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The Heritage Industries of the Long Island Seacoast

By

Steven Lang

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in sociology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

1995

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of philosophy.

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Abstract

The Heritage Industries of Long Island Seacoast

By

Steven Lang

Adviser: Professor William Kornblum

This thesis explores the changing symbolic meanings attached to commercial fishing and the seacoast during a period of environmental and economic change. In particular, it focuses on how small-scale commercial fisherman struggle to maintain their livelihood and preserve their heritage in a period of drastically declining resources and coastal change.

The gentrification of the seacoast and the proliferation of service-based economic activities associated with tourism has displaced and marginalized commercial fisherman and their traditional style of work. Despite their declining numbers, fisherman and their occupational culture exert a powerful cultural aura which has come to play a large role in maritime heritage tourism. The more economically marginal and anachronistic their work becomes, the stronger this symbolic and cultural aura becomes. In many coastal regions, the cultural and economic logic of tourism is transforming the declining productive activity of fishing into a new form of cultural consumption. Increasingly, fisherman aren't harvesting seafood as much as

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images of the natural, the authentic, and the traditional. They have become another vanishing species, an object of visual consumption for the tourist gaze. Traditional fisherman have gone from being treated as "eyesores" that ruined waterfront views, to picturesque objects of local color and regional pride.

Drawing on ethnographic work in the Long Island coastal zone, this thesis explores the social process by which cultural practices and meanings become "traditionalized" and acquire an aura of heritage.

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There were those who said it couldn't be done
and even that it shouldn't be done

And though it seemed that it would never be
He struggled on by land and sea.

For years and years and years and years
He never wavered despite great fears

And finally he attained his wishes
he is now known as Doctor of Fishes

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CHAPTER ONE

BAYMEN AND THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF HERITAGE IN THE LONG ISLAND COASTAL ZONE

Introduction

In this work I will explore some recent variations on the theme of pastoralism. According to Leo Marx, (1963:353) the root conflict of our culture concerns the tension between technological development and nature. "The contrast between the machine and the pastoral ideal.. is the germ ...of the most final of all generalizations about America."I will explore how pastoral sentiments and myths play a role in struggles over marine natural resources, cultural identity and the politics of place in the Long Island coastal zone.

Conflicts over the definitions and use of natural resources is a clash of rhetorics. The politics of fishing in the Long Island marine commons is characterized by a constant maneuvering within and between two contradictory discourses-the discourse of rationalization and improvement and the discourse of heritage preservation and nostalgia. Both embody ambivalence.

The independent baymen of Long Island are a paradox.

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These small scale, independently employed, commercial fisherman are essentially modern day marine hunter and gatherers in an era of advancing science and technology. If it was not for their modern engines which power their small boats, it would be difficult to distinguish a modern day bayman from his nineteenth century ancestors. According to a leading marine biologist, their work is "... mainly a picturesque, individualistic,19th century folk art in a time of increasing sophisticated marine science and oceanography, biochemistry, genetics and environmental science." (McHugh 1975:1)

For several years environmental, political, and economic pressures have been making it harder and harder for baymen and their way of life to survive. At the present time, a"cultural contest" is taking place between the forces of tradition and the forces of technological rationality. This dissertation will examine how economically marginal baymen struggle to maintain their anachronistic "folk art" occupation amidst constant attempts to modernize fishing? What form does this cultural contest take and what meaning does it have for baymen and other people in the coastal zone?

Despite their declining numbers and marginal economic status, baymen exert a cultural aura which is part of the regions "sense of place." In their struggles to survive as fisherman, contemporary baymen have infused their work with

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meaning and constructed a symbolic community. Paradoxically, the more economically marginal and anachronistic they become, the stronger this imaginary community becomes. The struggles on the part of baymen to preserve their occupational heritage have acquired a powerful symbolic and mythical significance for both baymen and people in the coastal region. We shall explore the social process by which myths and symbolic meanings attached to the marine environment and the independent baymen play a powerful role in environmental and fishery politics.

