottom and is interested in reviving both the natural ecosystems that enabled the shell fisheries and the social and cultural systems that built and sustained the fisheries.
9. Some of the public lands on Fire Island are well known, cared for, and maintained. Places like Sailors Haven/Sunken Forest and Watch Hill have clear identities and purposes in the public mind. Many other, smaller tracts of land that lie in between communities have little or no public image. Residents have little feeling for these areas and they describe them as neglected by the Service and off limits to public use. The Park Service could study ways of making these tracts useful, educational, and productive for Fire Island residents and visitors alike, possibly by getting local groups involved in planting portions of these lands with native fruit shrubs such as blueberry bushes.

10. Various historical collections exist on the island, some in private hands, others associated with communities including Ocean Beach, Point O' Woods, and Cherry Grove. The Park Service could conduct a study of ways of partnering with these individuals and local groups to make historical materials more available. Better systems of storage and cataloguing, and mounting cooperative exhibits—perhaps at park visitor centers—could be both educational, warmly received by the public, and give the Service an opportunity to work with the communities in a positive, non-contentious arena.

Recommended Actions

1. The park should retain a Native American specialist to continue the work begun in the EO&A to both fully understand and actively negotiate the continuing traditional association of the Unkechaug with park resources.
2. This report demonstrates the historical importance of human settlement to the natural systems of Fire Island, Great South Bay, and the South Shore of Long Island. Natural ecologies here have been influenced, manipulated, and changed by humans probably since the bays and barrier islands were formed, certainly much longer than the period of written history. We urge the park to use this study as a starting point for an interpretive emphasis on the manifold historical interconnections between people and environment in the Great South Bay region.
3. The park could use the information provided here to establish a committee of residents and an agenda for working cooperatively together on the many ecological, social, and cultural issues facing Fire Island. We hope the report makes clear that community involvement is the key to successfully managing and protecting the park's resources. Confidentiality requirements prevent us from revealing the names of our community informants in this report. With the informants' permission, we would be happy to provide names upon request. We also suggest contacting the Fire Island Association for key seasonal people and the year-round residents' association for year-round residents.

4. This EO&A is unique in presenting and interpreting in-depth the community culture of Fire Island, specifically in its discussions of the 17 communities and their relationships to the island's natural resources. It deserves widespread dissemination in some form in order to inform and empower the communities and all stakeholders in Fire Island to work together on solving common problems.

5. In working with the communities it is essential to understand the residents'—especially the seasonal residents'—view of their communities as distinct and unlike all the others. This sense of distinctiveness, even of uniqueness, is of the essence of the EO&A's findings. It is not possible to understand the communities without a clear idea of how they see themselves.

Part 3. NATURAL AND CULTURAL RESOURCE MAPS

Map 1

Map 2

Map 3

Part 4. ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ales, Marian Fisher

1950/1993 A History of the Indians of Montauk, Long Island. *In* History and Archaeology of the Montauk, 2nd ed. Gaynell Stone Levine, ed. Riverhead, NY: Suffolk County Archaeological Association.

Andrews, W. Earle

1938 Restoration and Protection of Fire Island, Suffolk County, Long Island.
Available at the Bayshore-Brightwaters Public Library.

This report was written after the 1938 hurricane that devastated Fire Island. It includes an introductory letter written by Robert Moses, President of the Long Island State Park Commission. It summarizes his suggested plans for restoration and protection of Fire Island, including the proposed parkway traversing the island. The report includes projected costs, architectural and engineering schema, photos, and other aerial images depicting the post-hurricane conditions of the island. The report is an important historical document showing the great amount of effort needed to maintain such a fragile land mass. It may be of use for future restoration and protection plans, but does not have ethnographic value.

Bailey, Paul

1959 The Thirteen Tribes of Long Island. Syosset, NY: Friends for Long Island Heritage.

Dealing with the whole of Long Island this slim volume mentions the Native Americans who lived around the Great South Bay, and reports that they built dugout canoes and were whalers, fishermen, without going into great detail.

Bailey, Paul

1962 Early Long Island, its Indians, Whalers and Folklore Rhymes. Westhampton Beach: Long Island Forum.
Available at Long Island Maritime Museum Library.

This book contains an account of the early settlement of Long Island, of the different Indian peoples, including the Unkechaugs. It charts the decline of the Indian population on Long Island, the missionaries, and the growth and decline of whaling and the life of the whalers. There is a photo of the Fire Island lighthouse, a “traditional” Indian summer wigwam, a pageant at Shinnecock reservation in 1939, and a sketch of an Indian village. John Strong criticizes Bailey for repeating the inaccuracies of nineteenth-century historians, especially the misleading notion of 13 separate tribes on Long Island.

Bailey, Paul.

N.d. Long Island Whalers. Self-published.
Available at Long Island Maritime Museum Library.

A slim volume on whaling off Long Island. There is a section that has a painting of the Fire Island lighthouse, and an account of whalers setting off from around there, and included a list of the names of people involved in whaling. The book also covers in its 30 pages Sag Harbor, Greenport and other places. The section on Fire Island is very short.

Baxandall, Rosalyn, and Elizabeth Ewen

2000 *Picture Windows: How the Suburbs Happened*. New York: Basic Books.

Bayles, Richard M.

1874 *Historical And Descriptive Sketches of Suffolk County and its Towns, Villages, Hamlets, Scenery, Institutions, and Important Enterprises*.

A town-by-town survey of geographical features, localities, business and recreational activity. History of white settlement in each town. Interesting for its descriptions of landscape in Islip and Brookhaven. Says village of Brookhaven adjoins Bellport on the east, until recently called Fire Place. (274) Passage on p. 277 about the Poosepatuck Indians, settlement of nearly a dozen houses and small church. "This secluded spot is noted for being the place of holding a religious anniversary of the colored people, which is regularly celebrated on the second Sunday in June, and from this fact denominated the 'June meeting'. The design of this custom, which has been observed for several generations, was to bring together in a social and religious re-union the remnants of the different Indian tribes of the island, but that design has been sadly perverted by the intrusion of the curious and the profane, through whose unhappy influence the meeting has been made an occasion for sport and drunken revelry. In justice to the colored participants, and to the disgrace of the white population, both of whom attend these annual gatherings from a distance of twenty to thirty miles around, it may be added that a large proportion of these interlopers belong to the latter class."

Bayles, Richard M.

2002 *This island of the Sea. In Journeys on Old Long Island: Travelers' Accounts, Contemporary Descriptions, and Residents' Reminiscences, 1744-1893*. Natalie Naylor, ed. Interlaken, NY: Empire State Books.

Material here is excerpted from the above volume. Some good details on the landscape and economy of the region between Patchogue and Mastic in 1843. Bayles counts the buildings observed at Fire Place.

Bayles, Thomas R.

1946 *Historical Sketches of Suffolk County and its Towns, Villages, Hamlets, Scenery, Institutions, and Important Enterprises*. privately published.

Bayles wrote a mid-twentieth century newspaper column on Long Island history.

Biderman, George

1972 Letter to New York Times, August 29.

In response to a Times editorial, the president of the Fire Island Association writes that a large majority of Fire Island homeowners support the seashore plan to curb violations of zoning codes, prevent construction of buildings that weaken dunes, and eliminate the nonessential use of cars and trucks on beach. The first decade of seashore saw a policy of “malign neglect” (the term of used in the Times editorial). After a lawsuit brought in 1972 by Fire Island Association and Natural Resources Defense Council, a new 10-year management plan has been hammered out in consultation with local governments, the two villages and 17 civic organizations that comprise the FIA. Biderman says most Fire Islanders support the objectives of the plan.

Bigelow, Paul and William Hanaway

1952 *The Story Of Old Inlet*. Bellport, Long Island.

Privately published history of the Tangier Smith estate at Smith’s Point. Available at the New York Public Library. Good explanation of how one went about acquiring property on Long Island in the 17th century. Careful attention to deeds and land claims in late 17th-early 18th centuries, also conflict between Smiths and Town of Brookhaven over oyster bed rights.

Birdsall, Jackson.

1934 *Stories of Old Long Island*.

NYPL: IRM (Long Island)

Bishop, Hewlett and Fred B. Jones.

1986 *Water Island: its History, Land and People*.

Patchogue: F. B. Jones. (L.I.: 974.725 B)

Bishop, H. S.

1936 *Report on Improvement of Fire Island Inlet*, New York.

County Superintendent of Highways, Suffolk County, New York.

This report was written to evaluate the idea of constructing a breakwater at Fire Island inlet. While most of the report is of no relevance, considerable detail is supplied on the extent of the economic use of the Great South Bay. Statistics were elicited from all the businesses who had an interest in the outcome of the project, including Blue Point Oyster Company, various communities on Fire Island, yacht and boating clubs and organizations, and county departments charged with dredging and other activities to maintain the use of the bay under changing conditions. These statistics give some idea of the extent of the use of the bay by these various groups, organization and companies in the mid-1930s.

Bookbinder, Bernie

1983 *Long Island People and Places: Past and Present*.

New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc.

Bragdon, Kathleen

1996 *Native People of Southern New England, 1500-1650*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Bragdon is particularly important for the discussion of linkages to tribes across Long Island Sound.

Bullock, Frances C.

1969 Shipwrecks off Smith's Point.
Long Island Forum, 32(6): 110.

Caro, Robert

1974 *The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York*. New York: Vintage.

Ceci, Lynn

1990 *The Effect Of European Contact And Trade On The Settlement Pattern Of Native Americans In Coastal New York, 1524-1665*. New York: Garland.

Clark, James S.

1986 *Vegetation and Land-Use History of the William Floyd Estate, Fire Island National Seashore, Long Island, New York*.
U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, North Atlantic Region,

Coles, Robert R.

1959 *The Material Culture of the Long Island Indian*.
The Nassau County Historical Journal. 20(4).

This article relates the conditions under which the Native Americans lived before the arrival of the settlers, recording their hunting, fishing and whaling activities, but without significant depth, and with no citation or proof of assertions.

Conkey, Laura E., Ethel Boissevain, and Ives Goddard

1978 *Indians of Southern New England and Long Island: Late Period*. In *Handbook of North American Indians (15) Northeast: 160-176*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.
Standard reference.

