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

By John Charles Witek

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

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

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

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

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

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Have you read this? - found in Spring 1993 Journal

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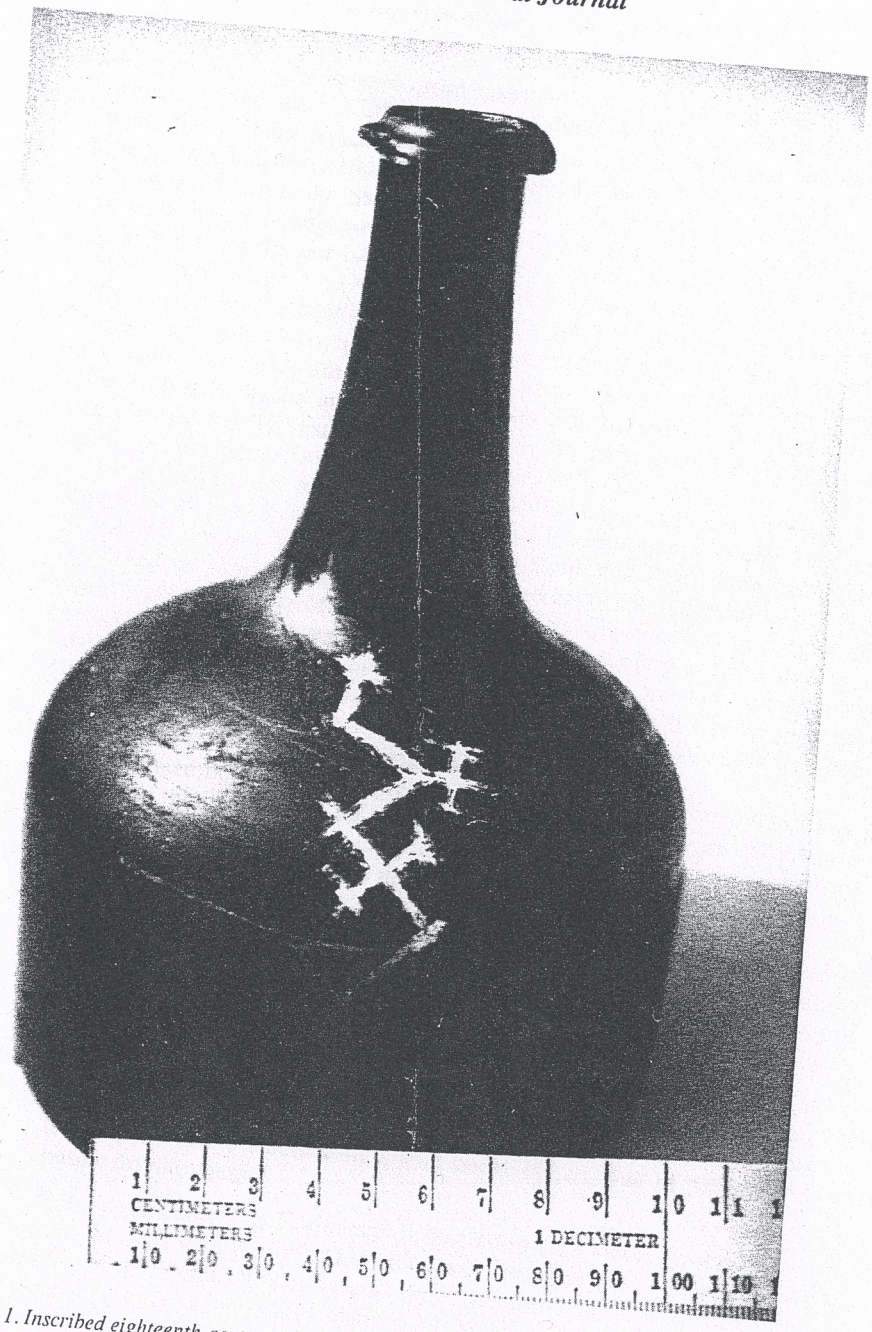


Figure 1. Inscribed eighteenth-century spirit bottle from Shelter Island, New York.

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

More relevant is the fact that glass bottles were so esteemed by Native Americans that they were included as burial accompaniments. Three were recovered at the Montauk cemetery at East Hampton excavated by the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, in 1917 and 1918.[5] One bottle is inscribed on its shoulder with the name Wobetom, which also appears on early Montauk deeds and whaling indentures.