Cronon, William

1983 *Changes in the Land: Colonists, Indians, and the Ecology of New England*.
New York: Hill and Wang.

A classic work by the foremost environmental historian; useful for presenting a way of thinking about the history of people in a place.

Dana, Katherine Floyd

1889 *Our Phil and Other Stories*.
Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Co.

A lightly disguised narrative of Poosepatuck culture in the middle 19th century from the standpoint of a wellborn white woman. Based on the Poosepatuck people Ms. Dana knew personally, the putative setting is somewhere in Maryland. Portions of the book were published first in the *Atlantic Monthly*. Bernice Forrest Guillaume provides a scathing review in her article, *Women's Lives at the William Floyd Estate and the Poosepatuck Indian Reservation*.

Dickerson, Charles P.

1975 A History of the Sayville Community, Including Bayport, Bohemia, West Sayville, Oakdale and Fire Island.

Suffolk County News. Available at Suffolk County Historical Society.

This is a typical local history of facts, dates, names, but interesting because Mr. Dickerson was interviewed by both Fletcher and Kintz for the *Historic Resource Study* (Fletcher and Kintz 1979) and by Esther Newton for her ethnography of Cherry Grove (1993). Chapter XX, Recreation, includes brief discussions of local practices including sailing, snipe hunting and duck shooting, ice boating. Chapter XI, Fire Island, sets forth Dickerson's fantastic claim that Fire Island was formed only 300 years ago by a storm that broke through the oceanfront and inundated a former swamp. This he repeats in his interview with Fletcher and Kintz. Mentions the Secatogue Indians as "the first folks on Fire Island." Two large hotels at Water Island in the 1890s.

Chapter XII of this book describes the fishing activities of the Great South Bay, the influx of the Dutch, and the transition from the bay as a "commons" to individually owned oyster beds in 1879-80. Numbers of oystermen employed are given. The takeover of the beds by the towns to lease to individuals is described. Duck farms in Moriches poisoned the beds with excess phosphates. In 1965, 4500 men made a living from clamming in GSB, gathering clams with a value of \$100 million. Chapter XVIII examines how people made their living in the area, including a menhaden factory on Fire Island for producing cod liver oil and burning oil. Chapter XXI explores the history of Fire Island, from the Secatogues, the first Native Americans to go there and who helped the white whalers to catch whales, pirates who frequented its shores and buried their treasure, and the slave stockades that were used to keep smuggled slaves.

There were also various newspaper articles at the Suffolk County Historical Society from the late 1800s that explored the recreational aspects of Fire Island and the Great South Bay, with information about sport fishing, hotels and accommodation and local amenities.

Dwight, Timothy

1801/2002 Travels in Long Island. *In Journeys on Old Long Island: Travelers' Accounts, Contemporary Descriptions, and Residents' Reminiscences, 1744-1893.*

Natalie Naylor, ed. Interlaken, NY: Empire State books.

Timothy Dwight, president of Yale University, is frequently quoted by landscape historians on his lively descriptions of people and places in New England and New York in the early years of the 19th century. His Long Island journals, excerpted here, include some general ethnographic information--the importance of the "necks" in supporting settlement, agriculture, and commerce; the relative barrenness of the interior of east-central Long Island, a catastrophic decline in the oyster beds off Blue Point, and grouse-shooting on Hempstead Plain.

Dyson, Verne.

1969 *Anecdotes and Events in Long Island History*. Port Washington, NY: Ira J. Friedman Inc. Available at the Suffolk County Historical Society.

In this small volume Dyson looks at various places across Long Island and events and stories about them. Chapter 16 is about the islands off the coast of Long Island. It includes a brief history of Fire Island. Chapter 17 discusses Sunken Forest of Fire Island. It describes romantically the forest, its topography and unique foliage. Dyson writes that the Sunken Forest is "a quiet, lovely sanctuary of intense greenery...delightful jungle-like place with seems to transport one to ages long gone by. There is an unreality about it all that has magic in it" (132). There is also a brief chronicling of various efforts to preserve the forest. The amount of information relevant to our project in Dyson's work is small. The focus on the Sunken Forest is not found in other works. However his descriptions seems very romanticized and anecdotal, in tone, treading the line between fact and fiction.

Edwards, Geraldine Law

1987 *A Study of Social and Cultural Change Among Indian Populations of Eastern Long Island: Pre-Contact-1776*. QBPL/Jamaica. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, SUNY at Stony Brook.

A critique of the traditional ethnographic model for eastern Long Island Indian populations, exemplified by the work of Lynn Ceci, which portrays them as small, non-sedentary groups who pursued seasonal hunting and gathering. The author suggests that recent archaeological data and the Verrazano's account of his visit to native American settlements in Narragansett Bay, points to the existence of sedentary Indian populations prior to European contact. Dr. Ceci's model misses the significance of disease in the post-contact period. Three stages of ethnographic change and development are postulated: 1. Pre-contact, 2. Post-contact Pre-colonial: 1524-1640; and 3. Colonial: 1640-1776. Emphasis for the second period is placed on the transmission of European diseases to Indian populations and resultant depopulation and demoralization. In the Colonial period, Puritanism became a dynamic agent of ideological change. This dissertation focuses on the relationship between Puritans and Indians in the East End. It is a very valuable ethnographic source in this respect. However, more study would be needed to know whether the discussion can be generalized to the native peoples of central Long Island.

Eells, Reverend Earnest E.

1993 *Indian Missions on Long Island. In History And Archaeology Of Suffolk County*, 2nd ed. Gaynell Stone, ed. Riverhead: Suffolk County Archaeological Association.

Eells was the minister of the Presbyterian Church in East Hampton during the 1930s when he conducted this research. His principal interest was in the influences of Puritanism on Long Island native peoples. Eells explains the establishment of reservations at Shinnecock and Poosapatuck as products of the Puritan intention to grant tribes permanent home territories in exchange for accepting Christianity. Includes an account of the imprisonment of Indians during King Philip's War, their transport to Tangiers, North Africa, and subsequent transport to St. George's Manor on Long Island by its proprietor, William "Tangier" Smith. Eells was personally involved in the successful legal fight to preserve the reservation at Poosapatuck, which William S. Dana contested in 1934.

Fire Island Association

1983 *Fire Island: Recollections: Histories of the Island, the Fire Island Association, and its Member Communities*. Available in the Bay Shore Library Reserve Collection.

This small volume describes the Fire Island Association's history and present day (1983) activities. It gives a short history of Fire Island and a one page description of each of the following communities: Saltaire, Fair Harbor, Dunewood, Lonelyville, Robbins Rest, Fire Island Summer Club, Corneille Estates, Ocean Beach, Seaview, Ocean Bay Park, Point O'Woods, Cherry Grove, Fire Island Pines, Water Island, and Davis Park. The profiles discuss details of the history of the community, a site description, facilities, and local associations.

The material covered in this volume is relevant to our project, but serves more as an introduction to Fire Island rather than providing and significant ethnographic depth or knowledge about traditions.

Fire Island Guide

1970 *Ocean Beach, NY: Fire Island News*.

An unsigned piece on Fire Island life and history. Discusses slave trade and pens, origin of the name "Fire", the cholera scare of 1892, 17th century whaling practices

Fletcher, Laraine A. and Ellen R. Kintz.

1979 *Historic Resource Study, Fire Island National Seashore, Long Island, New York*. U. S. Department of the Interior, national Park Service.

In two volumes; Vol 2 contains interviews with local residents.

An indispensable, thoroughly researched general history of Fire Island. The authors trace deeds and property transactions from the colonial period to the present time. They cover whaling, maritime industries, fishing, agricultural uses of the beach, bay-bottom oystering, and the development of summer communities on the island. The report's contemporary focus is on historic resources, in most cases houses and other buildings

deemed to be of historic significance. Includes factual histories of each F. I. community. The research involved interviews with several Fire Island residents, which yield additional information, some of ethnographic significance. NPS-FIIS staff in possession of only some of these interview summaries. A summary of the available interviews follows:

Person and Approximate Birthdate	Locus of Knowledge	Content
Captain Hewlitt Bishop (b. 1909, m. 1938)	Water Island	Water Island Assoc., ferry & taxi service, beach traffic, city-year-round factions. Gunning on the meadows, ice boats, shipwrecks, oystering.
Charles Dickerson (516) 589-8690 [1979]	Cherry Grove	Shipwrecks, historical facts, origin of iceboats, thefts from private boats, animal migrations.
Walter Oakley (b. before 1911). Tradesman	Oakleyville	Suggests Oakleyville once a labor market for Point 'O Woods. Former subsistence activities. Outsiders with fast boats causing trouble.
Dorothy Cambern. Cousin of Hewlitt Bishop. (b. around 1910)	Long Cove, F. I. Pines	Historic use of salt hay, Lone Hill lifesaving station, rum-running. Has Frank Carrington's scrapbook of F. I. clippings.
Mr. and Mrs. Mahler. Lighthouse keeper 1948-54. (516) 273-2847 [1979]	Saltaire, F. I. Lighthouse.	Old Saltaire photos on file with "SPLIA". Cites a written history of Saltaire. Ref. to Marconi wireless station bases and old "whaling pots". Ice boats. Lighthouse history.
Peter Cohalan, Islip Town Supervisor, Davis Park Resident	F. I. politics	Perspectives on politics, FIIS authority, construction and driving restrictions.
Nathan Woodhull (b. 1909) and Ann Woodhull (m. 1952) (516) 583-5527 [1979]	Seaview	Ref. to fish factories. Informants were in favor of Moses' parkway.
Bea Thornberg (b. 1920, m. 1947). Year-round resident, wife of Walter Thornberg, tradesman. (516) 583-8743 [1979]	Atlantique	Contractor family. "Donkey shed" (?) at Lonelyville. Little dependence on bay for subsistence supplement. "Daddy boat" Friday eve. ferry. Limited relations among communities. Thievery on bay side by youth via fast boats.

Evaluation

The eight interview records made available to us and summarized above take the form of neither transcripts nor notes; rather, they provide summaries of the interviews in the interviewer's words. There are few quotations or paraphrases of the informants' words. This "as told to" format erases the informant's voice and affect. For this reason mainly, we find the interviews less valuable for ethnographic purposes than we had expected.

The content of the interviews is dominated by historical facts, personal and family history, recitations of ferryboats and shipwrecks of years past, and facts about buildings. Most of the more ethnographic content is mentioned in passing with little elaboration. The interview with Captain Hewlitt Bishop, for example, goes on about what Fire Island was like when his grandfather arrived in 1896, the history of Water Island (e.g., arrival of telephone service, electricity, water sources.) Much of the interview is devoted to descriptions of historic structures--hotels, early houses; and then a list of ferryboats, fares, boat captains, and schedules, beginning in 1882. With respect to cultural practices,

Captain Bishop mentions that his grandfather kept a houseboat used to shelter gunning parties in winter. After it burned, he moved an oyster shed to Deep Creek where he placed it on pilings. We infer that this served to shelter “gunning parties” too. Nothing more is said about the gunning, such as who participated or when and how the parties were organized, just how the shelter was used, or how long the practice continued. We do learn that this particular shelter succumbed to the Hurricane of ‘38.

Dorothy Cambern, Captain Bishop’s cousin, also mentions their grandfather’s gunning house at Deep Creek with no more detail. She reports that their grandfather had salt hay rights for a mile of bay shoreline on Fire Island. Although she had no documentation for these rights, she thought they had been received from the Tangier Smiths. She explains the uses of salt hay: cattle grazing in summer, harvested in fall for use as fertilizer, cattle feed, and home insulation. An interesting ethnographic fact from Ms. Cambern’s interview is her recollection of walking every day “with the life saver” to the Long Cove Life Saving Station. We do not learn any more about this--why it happened, what relationship she had to the life saver, whether other children walked with life savers too, etc.

The interview with Bea Thornberg contains the following one-sentence paragraph: No pertinent information on older structures was presented in this interview, other than the “donkey shed” at Lonelyville. Given the history and legends of slave-running on Fire Island, we wondered if “donkey shed” was derived from “darkey shed.”

In sum, the ethnohistorical content of these interviews is limited to unelaborated facts and memories. They do not appear to offer more than the published histories and other written accounts of life on Fire Island. These interviews were conducted 25 years ago with people who were no longer young at the time. We guess that some--probably most--of these informants are no longer living. Several of the interview forms cite other persons with contact information who the informants considered knowledgeable about something of interest to Fletcher and Kintz.

Foresta, Ronald A.

1984 *America’s National Parks and their Keepers*. Washington, DC: Resources for the Future.

Fresco, Robert

1975 Proposal to abandon the western six miles of the national seashore and acquire the seven-mile county owned eastern tract. *Newsday*, January 18.

Gebhard, Glenn

1999 *Baymen*. Desert Steel and Pacific View Productions.

This is a documentary film produced with the assistance of Nancy Solomon of Long Island Traditions and Frank Turano, Ph.D. SUNY Stony Brook. It shows interviews with footage of eight baymen throughout the changing seasons. The overarching theme of the video is the dedication of the baymen to their craft and their love of the bay set against

the great decline of the fishery. It describes some technique for clamming, eeling, and fishing. The baymen featured are: Bobby Brittan, John Buzack, Michael Guiffre, Tom Kuhner, Rick Rev, Bob Searfoss, Flo Sharkey, and Cory Weyant.

Glass, Judy

1987 Nudity Ban Sought at Fire Is. Light. New York Times, August 23.

Lighthouse preservation society wants to ban nudity on beach in front of lighthouse. In general, issue of nude bathing has been dealt with locally. Some communities post signs banning nudity, eating, etc. State law prohibits nudity, not necessarily while bathing. But county police don't enforce state law on federal beaches.

Golder, William E.

1989 Long Island's First Inhabitants: Paleo, Archaic, Transitional, Woodland: A 9000 Year History of the Indian Occupation of Long Island. Self published. Available at Hallockville Museum Farm and Folklife Center.

This work contains details of the ways that Native Americans lived on Long Island, descriptions and pictures of their artifacts and tools, including bows and arrows, arrowheads, mortars, tools, pottery. The evolution of cooking vessels in New York State and the manufacture of clay pottery are investigated. The focus of the book is archaeological. There is nothing specific to Fire Island or the Great South Bay. There is a map of the place names and dialects of the Native Americans living there.

Goldman, Albert

1972 I Have Seen the Future--and it's Fire Island. New York Magazine.

A lively piece in the manner of the "new journalism" of the 1960s, of which New York magazine was a leading exponent. Makes the case for a hedonistic, drug-addled summer experience on F. I. Goldman depicts the "archetypal Fire Island experience" as "brief, impersonal, erotic." Writing of "creeping urbanization" in Ocean Beach, Goldman describes "dirty groupers threatening to turn this once-pretty community into a replica of Haight Ashbury. You could really puke when you dig the scene in some of the more pungent pads. Bodies strewn all over the furniture and the floors, unwashed dishes drawing flies and ants in the kitchen, plumbing stopped up from swallowing forbidden objects, and the malaise of the strung-out, periodically hysterical, zonked-on-downers, freaked-on-uppers youth culture"--and so on.

Gonzalez, Ellice B.

1982 Storms, Ships & Surfmen: The Life-Savers of Fire Island. Eastern National Park and Monument Association.

An excellent history by an anthropologist of the U.S. Lifesaving Service on Fire Island. In addition to descriptions of shipwrecks, the emergence of the U.S.L.S.S., and the life-saving stations on Fire Island, the author focuses on the way of life among the life saving crews and their familial ties to mainland towns.

Gonzalez, Ellice B.

1982 *Storms, Ships, and Surfmen: The Life-Savers of Fire Island*. Eastern National Park and Monument Association.

Gonzalez, Ellice B.

1983 *From Unkechaug To Poosepatuck*. Monograph prepared for the National Park Service.

The author, an anthropologist, studied the records at the William Floyd archive. This is a fundamental source on Unkechaug history and the Unkechaug relationship with the Floyd family. It lacks a spatial focus, however, paying no attention to specific places and sites of ethnographic significance.

Graham, Gertrude

1976 *Mastic Beach: Its Role in the History of the Town of Brookhaven*. Mastic Beach, L. I., NY.

Grossman, Karl

1975 Long Island Press, December 7.

Comprehensive article on “natural area” issue. A recent study and master plan by the Fire Island Natural Area Committee recommends no action be taken by NPS on developments earlier proposed. Reviews those proposals.

Grumet, Robert

1995 *Historic Contact: Indian People and Colonists in Today's Northeastern United States in the Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Useful for situating the Unkechaug in the context of Long Island Indian groups.

Guillaume, Bernice Forrest

1996 Poosepatuck (Unkechaug Nation). *In Encyclopedia of North American Indians*, Pp 497-98. Frederick E. Hoxie, ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Scholarly encyclopedia entry; gives a history of the Unkechaug/Poosepatuck, confirms state tribal recognition, discusses political issues and contemporary cultural practices

Guillaume, Bernice Forrest

1998 *Women's lives at the William Floyd Estate and the Poosepatuck Indian Reservation, 1800-Present*. *In Long Island Women: Activists And Innovators*. Natalie Naylor and M. Murphy eds. Interlaken, NY: Empire State Books/Long Island Studies Institute, Hofstra University.

The article is an important source of information and references on individual 19th century Unkechaug and Floyd women and on their cultural practices and involvement with one another. Guillaume is an anthropologist and part Unkechaug herself. The article, however, is an anti-Floyd polemic.

Harper, Dr. Francis

1909 and 1910 Photographs of Poosepatuck Indians. *In* National Anthropological Archives. Electronic document, <http://sirir-archives.si.edu/ipac20/ipac.jsp?session=115Y72UK57425.43217&profile=all&page=9&group=0&term=harper+francis&index=.GW&uindex=&aspect=power&menu=search&ri=1&source=~!siarchives&1152724491895>, accessed July 12, 2006.

The following eight of nine available photographs in the collection are reproduced in the Ethnographic Overview and Assessment, Figures 1-8. These images are available for downloading at the above URL. FIIS Curator Steve Czarniecki obtained prints of these images from the National Anthropological Archives for an exhibition some years ago; perhaps this is why high-quality digital versions are now available online.



Harper, Francis
Title: Tom Hill setting out decoys on Forge River, November 14, 1909.
Collection: Glass Negatives of Indians collected by the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1850s-1930s
Produced: Nov 14, 1909. Mastic, Long Island, New York
Cite as: BAE GN 4326, Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives
Culture: Poosepatuck
Repository Location: National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Museum Support Center, Suitland, Maryland.



Harper, Francis Jr.
Title: Tom Hill on his sloop. April 2, 1910.
Collection: Glass Negatives of Indians collected by the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1850s-1930s.
Produced: April 2, 1910, Forge River, Mastic, Long Island, New York.
Cite as: BAE GN 4326, Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives
Culture: Poosepatuck.
Repository Location: National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Museum Support Center, Suitland, Maryland.



Harper, Francis Dr.
Title: Uncle Ed Edwards in the doorway of his cabin, and his son, May 9, 1909.
Contained in: Glass Negatives of Indians collected by the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1850s-1930s.
Produced: May 9, 1909, Poosepatuck village on Poosepatuck Creed, near Mastic, Long Island.
Cite as: BAE GN 4331, Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives.
Culture: Poosepatuck
Repository Location: National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Museum Support Center, Suitland, Maryland.



Harper, Francis Dr.
 Title: Family of Poosepatucks on trail, September 6, 1909
 Contained in: Glass Negatives of Indians collected by the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1850s-1930s.
 Produced: September 6, 1909.
 Summary: William Walker (in front) and other Poosepatucks (also a dog) on a woodland path between Poosepatuck Creek and Second Neck Creek, near the Poosepatuck village on Poosepatuck Creek, Mastic, Long Island.
 Cite as: BAE GN 4332, Smithsonian Institution, National

Anthropological Archives.
 Culture: Poosepatuck
 Repository Location: National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Museum Support Center, Suitland, Maryland.



Harper, Francis Dr.
 Title: William Walker's sod hut in Poosepatuck village on Poosepatuck Creek, near Mastic, Long Island. December 25, 1909.
 Contained in: Glass Negatives of Indians collected by the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1850s-1930s.
 Produced: December 25, 1909
 Summary: Dog kennel of similar construction on the side of hut.
 Cite as: BAE GN 4333, Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives.

Culture: Poosepatuck
 Repository Location: National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Museum Support Center, Suitland, Maryland.