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

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

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

The Sylvester Account Book

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

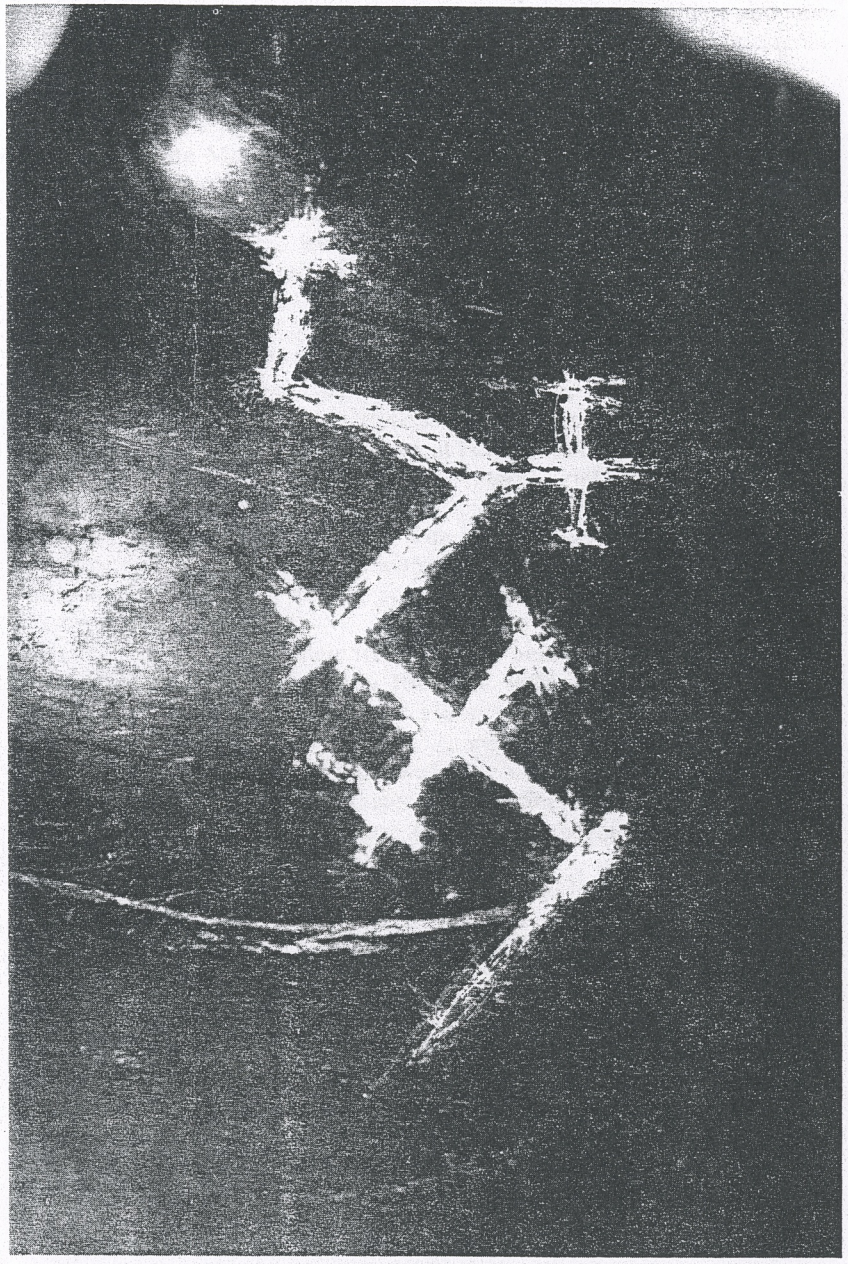


Figure 2. Detail showing incised design.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Havens Store Ledgers

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

For the most part, Indian debts were forgiven by wealthy estate owners who, we can assume, employed Indians as field hands on a *per diem* basis. The Havens's ledgers attest to the payment of Indians debts by William Nicoll,[2] his nephew, William[3], and William's[3] son, Samuel B. Nicoll, all of whom, in turn, managed the 3000-acre Nicoll plantation on Sachem's Neck, the part of Shelter Island where most Indians lived until more than half of their tightly clustered "huts and wigwams" were destroyed by fire in 1790.[17]

Before he died, in 1768, William Nicoll[2] paid Indian Jeffery's debt of one pound, one shilling, and Sam Gonoc's debt of one pound, four shillings, eight pence. Four years later Samuel B. Nicoll, who inherited the estate of his unmarried uncle, paid three pounds, twelve and six, for Sam Gonoc's debts, and, in 1774, three pounds, two and six, for Jeffery's. If Native American men averaged between two and four shillings for one day's work in the second half of the eighteenth century, as the Havens's accounts suggest, then the wages paid by William Nicoll in the 1770s must represent a month or more of work in the fields by Sam and Jeffery. More than a century after the coming of Nathaniel Sylvester, the Native Americans still were working for liquor.