Harper, Francis Dr.
 Title: Joe Ward and his wife, November 14, 1909.
 Contained in: Glass Negatives of Indians collected by the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1850s-1930s.
 Produced: November 14, 1909, Poosepatuck village on Poosepatuck Creek, near Mastic, Long Island.
 Cite as: BAE GN 4334, Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives.

Culture Poosepatuck.
 Repository Location: National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Museum Support Center, Suitland, Maryland.



Harper, Francis Dr.
 Title: Tom Hill holding eel spear near his boat landing; Net reel, row boats and duck decoys nearby. April 2, 1910.
 Contained in: Glass Negatives of Indians collected by the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1850s-1930s.
 Note: Broken negative
 Cite as: BAE GN 04327 06622500
 Culture: Poosepatuck

Repository Location: National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Museum Support Center, Suitland, Maryland.



Harper, Francis Dr.

Title: Joe Ward spearing eels at the mouth of Poosepatuck Creek, February 22, 1910.

Contained in: Glass Negatives of Indians collected by the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1850s-1930s.

Produced: February 22, 1910. Mastic, Long Island, New York.

Cite as: BAE GN 4329, Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives.

Culture: Poosepatuck.

Repository Location: National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Museum Support Center, Suitland, Maryland.

Hawes, Elizabeth

1993 Castles in the Sand. *In* New York Times Magazine, July 11.

Long piece written in the aftermath of severe winter storms that ruined many houses and Point O' Woods's "Club". Emphasis is on island life. She writes: "On Friday evenings, the ferries are packed like immigrant boats, filled to capacity with people wearing neon and spandex and sandals, eating salad and ice cream and fillet-of-fish sandwiches, carrying dogs, strollers, flowers, duffels, knapsacks, boxes, market baskets, shopping bags from Fairway, Duane Read, Pier 1, Toys R Us, children's games, coffee makers, garden hoses, decorator pillows, coolers and, depending on the destination, many cases of beer...It is difficult for a newcomer to sort out these towns. The names are interchangeable inventions and their physical arrangements seem almost identical--beach in front, bay with its ferry dock and the rack of wagons behind, a wide east-west walk named Midway or Central as a connective boulevard. Yet the clear and significant differences between the communities give residents their sense of identity and Fire Island its amazing universality... expressed too in style, spirit and social ritual, in tennis whites required in Point O' Woods, in the sundown drinks called the Sixish in Fair Harbor, in the bouncers in the bars in Ocean Beach."

Havemeyer, Harry W.

1996 *Along the Great South Bay*. Mattituck, NY: Amerion House.

Available at the Long Island Maritime Museum Library.

This book describes the settlement of the south shore between Oakdale and Babylon from 1840 up to 1940. The primary focus of the book is on the families who moved there, many from New York, and founded towns like Islip. There is a limited account of the early settlers. The author concentrates on the recreational use of the bay for fishing, sailing and hunting. There are many details about the founding and development of the various clubs that pursue these activities on the south shore and Fire Island. Details are provided such as the occupations of key figures and the specific activities of the clubs and the sports that they promote. The value of the book is in providing details regarding the gradual transition from harvesting of resources in the bay to the bay as a recreational resource. Over 100 photos illustrate uses of the bay.

Havemeyer, Harry W.

2001 *East on the Great South Bay: Sayville and Bayport 1860-1960*.

Mattituck, NY: Ameron House. Available at the Long Island Maritime Museum Library.

This book is the complement to Havemeyer's earlier book "Along the Great South Bay." It tells the story of the rise and decline of the resort era in Sayville and Bayport located on the Great South Bay. It begins with an early history of the area and then tells the story of several prominent families such as the Suydams (related to the Knickerbockers) and Roosevelts who came to the eastern part of the Great South Bay from Brooklyn and New York to build summer home and stay in resort hotels in the late 19th century and early 20th century. The height of this era was between 1890-1917. Havemeyer discusses that these families were drawn to this area because of its proximity to Fire Island, the cool breezes, and the opportunities for recreational sailing, fishing, shooting, and later, golf and tennis. The Blue Point Oyster company also figures into the economic prosperity of the area. The resort era ended in Sayville and Bayport in the 1950's when land became too valuable and too greatly taxed due to the post WWII population explosion and resulting need for schools as well as the change in the local economy from rural to suburban. The newer year round residents also enjoy many of the same activities as the early vacationers: boating, fishing, shooting on the bay, playing golf, and visiting the Fire Island beaches.

The focus of the book is on the people in these prominent families and their high society summer homes. He describes at great length their family histories, personal relations, and their homes themselves. The reasons that they were drawn to this area and the activities that they engaged in, as well as the recreational activities of present day activities, do tell us what traditional recreational uses developed and continue to be important in the Great South Bay.

Hedges, Ettie C.

1934 Two Travellers on Long Island. A paper read at the meeting of the Westhampton Women's Club, April 16th. East Hampton, Long Island: The Star Press. Privately printed.

One of the travellers is Timothy Dwight, whose remarks are quoted at greater length in Naylor. The other is John A. Dix, New York Governor and Treasury Secretary under President Buchanan. His recollections involve East Hampton and Sag Harbor. Mrs. Hedges is also the author of Francisco De Miranda's Visit to Long Island in 1784, privately published at East Hampton in 1937.

Horton, Azariah

1993 The journal of Azariah Horton, 1741-44. *In* The History and Archaeology of the Montauk, 2nd Gaynell Stone Levine, ed. Riverhead: Suffolk County Archaeological Association.

Hildreth, Edith Wardell

1960 Between Bay and Ocean. New York: Vantage books.
An autobiography of little ethnographic value.

History Of Suffolk County, 1683-1882. New York: W. W. Munsell and Co.
Available at Hallockville Museum Farm and Folklife Center.

One section of this tome covers the town of Islip, and mentions Fire Island, giving some of the history of the development of Fire Island. Many place names are provided in their original Native American terms along with their corruptions into English. Details include that Fire Island inlet was not known under that name prior to 1781, having broken through the beach in the great storm of November 29, 1700. Sixteen streams are named as flowing into the Great South Bay and their original names are given. For example, Ocquinock became Oak Neck, and was believed to be the original burial area of Native Americans in this area and this is believed to be the meaning of the name. Considerable detail is given to this aspect of the Great South Bay. Mention is also made of the development of recreational activities and hotels to house visitors to the bay. Details are provided of land deeds and titles to land around the Great South Bay, listing owners and how much was paid for the land.

Holiday magazine

1962

Gossipy travel piece. Sailor's Haven, east of Point O'Woods, is "a new little yachting community patronized by Mayor Wagner of New York." Cherry Grove has acquired its "ill fame not so much from its inhabitants as from the jackals that harass them... Unfortunately, an ugly custom has sprung up on Long Island; its ruffians come over to Fire Island periodically, looking for trouble. We're plagued by them in all the towns where there are public bars; Flynn's in Ocean Bay Park and Peggy Fear's in the Pines have been torn apart by them. In Ocean Beach, there are policemen and police magistrates who can handle these animals quietly and efficiently; but Cherry Grove is helpless, and when the invaders move in there's usually an ugly riot that hits the headlines."

In the 1920s, Fire Island was a favorite with Fannie Brice, Jimmy Durante, Gene Buck, Gene Fowler, Jed Harris, George Gershwin, and other Broadway personalities. Gershwin wrote most of *Porgy and Bess* on the island. These luminaries were followed by the "brittle, witty fringe of the entertainment world, who made the island famous enough for the middle class to hear about it and follow them out." The "spicy set" moved up to Fire Island Pines. Peggy Fear, the famous ex-showgirl, is the doyenne of Pines society. A few miles east is Talisman, "undoubtedly the most chic and exclusive of the Fire Island resorts." A private club with accommodations for no more than 50, Talisman has cabanas, a half dozen houses, and clubhouse, all in new-Japanese style. Clientele from the international cafe society... They (in Water Is., Davis Park, Leja Beach) have a custom known as the Sixish. "Word is passed around that so-and-so is giving the Sixish that evening, and everybody descends, bringing his own liquor. They roost like starlings, yakking it up. Last summer there were so many guests at a Sixish that the porch collapsed, tumbling everybody down to the dunes twelve feet below."

Jackson, Kenneth T.

1985 *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Jameson, J. Franklin

1909/1937 Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664. New York: Barnes & Noble.

Important edited collection of written accounts of Dutch explorers and settlers of New Netherlands. Includes excerpts from Adrien Van der Donck's *Description of the New Netherland* and Johan de Laet's *New World*.

Jiler, John

1993 *Dark Wind: A True Account of Hurricane Gloria's Assault on Fire Island*. New York: St. Martin's.

A romantic, even maudlin account of the buildup to Hurricane Gloria in 1985. Useful for its characterizations of certain F. I. residents and the role island life plays in their identity. Good on portraying aspects of distrust of the Park Service, and the values conflict over beach ecology. Historic use by F. I. year-rounders of Sunken Forest for wild grape harvesting. Account of "beach"--a legendary F. I. Pines bachannal in the late 1970s, also a description of annual "invasion" of Pines harbor.

Johnson, Madeleine C.

1983 *Fire Island 1650 To 1980*. Mountainside, New Jersey: Shoreland Press.

Johnson gives a popular historical account of Fire Island, including everything from pirates and slave traders to tidal waves, world war, the Depression, prohibition, hurricanes, shipwrecks, groupers, Robert Moses, and "every effort known to man to make it ordinary." Chapters on shipwrecks, life savers, rumrunning, the Moses threat. The book includes histories of the individual communities and a rundown of their "character and characters," also an examination of 'the facts as well as the fictions' that have surrounded its development since the arrival of the first settlers up until the time of the book's publication. It contains many historical and contemporary (at the time of publication) photographs. A Point O' Woods resident, Johnson was perhaps too polite to make overt reference to gay culture at Cherry Grove or Fire Island Pines. Johnson confirms Brooklyn Eagle article about discovery of a "fireplace 10 to 12 feet long, an iron pot, and some rusty chains at a spot in Ocean Beach where builders were starting a house" in 1908 (Eagle article, undated.) Cites historian Douglas Tuomey. An interesting passage on south shore blacks --"darkey beach day".

Kahlke, Cheryl Dunbar

2004 *Community History: Robbins Rest*. Fire Island Tide, June 25, p. 17.

Kesselman, Steve

1983 *Documentary Evidence Of Land Management At The William Floyd Estate*. Technical paper.

Useful for information on land management practices by the Floyds in the 20th century and for information sites of sacred significance to the Unkechaugs.

Kountourakis, Joanne

2004 Community Unites Against its Only Biz. *Fire Island News*, May 21.

Lessard, Susannah

1976 The Suburban Landscape: Oyster Bay, Long Island. *New Yorker* magazine, Oct. 26.

A personal, somewhat phenomenological account of the effects of rampant mid-20th century suburban development on the author's memory and experience of landscape on the north side of Long Island. Useful to understanding the feelings of loss as the old landscape of rural estates and farms breaks up into residential and commercial tracts, as happened also in the Mastic-Shirley area.

Levenson, Gabriel

1994 Scarsdale-by-the-Sea: Former Fish Factory Site--Now Prestigious Fire Island Community. *Fire Island Tide*, Jun 9-15.

History, including Jewish breakthrough not covered by Fletcher and Kintz.

Levine, Gaynell Stone

1989 Long Island's America: A new look at the first inhabitants. *Long Island Historical Journal* 1, Spring: 59-169.

Life Magazine

1962, April 20

Ninety-six houses lost in a winter nor'easter in March.

Linck, Dana C.

1985 Archaeological investigations at the William Floyd Estate, Mastic, Suffolk County. *In* The Historical Archaeology Of Long Island, Part 1 - The Sites, pp. 201-244. Gaynell Stone and Donna Ottusch-Kianka, eds. Stony Brook, NY: Suffolk County Archaeological Association.

Logan, Andy

1970 *Saltaire*. *In* *Fire Island Guide*. Ocean Beach, NY: Fire Island News.

Logan for many years wrote the "Around City Hall" column in the *New Yorker* Magazine. This is a brief introduction to *Saltaire*.

Long Island Maritime Museum Library: Rudolf Oyster House.

A diorama shows different kinds of boats that are used and have been adapted for use on the bay by baymen to carry out different fishing operations. These including the oyster harvesting boat, the cat boat, the sloop, the gasoline-converted sloop, the gasoline powered oyster dredging boat, and the garvey. There are also photos of oyster seeding operations and tonging through the ice in the Great South Bay, with a description of how to rescue a horse that has gone through the ice.

Long Island Press
1966, Sept. 22

The sixish flourishes among youthful professionals... on Saturday evenings in the summer, the sixish begins around seven, really. To this backbone of the island's social structure--at locations designated by the grapevine--come single men hoping to meet complaisant girls and single-minded girls hoping to meet marriage-minded doctors.

Long Island Press
1974, April 7

Moses is expected to meet with Superintendent James Godbolt to discuss the possibility of extending the Ocean Parkway through the seashore. A letter to Godbolt dated March 8 asks what position the National Seashore has taken on the parkway extension. Godbolt said no official policy position on the road: "In our case, we feel ferry services can be developed to provide public use and enjoyment of the resources under the management of FIIS which will be compatible to the purpose for which the seashore was established."

Moses replied, "your logic...entirely escapes me and bears no logical relation to our long experience here... you are going to come a hell of a cropper if you attempt to use such gobbledygook with the endorsement of the Department of the Interior." Then Godbolt said he thought Moses meant extending the parkway only to the lighthouse boundary, not through the whole seashore: "That's an entirely different matter, then. We are very much opposed to any road passing through any point of the seashore. The NPS has always taken this position." A fine example of Moses's use of insult and intimidation to get his way, although by 1974 he was no longer having his way much of the time.

Long Island Railroad Co.

1877 Long Island and Where to Go. New York: Lovibond & Jackson.

A promotional brochure with charming if inflated depictions of attractions along the railroad, churches, hotels, information on rentals. Section on Babylon extols boating, bathing, sailing, fishing, shooting, driving and riding. Emphasizes the south shore between Babylon and Patchogue.

Long Island State Park Commission.

1931, June 18 Press Release: Proposed Ocean Boulevard Extension Along Fire Island Beach. Available at the Long Island Studies Institute at Hofstra University.

Press release written by Robert Moses, President of the Long Island State Park Commission, proposing the extension of Ocean Boulevard westerly from Smith's Point to Fire Island State Park. The press release dismisses the validity of the great opposition to this project and lists ten recommendations for carrying out this project. The language exemplifies Robert Moses's highhanded tactics in strong-arming his proposals.

Long Island Traditions

2003 Smithsonian Festival Case Study: South Shore of Long Island. Technical report. Port Washington, NY.

Received via e-mail from Nancy Solomon of Long Is. Traditions. Very good ethnohistorical overview of culture and economy of the South Shore.

Manley, Seon

1966 Long Island Discovery. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co.
Available at Hallockville Museum Farm and Folklife Center.

Chapter one, "The bounty of the bay world" describes the lives of baymen and their experiences living and working in and around the bay. It has both historical and contemporary stories told by baymen about their lives, and features characters from the earliest days up until the time of publication. Different fishing and shell fishing techniques are discussed. There is also a chapter on Native Americans and their place names, although there is nothing specific to Fire Island. There is a separate chapter on Fire Island, the dunes, what it is like in winter. The book covers the early history of Fire Island and the people who lived there and its different communities, each in turn, including such details as the "sixish." There are a couple of drawings of fishing activities off Fire Island.

Mann, Charles C.

2002 1491. Atlantic Monthly, March. Available online at Atlantic Monthly website.

A serious piece for general readers that reviews recent scholarship. The thrust of the article is that Native Americans worked over vast territories through the Americas to create environment that suited their ways of life. Principal tools were burning underbrush and building dams. Emphasis is placed on the post-contact, pre-colonial period, when European diseases decimated native populations. The author dispels long-popular notions that European settlers found a wilderness nearly untouched by humans. Instead, disease had so reduced native populations that the colonists found little material evidence of aboriginal settlement. Expanded version published as book in 2005.

Montgomery, Natalie M.

1994 A Century of Beach Houses: Point O' Woods Cottages from 1894 to 1994. Point O' Woods Historical Society.

Morris, Bob

2000 An Uncle's Adventures in Paradise. New York Times, September 10. Section 9 p3.

Favorable article on visit to Fire Island Pines., experiencing the island with a niece and nephew, people met during the trip.

Morris, Tom

1972 Newsday, August 9.

NPS is not intervening in Islip and Brookhaven variances opposed by the Fire Island Association. Spokesperson says "These situations they allege pose no problem to the management of the seashore and consequently there is no broad aim to prevent them."

National seashore has a general policy of noninterference with the growth of Fire Island communities. Lawsuit seeks to force Interior Department to produce environmental standards by which all growth on Fire Island, communities included, would be measured. Another, longer piece, same reporter, on 8/1/72 reviews issues in more depth.

Morris, Tom

1972 Newsday, August 20.

U.S. to press for sharp curbs on total of Fire Island visitors. Long piece on policy change from original seashore proposal. Limit of about 30,000 persons a day at the seven visitor centers, or half the number of visitors and five fewer centers than originally contemplated in 1964. Increasing concern for Fire Island environment. Fragile dunes and beach damaged by large crowds, sewage issues. On peak days now about 3,000 visitors use the two existing, partially developed centers. Article quotes Lee Koppelman, Director of Nassau-Suffolk Regional Planning Board. Marinas should be de-emphasized in future development to keep the seashore from becoming only a resource for boaters from Long Island. Two existing marinas for 200 boats get overflow weekend use. The two existing centers are Watch Hill and Sailor's Haven.

Morris, Tom

1983 The Gay Haven is Changing Character. Newsday, Sept. 5.

More public acceptance of the gay lifestyle means more straight visitors, not so much a refuge. Fear of AIDS has halted activities in the quarter-mile stretch of sand and scrub pine between Cherry Grove and the Pines, a "once-bustling marketplace for anonymous sexual encounter, known unceremoniously as the Meatrack."

Murphy, Robert Cushman

1933 August on Fire Island Beach: Notes on the National History of an Almost Primeval Seashore. Reprinted from Natural History: New York: The Journal of Natural History 33, July-August.

The title is descriptive of the article's content, romantically describing the natural wonder and foliage on the Fire Island seashore. Black and white photos and sketches of plants and trees. The author's naturalist point of view is dated and not ethnographically useful.

Nadelson, Reggie

2003 Hit the Beach. Travel & Leisure. Vol 33. Issue 7, July, p58.

Presents the author's recollections about her return to Fire Island, the summer place of her childhood. Physical beauty of the island. Self-protectiveness of summer communities. Villages that define Fire Island.

Newman, Andy

1999 A Red Tide Leads to the Closing of Most Beaches on Fire Island. New York Time, September 13, pB5.

Reports on the red tide on the ocean off Fire Island, New York that prompted officials to close most beaches there to swimmers on September 12, 1999. Plankton that caused the red tide; Comments from Robert Waters, an associate public health sanitarian for the Suffolk County Department of Health Services.

Newsday

1956 July 13.

Rep. Stuyvesant Wainwright (R-N.Y.) asked the federal government to buy a 23-mile section of F.I. for use as national park. He “refuses to stand by and have it fall into the hands of greedy real estate operators.”

Newsday

1959, December 23.

Developer W. T. Shirley announced plans for multimillion-dollar resort on 170 acres east of Smith Point Bridge. The proposed strip is to include motels, hotel and restaurants. No work until county constructs an east-west road along the ocean beach to make the property accessible. Brookhaven Town Board approved a zoning change on the property from residence F to business G. County Public Works Supt said the county might move to acquire rights-of-way for the road in 1960.

Newsday

1968, April 3

Opposition to groupers in Ocean Bay Park: the 100-member OBP homeowners association voted last September to discourage group rentals, citing excessive noise, property damage and improper conduct. The state human rights commission said this is not discrimination under state law. One homeowner likened groupers to beasts.

Newsday

1972, August 1

Fire Island Association says that issuing variances produces poor development. Residents sympathize with the association’s goals but residents are not about to yield on private property rights. Reporter talks with three residents with recent variances. One says, “if we’re going to deface the island or build high risers, I would be against it. But I feel each community knows what it wants, and I don’t think people here are against it [his bar].”