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

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

Indian Names and Nomenclature

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

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

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

Conclusion

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It has been argued that Native Americans were genetically predisposed to

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

NOTES

1. William S. Pelletreau, "Shelter Island," in *History of Suffolk County* (New York: W. W. Munsell & Co., 1882), 1; for the history of Shelter Island, see also Helen Otis Lamont, *The Story of Shelter Island in the Revolution* (Shelter Island Historical Society, 1975); Helen Z. Wortis, *A Woman Named Matilda and Other True Accounts of Old Shelter Island* (Shelter Island: Shelter Island Historical Society, 1978); and Jacob E. Mallman, *Historical Papers on Shelter Island and its Presbyterian Church* (Shelter Island: Shelter Island Historical Society, 1985).

2. The bottle has been donated to the Shelter Island Historical Society for its William Havens House collection.

3. Lamont, *Shelter Island*, 11.

4. Derek C. Davis, *English Bottles and Decanters 1650-1900* (New York, 1972), 15-16.

5. Foster H. Saville, "A Montauk Cemetery at East Hampton, Long Island," in Gaynell Stone Levine, ed., *Readings in Long Island Archaeology and Ethnohistory* 1 (Stony Brook: Xerox, 1977), 17-19.

6. Wortis, "Shelter Island and Barbados," in *Woman Named Matilda*, 15.

7. Edmund B. O'Callaghan, ed. *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1884) 14: 671. William Nicoll, the patentee of the town of Islip, bought one-quarter of Shelter Island, including the part known as Sachem's Neck, in 1695, the same year that George Havens purchased another 1,000 acres; Nicoll, by inheritance, became half-owner of the island in 1706 (Pelletreau, "Shelter Island," 2).

8. Ralph G. Duvall, *History of Shelter Island 1652-1952* (Shelter Island, 1976), 13; George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, preached to Native Americans from the steps of Sylvester Manor, in 1672, and colonial /records show that Indians lived on Shelter Island during this decade. However, it seems excessive to say that before the arrival of Europeans, Shelter Island's Manhansett "tribe...could summon 500 fighting men to the warpath for the scene of savage carnage," an inaccuracy propounded originally by the Presbyterian minister, Thomas Harries, who touched upon Shelter Island's Indians in a series of "Historical Sermons," in 1871. These were subsequently published in several Long Island newspapers, and repeated by later authors.

9. Although Shelter Island's Indians clearly outnumbered both the settlers and their African American slaves, their background of hunting and gathering suggests that their presence on Shelter Island was usually in a state of flux. For several centuries before the coming of Europeans, the Indians used the island seasonally, perhaps even year-round on occasion, but ultimately they were transitory. Evidence of substantial permanence on Shelter Island, such as a "fort," horticulture, wampum making, or a contact-period site has yet to be found. Perhaps the "Manhansetts" were a far-ranging group, from Long Island's South Shore, with no extended history on Shelter Island, who simply made the best of a bad situation by negotiating with the English whom they feared and misunderstood.

10. *Records, Town of East Hampton* (Sag Harbor, 1887), 1:137, 229, 2, 408; II: 94-96

11. Gaynell Stone, ed. *The Shinnecock Indians: A Culture History (Readings in Long Island Archaeology and Ethnohistory*, Lexington, MA: Ginn Custom Publishing, 1983) 6:102, 250-251, 255, 257, 260-261; *Records*, Town of East Hampton 1: 132, 137; J. Wickham Case, *Southold Town Records* (Southold and Riverhead, 1882), 208.

12. The name "Manhansett" (sometimes spelled Manhasset, but not to be confused with Manhasset, in Nassau County) may be derived from the aboriginal *"Manhansack ahaquashu wornick,"* meaning "an island sheltered by islands" (Pelletreau, "Shelter Island," 1); interview

with John A. Strong, 6 January 1992.

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

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

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

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

17. Ibid.

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

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

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

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

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

23. Mallman, *Historical Papers*, 87.

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

A Reading of E Landscapes: Te

By Wendy Joy Darby

The highly detailed and num rich documentary source for his importance as an artist lie art. This article is based on a Preservation of Long Island "Edward Lange Revisited."

Except that he was born years are hard to document. City by the late 1860s, and i 1871. During the 1870s, he farmsteads and views, the What these early works documentary-like exactitu moved his family to New professional artist. Howeve of a child from diphther environment of Long Islan becoming a successful com and oils, and using photogr village- and townscapes.

Among the topics to be landscape gardening aro ubiquitous influence of Downing (1815-1852), ha Downingesque principle deviate from these princ question why he was so Rather than deal with observations, I wondere economic status, or of aes to "read" the painting-as-t

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