Newsday

1987, April 22

Editorial supports the new park service limit on the number of trips along the only stretch of beach that allows any off-road vehicles. And since the area is so popular a place to shoot waterfowl or cast for striped bass and bluefish, the park service decided to issue permits only to hunters and fishermen. Means gun- and rod-toting sportsmen will have to hike in or take a boat. What’s the problem with that?

Newton, Esther

1993 *Cherry Grove Fire Island: Sixty Years in America's First Gay and Lesbian Town*. Boston: Beacon Press.

An invaluable ethnography on the origins and development of Cherry Grove, useful as well on the evolution of summer colonies on Fire Island in general, the freedoms felt and taken by summer residents, historical events such as the Hurricane of 1938, and on relations between Fire Island and the mainland towns across the bay. Newton's account illuminates the historical importance of public gathering places to place identity--in this case, Duffy's Hotel, the "meatrack," the "bridge of sighs," the "Spanish steps."

A researcher on the EO&A interviewed Esther Newton on June 14, 2004. A summary follows:

Newton interviewed 46 "principal narrators" for *Cherry Grove, Fire Island*. The interviews were taped, transcribed, and stored as digital files. Transcriptions are usually complete, though for a few of the interviews there may be only an outline of contents. Release forms were obtained from all interviewees. The audiotapes and transcripts are eventually to go to the New York Public Library, which has established an important collection documenting gay and lesbian life in New York and beyond.

The 46 interviewees are nearly all from Cherry Grove, although most are familiar with and discuss other communities on Fire Island. Even though the main focus of Newton's research was gay and lesbian history, the interviews include several other themes: e.g. owners vs. renters vs. day-trippers; conflict about development (notably Robert Moses' parkway plans); and the rich cultural history of the Cherry Grove community. Writers for the *New Yorker* and a theater crowd discovered the Grove in the 1930s; and there was a kind of literary golden age in the 1940s and 1950s (Auden and Isherwood, Carson McCullers, Patricia Highsmith (of *Talented Mr. Ripley* fame), Tennessee Williams, Truman Capote). Newton mentioned George Freedley, the first director the Lincoln Center Library for the Performing Arts, as a Grover who left recollections and archival material on the Grove as an art colony (material now available at the library he directed).

According to Newton, the Cherry Grove Community House and Arts Project do not themselves harbor much in the way of archives or collections. Instead, it's individuals who possess valuable materials. Harold Seeley was cited as an informal Grove archivist of the 1980s-early 1990s. Of course, Newton herself has become an archivist of the Grove, since she collected not only the interviews mentioned above, but also 200-plus slides. About half are her own pictures of the Grove in the 1980s; the other half are historical images that she collected from a variety of sources and reproduced. A Grover also gave her his own collection of older slides dating from the 1940s-1950s (some of which are reproduced in the book). Also included in Newton's collection are programs from CG Arts project and books.

Steve Weinstein, a journalist with whom Newton collaborated on some Fire Island presentations, who seems to write for some of the online F. I. news sites, has a collection of slides and conducted many interviews with Pines residents. Newton also cites an essay on the Pines that she wrote in her collection *Margaret Mead Made Me Gay*. It's entitled "Dickless Tracy..."

Newton, Norman T.

1971 *Design on the Land: The Development of Landscape Architecture*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.

New York Daily News

1962, March 27

The Fire Island Association has voiced opposition to Robert Moses' highway proposal. Moses had proposed restoring and preserving the Fire Island barrier beach through hydraulic sand pumping from the bays to make 18-foot high sand dunes.

New York Times

1939 *Progress Since the Hurricane*. New York Times, June 4

Ocean Beach not affected by the hurricane. Much progress at Saltaire, which bore the brunt of the storm's ravages. Only 90 of the village's 183 houses remained. Cherry Grove had 85 houses, now has 5 under construction to add to the 25 homes that survived. Moriches inlet was opened by a 1931 storm, not the 1938 hurricane.

1977

The Social Climber's Guide to Ocean Ridge: An Irreverent History of Ocean Ridge, Davis Park, and Bayberry. Patchogue, Long Island: Porcine Press.

Available at the Queensboro P. L., Jamaica; Long Island Division.

Very droll but lively and attentive to daily round of summertime activities. No conflict between groupers and families. Importance of beach for social mixing. Leja Beach, public ferry dock. Ocean Ridge to east, Davis Park to west. Begun 1957. The sixish (Sat. evening), different house every week. Very anecdotal.

Nichols, Cornelia Floyd

1934 *Letters To My Great-Great Granddaughter*. Unpublished memoir, Wm. Floyd Estate Collections.

An evocative, beautifully written memoir of her childhood and young adult life at Mastic. Mrs. Nichols reused portions of this work in her history of the WFE, *As Told by the Attic Letters (in the Floyd House at Mastic, Long Island)*, dated 1952 and, like *Letters*, never published. *Attic Letters*, however, is a rigorously researched history of the family and the estate, whereas *Letters to my Great-Great Granddaughter* is an autobiographical and descriptive account of life at the WFE during Cornelia's lifetime. It is written for future generation by a woman who knew that modern times would sooner or later bring an end to Floyd family history at the Mastic estate.

Nichols, Corneilia Floyd

1940 *Old Mastic House*. Long Island Forum, April.

The "reader's digest" version of *As Told by the Attic Letters*.

Nichols, Cornelia Floyd

1952 *As Told by the Attic Letters* (in the Floyd House at Mastic, Long Island.)

See above commentary under Nichols 1934.

Nichols, Jack

1976 *Welcome to Fire Island: Visions of Cherry Grove and the Pines*. New York: St Martin's Press.

Available at the Long Island Studies Institute at Hofstra Library.

An introduction to Cherry Grove and Fire Island Pines as the gay summer capital of the world, this book explores the sexual mores of the inhabitants and the gay culture of these communities in the 1970s. Contains some photographs. It is dated, superficial, and written for the popular press.

Nichols, John

1982 *The Last Beautiful Days of Autumn*, Ch. 12, p. 106-113.

Interesting personal account of a return to Mastic by Nichols, Cornelia's grandson, with his father.

Nieves, Evelyn

1995 *On Fire Island, Sometimes the Share Goes out of Sharing*. *New York Times*, July 4, p33.

Presents the experience of Kenny Fink on his decision to run a share house in 1995. Rules and regulations for participating in the Fire Island share house.

Ocean Beach, Fire Island, N. Y.: Cottages for rent and for sale; Summer homes by the sea where health and happiness go hand in hand. No date.

Promotional brochure available at Queensboro P. L./Jamaica: Long Island Division.

Ocean Beach Historical Society

2004 Interview with Curator, July 11.

The society collects, preserves, and exhibits photographs, memorabilia, and artifacts that tell the story of Ocean Beach and its immediate environs.

Materials include:

Artifacts donated, e.g., an old toaster

Jar of sea glass which glass bottle recycling has made rare

Environmental matters: Erosion, deer. Materials include papers, leaflets, minutes from meetings, mailings, reports by the Army Corps of Engineers

Letters, articles, etc. on opposition to Robert Moses' road project

Photos of protests, of Moses, photos of local officials getting involved

"Save Fire Island" pins

"Get it Now: Fire Island National Seashore"—poster on loan in 2004 to Suffolk Co.

Historical Society

Oral Histories—10. General interviews about life in Ocean Beach, touch on lots of different topics. They spoke to elderly residents about early activities, early

businesses, being a teenager there, being the first female lifeguard, celebrities on Fire Island, politics, the environment, the Hurricane of '38 and other storms, the war years. "They're really about these people's lives and their connections to Ocean Beach." Oral histories conducted by the Village Archivist, Shoshana McCullum. Not transcribed.

Photographs. Curator says, "the older photos are pastoral—people tend to be out in nature even though more formally dressed than we would be. And the later photos, you see more of town life, people hanging out, walking around in town ... People seem to like to document changes to buildings, their own homes in particular. Any semblance of structure or order, like those bikes lined up, the wagons, any quirky aspects of life out here people want to document."

Photograph collection is catalogued and cross-referenced for various subjects.

Catalogue number for every image, computerized data base of photos.

Different collections, e.g., the Wally Pickard collection.

Image of New Surf Hotel (in Ocean Beach)

Images of floating house across bay on a barge

Posters, fliers

Collection has inadequate space and storage systems, according to Curator.

Curator says Madeleine Johnson's history the current standard: "It's pretty good, well-researched, full of good, verifiable information as well as some legends."

Page, Helan E.

1998 African Americans and National Parks in the New England Cluster. Technical report to the National Park Service. Amherst: University of Massachusetts.

Patchogue Advance

1936 The Poosepatuck tenure is upheld. Patchogue Advance, March 13. Patchogue, L. I.

Pearsall, Louis

1958 Old Time Life Savers. Long Island Forum 21(10):188.

Pearsall, Louis

1963 The wreck of the Otter. Long Island Forum 26(9):201.

Pearsall, Louis

1964 Wreck of the Schooner William H. Aspinwall. Long Island Forum 27(7): 164.

Pearsall, Louis

1968 Lone Hill Station. Long Island Forum 21(2):24.

Pearsall, Louis

1970 British Steamer Wisconsin Ashore. Long Island Forum 33(1):20.

Pearsall, Louis

1970 George F. Carman on the Bar. Long Island Forum 33(12):260.

Pearsall, Louis

1975 Great South Beach of Long Ago. *Long Island Forum* 38:242-43.

Pilkey, Orrin

1996 Sand-castle Mentality on Fire Island. New York Times, August 18, Section 4, p. 15.

Prime, Nathaniel Scudder

1845 *A History of Long Island, From its First Settlement by Europeans, to the Year 1845, With Special References to its Ecclesiastical Concerns*. New York: R. Carter.

Rand, E. A.

1887 *Fighting The Sea or Winter at the Life-Saving Station*. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

Reeve, Barnabas F.

1876 *Reminiscences of Patchogue; At the Centennial Celebration Jul 4th*. Available at Queensboro P. L./ Jamaica: Long Island Division.

Rosier, J.

1932 *A True Relation of the Voyage of Captaine George Waymouth, 1605*. In *Early English and French Voyages 1534-1608*. H. S. Burrage, ed., pp. 353-94. New York: Scribner.

Rudnick, Paul.

1993 *The Pines*. New York(26) June 28, p 42.

Describes the Pines' reputation as an offshore Eden, a Sodom with Speedos, existing solely for pleasure. Tea as a proud Pines ritual. Community for the rich. Describes the annual Invasion occurring on the Fourth of July.

Salwen, Bert

1978 *Indians of Southern New England and Long Island: Early Period*. In *Handbook of North American Indians (15) Northeast: 160-176*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution

Standard anthropological reference. Less detail on Unkechaug and Long Island in general than other groups, e. g., Massachusett, who were more closely observed by European explorers and settlers.

Sammis, Estelle

1964 *An Islip town ban on beach driving in summer months is driving year-rounders crazy*. Long Island Press, August 11.

The Fire Island Year-Round Residents' Association, which represents 70 year-round families, expresses opposition. Fire Island Association president George Biderman of Saltaire "did not endear himself to year-rounders with recent comments on behalf of the jeep ban."

Shaw, Edward Richard

1895 Legends of Fire Island Beach and the South Side. New York: Lovell, Coryell & Co.

The author compiled some of the many local legends of Fire Island beach and the Great South Bay. Valuable although overly romantic source on early/mid-19th century atmosphere and for place names.

Schaefer, Janice L.

1994 The History of Mastic Beach. Mastic, L. I.: Mastic Beach Property Owners Association.

Schubel, J. R., T. M., Bell, and H. H. Carter, eds

1991 The Great South Bay. StonyBrook: State University Press.

Available at the Bayshore-Brightwaters Public Library Reserve Collection.

This edited collection looks at contemporary issues on the Great South Bay, seeking to understand its complex ecological system. A good portion of the volume looks at natural processes: geology, circulation and exchange, water quality, primary production and nitrogenous nutrients and the hard clam. The later chapters are of greater use to our research examining the lives of baymen, issues of jurisdiction in the bay, use, misuses and abuses of the bay, and management issues. The chapters examining policy and public issues are written by Lee Koppelman.

Slackman, Michael

1991 Beach Patrol. Newsday, August 8.

Long piece about police patrols, uneven enforcement--e.g., it is unwise to ticket for nudity in Cherry Grove, and unwise not to ticket for nudity in Davis Park. Reporter accompanied police on two recent Saturdays.

Smith, Egbert Tangier.

1876 Brookhaven 1665-1876: Historic Sketch of the Town of Brookhaven, Read at the Centennial Celebration at Fort St. George, Jul 4.

Available at New York P. L.

Solomon, Nancy

1987-91 Great South Bay interviews (audiocassettes).

Available in Freeport Memorial Library.

There are 56 audiocassette tapes containing interviews with 39 baymen and women. These were gathered between 1987 and 1991. Interview questions explore their lives on and around the Great South Bay, with special focus on Bay Houses, fishing and shellfish gathering activities, and maritime related practices such as boat building and repair, fish smoking, and decoy and shorebird carving. Solomon seeks to document the local maritime traditions and how knowledge and practices gets passed between generations.

Principal themes are the former abundance of shellfish and fish, the demise of the Bayman way of life due to recreational boaters and pollution. Residents living in Bay Houses and near the bay describe their lives and experiences. Many details of fishing and hunting practices and techniques are provided, and bay fishermen describe the history and development of their resource gathering activities in the Great South Bay.

Persons interviewed: Mabel Zelenka, Dott and Fred Verity, Everett Maresca, Fred Scopinich, Arthur and Audrey Pearson, Ruth Remsen, Frank Rizzo, George Schmidt, Phil Simon, Tony Sougstad, Scott Southerd, George Streit, Cory Wryant, Mary Lou Anglim, Ronnie Bauer, Wally Beer, Jean Carman, George Combs, Wink Carman, Mary Carson, George Combs, George Combs Jr., Jack Combs, Brod Keene, John Combs, Irma Verity, Bob Doxsee Jr, Frank DeGaetano, Rebecca Warren, Ron Feuring Sr, Al Grover, Nicole Maya Diederichs, James Henderson, Gertrude Jankowski, John Jankosky, Tom Judge, Don Kearsley, Danny Koch, Len Koch, John Magnus, Ray Milleck, and Carmen Marinnachio.

Although the library did not produce them, according to Nancy Solomon herself there are annotated indexes and partial transcripts of some of the interviews at the Freeport Library. *On the Bay* is Solomon's publication resulting from these interviews.

Sample Content of Interview Tapes

Name	Role	Interview Content
Mary Lou Anglim	Bay house resident	Her family has owned and lived part time in a bay house on Meadow Island since 1973. Describes her experiences there including boating and clamming.
Ronnie Bauer	Bayman and Bay house resident	Age 49. Grew up in Oceanside, Long Island, and began fishing, clamming, crabbing and eeling at age 9 or earlier. Has worked on various types of fishing boats and participates in activities such as duck hunting, bird watching, and making boats and decoys. Describes changes in the bay over his lifetime. Owner of a bay house on Meadow Island which has been in existence since before the 1938 hurricane.
Al Grover	Boat Builder	He traces his family's history back to an ancestor coming to the New World on the Mayflower. He grew up in Baldwin, Long Island, and builds boats.
John Jankosky	Bay house resident	Second owner of a bay house in his possession since 1938. Describes his experiences owning the house and relations and history of other nearby bay houses.
Everett Maresca	Boat repairer	Describes how he used to fish in his early years, how they used to take homing pigeons out on the boats in case they got into distress, when they would release birds to fly back to the harbor.
Carmen Marinnachio	Bayman	Born in 1912. Moved to Long Island in approximately 1922 and has participated in maritime activities since then, such as fishing, clamming, boat repair, and boat rentals.
Ruth Remsen	77 year old former bay house resident	Talks about living in a bay house, and looking after oyster beds. She relates that at least some of the bay houses were built for watchmen for the oyster beds. She describes her family's use of the bay over the years.
Frank Rizzo	Fisherman	Talks about the need for size limits and other restrictions on fishing,

		and about digging worms for bait. He gives lots of information about his fishing techniques.
George Schmidt	Fisherman	Describes his life smoking fish and shell fishing, and talks about his clamming techniques.
Fred Scopinix	Bay house resident	Born 1927. Built his own bay house in 1948 from scrap timber. Describes his life as a boat builder, and techniques for building duck boats and other craft for use in the bay.
Phil Simon	Carver/bay house resident	Talks about his carving of shore birds, decoys and miniatures. "Kids" burned down his bay house. He bought the "Stan Oliver" and "Kestler" hotels to store his boats in.
Tony Sougstal	Waterman with dragger boat	Talks a lot about sandbars and dredging. Blames decline on overfishing by people from up and down the coast. Describes selling yellowtail flounder to New York, and gives a history of fish packing on the South Shore.
Scott Southerd	Canvas shop	Describes his business of making and repairing canvas and sails. Business going down generally, but picking up a little through recreational boaters.
George Streit	Fisherman	Arrived from Queens in 1940. Did big game fishing and hydraulic dredging for sea clams for bait. Father worked the bay, but he only worked the ocean.
Corey Weyart	Bayman	His father worked the bay, and Corey worked bait stations as a kid. Describes decline of fishing through fast boats cutting up the marsh, pollution, and sports use depleting the bay. Describes life on the bay, and how he earns a living year round from different activities. Gives techniques of being a bayman. His opinion was that recreation is driving the baymen out.
Mabel Zelinka	Bay house resident	Describes youth on the bay, and abundance of shellfish, effects of hurricane, how her husband was forced out of fishing.

Solomon, Nancy

1992 *On the Bay*. Syosset, NY: Friends of Long Island Heritage.

Nancy Solomon began investigating the lives of baymen in 1987, going out with them to fish and catch crabs, eels, and shellfish. A considerable portion of the book is devoted to the Bay houses that were built by the baymen on the marshlands, largely those west of Fire Island Inlet. There is also much detail of the daily activities of the baymen as they try to make a living off the Great South Bay. The use and development of the Bay houses parallels the development of the bay itself as sports fishers and recreational boaters have increasingly disturbed the traditional lifestyle of the baymen.

Solomon, Nancy

N.d. *Captree, Havermeyer and Sexton Islands: A Cultural Resource Report*. Port Washington, L. I.: Long Island Traditions.

Technical report received via e-mail from the author. Ethnohistorical discussion of these Great South Bay islands.

Spoonercentral.com

Web site devoted to Mastic Beach maintained by Ken Spooner, who has collected many photographs of Mastic Beach and of the former estates in the area including Moss Lots

and the WFE. Some photos obtained from the WFE Collection including Figures 9-12 in this Ethnographic Overview and Assessment. URL is <http://www.spoonercentral.com>.

Stoutenburgh, Paul

1979 Old Inlet: Fire Island: While I Was a Ranger Naturalist Stationed at Old Inlet the First Year the Fire Island National Seashore Managed the Area. Self published by the author: Paul Stoutenburgh Cutchogue, NY 11935. Available in the Bay Shore-Brightwaters Public Library Reserve Collection

Composed of several short articles originally written for the Suffolk Times, it includes photos of the Old Inlet area. A nature essay. Discusses the littoral drift of the Fire Island beaches, describes beaches, life on Fire Island, the peaceful and quiet atmosphere, the role of boats and the sea, nature on Fire Island and what life was like in the wintertime at Old Inlet. Lacks significant ethnographic material (this is an account of Fire Island without people).

Strong, John

1997 The Algonquian Peoples of Long Island from Earliest Times to 1700. Interlaken, NY: Empire State Books/Long Island Studies Institute, Hofstra University.

Strong, who might be described as an action anthropologist, is an advocate for Long Island native peoples. (Gaynell Stone suggests [telephone conversation with author, February 2, 2004] that Strong's zeal undermines his scholarly credibility.) Strong argues with the many historians and anthropologists who, he says, perpetuate the myth of extinction of Long Island Indians (a subsequent volume by Strong is entitled *We Are Still Here!*). This myth is rooted in a false racial concept, which holds that extensive intermarriage with blacks has so diluted the Native American racial characteristics that the present-day Unkechaug, Shinnecock, etc., are not true Indians. Strong advocates for "value-free" classification system based on self-identification and ethnicity. Strong also argues with the traditional model of thirteen tribes on Long Island existing in bounded territories. Much of the discussion concerns east- and west-end villages rather than those in central Long Island. Includes a table of colonial property transactions between natives and whites and a map of archaeological sites on Long Island (none of which are within the FIIS-Great South Bay area.)

Strong, John A.

1990 The pigskin book: Records of Native-American whalers, 1696-1721. The Long Island Historical Journal, Fall.

Strong, John

1998 We Are Still Here!: The Algonquian Peoples of Long Island Today. Interlaken, NY: Empire State Books/Long Island Studies Institute, Hofstra University.

Suffolk County Archaeological Association

1977 Readings in Long Island Archaeology and Ethnohistory(1).

Early Papers in Long Island Archaeology. Preface by Ben Werner, Jr., Forward by Gaynell S. Levine. Papers by Mark Harrington, "Ancient shell heaps near New York City," and "An ancient village site of the Shinnecock;" Foster Saville, "A Montauk cemetery at Easthampton, Long Island," and "A cache of blades from Long Island;" Frederick P. Orchard, "A Matinecoc site on Long Island;" and Henry L. Ferguson, "Archaeological exploration of Fisher's Island." None of these papers pertain to the territory bordering Great South Bay.

Suffolk County Marine Museum

N.d. Vertical files (US Life Saving Service and captains).

Taylor, Lawrence J.

1983 Dutchman on the Bay: The Ethnohistory of a Contractual Community. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. Available at the Long Island Maritime Museum Library.

A study of historic West Sayville from the early 19th century through the 1980s. The area lent itself to a detailed study because West Sayville was a culturally homogenous immigrant village with the greatest number of people coming from a small number of communities in the province of Zeeland in the Netherlands. The book looks at life in the community especially West Sayville as a contractual community with a tension between individualism and collectivism and disputes within the local Dutch Calvinist churches and how it related to their lives as baymen. The development of the Long Island Railroad's "central line" with its anticipated terminus at Lakeland, fifty miles east of New York City, had a great influence on the growth of the shell fishing industry in West Sayville, especially the harvesting of oysters which dominated at the turn of the 20th century. After the 1930s the shell fishing industry shifted from oysters to clams. The Dutchmen of West Sayville are the founders of many of the shellfish companies that are now the enemies of smaller independent shell fishermen. The book contains images and old photos of the baymen and West Sayville that are all archived at the Suffolk Marine Museum. Also included is a tax map showing the lots where each family lived in the town. The appendix explains in detail the methods the author used to gather data. A kinship diagrams shows the overlapping connections in several families in the community by marriage especially the first generation of marriages after immigration (1860-1880s).

The Argus

1898 Picturesque Patchogue: Growth and Development of the Town, Magnificent Hotels and Boarding Houses, Fine Churches and Secret Societies, Well-kept Streets, etc., v. 14, n. 43. Souvenir ed. Available at Queensboro P.L./Jamaica: Long Island Division.

Thompson, Benjamin

1918 History of Long Island from its Discovery and Settlement to the Present Time. New York: Robert H. Dodd.

Thompson quotes Daniel Denton at length. Denton, son of a Hempstead clergyman, left a written record of his travels among the Native Americans of Long Island prior to 1760. These however, were the Munsee Delaware of western Long Island rather than Eastern Algonquian groups like the Unkechaug.

Tooker, William Wallace

1911 *Indian Place Names on Long Island and Islands Adjacent with Probable Significations*. New York: G. P. Putnam and Sons.

Available at the Hallockville Museum Farm and Folklife Center. Tooker's work remains the primary source for English translation of Algonquian place names. Tooker was amongst the first people to explain that place names should not be confused with Native American tribal names by creating a dictionary-like book that gives the likely origin of the names of places on Long Island and its adjacent islands. John Strong, contemporary anthropologist specializing in Indians on Long Island, criticizes Tooker's work as being highly speculative and his methods unscientific, relying on scattered word lists in colonial records. Despite its shortcomings, it is the best source to date on this subject and is widely cited.

Torres-Reyes, Ricardo

1973 *Historic Resource Study, The William Floyd Estate, Mastic, Long Island*. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, New York District.

Torres-Reyes provides a general history of the Floyd estate down to about 1890, after which he seems to lose interest. Although he met and spoke with Cornelia Floyd Nichols nothing of their conversation is related in the report.

Townsend, E. J.

N.d. *Gunners Paradise: Wildfowling And Decoys On Long Island*. Available at Long Island Maritime Museum Library.

The author is a history researcher at the museums at Stony Brook. This book is about duck hunting on Long Island and the carving of decoys. There is a short section on the life of baymen, with accounts of baymen from the 1700s and 1800s and details of their lives. The majority of the book exhibits pictures of various kinds of decoys that were locally made for duck hunting. There are many appendices containing information about where the decoys and pictures have come from, and lists of the names of decoy carvers.

Towson, Anne W.

1995 Letter from Anne Woffard Towson, May 8. *In A Century of Beach Houses: Point O' Woods Cottages from 1894 to 1994*. Natalie M. Montgomery, ed. Point O' Woods Historical Society.

Trager, Cara S.

2004 The Price of 'Paradise.' *Newsday*, April 16, Section D:8-11.

The author interviews several families who live year round on Fire Island in various communities. The article highlights what attracts these residents to live on Fire Island and focuses mainly on the limitation and challenges to living on Fire Island such as driving restrictions and the high costs of home prices and ferry service.

Treadwell, Donald E (Chief Lone Otter)

1992 *My People, The Unkechaug: The Story of a Long Island Indian Tribe*. Kiva Monograph Series No. 8. De Kiva, Amsterdam.

The only history of the Unkechaug written by a bona fide member. Describes the Unkechaug before Contact, relationships with other cultural and language groups, losing their lands and other effects of European settlement, the wampum trade, and so on. Also recent history on the reservation, contestation and court battles, the challenges of sustaining education and keeping the people in good health. The book contains photos, in particular of the Treadwell and Viet families. In the appendix is a copy of the deed between Tangier Smith and the Unkechaug for the reservation land, a description of Poosepatuck Indian Reservation and an autobiography of Chief Lone Otter. This book is distinctive because written by a Native American from his own perspective. It provides a valuable emic perspective on Unkechaug lifeways and is useful complement to interviews with contemporary Unkechaugs such as ours with Chief Harry Wallace. It is an invaluable account of Unkechaug history and culture written from an insider's perspective.

Tredwell, Daniel M.

1912 *Personal reminiscences of men and things on Long Island*. New York: C.A. Ditmas.

Tredwell, Daniel M

1998 *Personal Reminiscences of the South Side*. In *Journeys On Old Long Island: Travelers' Accounts, Contemporary Descriptions, And Residents' Reminiscences, 1744-1893*. Natalie Naylor, ed. Interlaken, NY: Empire State Books.

Overall thin descriptions of south side places on Great South Bay. Mentions 6 to 8 houses, church, schoolhouse, and several tidal mills in Fire Place, which, bordering a "great forest." Repeats the myth that Patchogue was named for a "tribe of Indians who made it their headquarters."

Turner, Sarah Floyd

1889 *Sunny Memories of Mastic*. Unpublished memoir, William Floyd Archive.

U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service

1997 *Significant Habitats and Habitat Complexes of the New York Bight Watershed*. USFWS, Southern New England - New York Bight Coastal Ecosystems Program. Internet document,

http://training.fws.gov/library/pubs5/web_link/text/intro.htm#FINAL%20REPORT, accessed June 26, 2006.

Van der Donck, Adriaen

[1968]1841 A Description of the New Netherlands. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press

Valuable first-hand narrative description of New Netherlands, especially for ethnographic description of Native Americans living in the Hudson Valley and coastal regions of New York and New Jersey.

Vitello, Paul

1983 Newsday, Sept. 6.

Thoughtful piece on the making of the wilderness and on the conflict between scenic values and lack of access.

Vitello, Paul and Morris, Tom

1983 Newsday, September 4. First of three-article series on Fire Island.

Reviews the many prohibitions of OB. Summer and year-round residents have kept FI pretty much to themselves. Lee Koppelman says they have managed to get “butter on both sides of the bread.” Wanted protection from massive development and protection of their “splendid isolation”. Got both. Big victory this summer when Interior Secretary Watt approved a new land protection plan which promises that the government will not use its power to condemn property within the developed communities. Says Fire Island is one of the least traveled federal parks, with only two visitor areas and ferry costs. The question is, when does protecting a natural resource mean preventing the public from using it? For many years, Fire Island communities have received waivers from the Suffolk County Health department requirement that public beaches be equipped with public bathrooms. “Financial hardship is the usual reason cited.” Counting homeowners, summer renters and day visitors in the private communities, about 40,000 people visit the seashore on a typical summer weekend, half the crowd at neighboring Robert Moses State Park, which is only three miles long. Only 5,000 visit Sailors Haven and Watch Hill on a typical weekend. Suggests Ocean Beach’s restrictiveness is due partly to the work of a village administration elected in 1978 after a bitter campaign in which challengers said the village was losing its family-oriented identity. Ocean Beach is getting a reputation as a disco haven and place for pickups. Ocean Beach businessman Lee Pokoik, a 38 year-old Manhattan real estate broker, is the big entrepreneur. He caters to singles. Pokoik says half the 600 houses rented by groupers: It’s “too expensive for families here today. I cater to singles, he says. I like them; they spend money. Families don’t. The days of the family are numbered in OB. The old group hasn’t realized that yet.”

Westez, Carlos (Red Thunder Cloud, Catawba)

1993 An Ethnological Introduction to the Long Island Indians. *In* The History and Archaeology of the Montauk, 2nd Ed. Gaynell Stone Levine, ed. Riverhead: Suffolk County Archaeological Association.

Whitehouse, Beth

1993 Newsday, August 9. A Day in the Life of Fire Island: Synagogue, Firehouse in Pines, Point O’Woods Club, Belvedere (now a guest house.)

Wilson, George
1973 Long Island Press, September 24.

In a policy change, the NPS has concluded it is not worth fighting the sea any more on barrier islands. The Park Service intends to let nature work her will on seashores under park service jurisdiction.

Wittlock, Lavern A., Sr.
1973 Long Island Forum, September.

Article on Fire Island name suggests origin in Dutch, “great fier” for five islands.

Wood, Jean
1970 Kismet. Fire Island Guide. Ocean Beach, NY: Fire Island News.