In this work I shall define myths as inchoate intellectual constructions which fuse concept and emotion into a shared narrative. Myths aren't simply false ideas but ones that are so full of emotional meaning that they can influence ways of seeing and behaving. Myths simplify or "naturalize" the complexity and ambivalence which inheres in situations where the boundaries are blurred and uncertain. Myths flourish in what Victor Turner (1968:576) calls the " liminal zone" - a period or site that is" betwixt and between."

The culture of the baymen is embedded within a pastoral structure of feeling. Pastoral myths and symbols aren't free floating representations, but are rooted in particular places and circumstances. They are inextricably embedded in concrete historical and social processes. I shall explore the social circumstances from which myths emerge and the

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particular forms they take. How do they get expressed and what role do they play for baymen as well as members of suburban coastal region? How do pastoral myths exert an influence on institutional policies, as well as practical affairs? Myths have become part of the lived culture and lived experience for significant numbers of people in the modern coastal zone? How have myths become contextually embedded in the coastal community -how have they become part and parcel of the 'sense of place'?

I shall explore the emergence and persistence of one local version of pastoralism which I shall refer to as "the myth of the independent baymen." Baymen have become a pastoral metaphor for an authentic," way of life" close to nature which stands in stark contrast with the growing technological complexity of modern, urban life in the Long Island coastal zone. The occupational culture of the baymen has acquired the "rhetoric of tradition" and achieved a privileged position in coastal politics. As technological development paves over the modern coastal region and threatens baymen, pastoral images and themes of a vanishing " way of life," close to nature, have become a powerful force in symbolic struggles over the marine environment. Cultural practices and meanings associated with baymen have become "traditionalized" and taken on an aura of "heritage"

We shall explore and analyze the interplay between the process of symbolically constructing a sense of tradition

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and community on the part of baymen and social, economic and cultural changes in the suburban coastal region. The struggles to preserve the baymen's traditional way of life amidst modernizing forces is bound up in complex ways a with growing heritage preservation movement which permeates the contemporary suburban coastal zone. While this heritage movement is concerned with issues of roots, identity and meaning, it serves strategic and rhetorical ends which have political and economic implications. Less scientifically rational aspects of baymen culture which are deplored by many in the various fishery scientific communities are highly values by people involved with heritage preservation. The baymen's struggle to survive as fisherman takes the form of an appeal to tradition. In the press and local radio and television, they are often depicted as" a vanishing way of life", or a "threatened heritage". At maritime festivals and assorted cultural events, community leaders, local politicians, folklorists and assorted concerned citizens and "friends of the baymen" talk about the need to save an "ancient way of life," a "three hundred year old family tradition".In the words of one baymen," We are a vital part of the community" because we are living history". At a local cultural festival, a celebrity remarks during a "photo opportunity" that "Baymen are the true islanders...we can't let them go the way of the Indian and the "buffalo."

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The Social Construction of the Modern Coastal Zone

Commercial fishing is not an isolated activit thattakesplace on the periphery but is linked to the widersocial and economic system. It is just one activity inaincreasingly expanding and increasingly complex coastalenvironment. The multiple use, marine commons wherefishermen work is part of a larger natural and socialsystem, subject to a myriad of external and internalsocial, economic, political and technologicalchanges. While fishing has always been ahazardous occupation, increasingly the risk threateningcommercial fisherman stem from modern socioeconomic forces, not natural ones.[1] Modernizationprocesses impacts on small-scale commercialfishing in several ways. Miaolo and Orbach(1982:17) observe:

> For fishing peoples...modernization is not only the process of adopting new physical materials... and organization technologies in their occupation and in their lifestyles, but also the process of learning to work within the new political and administrative constraints and requirements imposed by the upward aggregation of management regimes...Fisherman must "modernize " in that they must acculturate themselves to the ideas and behaviors of those at all levels to which the authority and responsibility for the management of fishers have been aggregated.

Civilizing Nature. Given the steady decline in the natural harvest, and a rising demand for seafood, there is a great deal of interest in scientific mariculture-a

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technologically intensive form of fish and shellfish farming which overcomes the dependency on the wild resources by domesticating or "civilizing nature" (Mann 1991:153) Mariculture poses a major threat to the traditional work style of the baymen. Despite the proven success of mariculture, socially and politically it faces a great deal of resistance on Long Island. As we shall see, the baymen's primitivism is legislated pastoralism. It is widely acknowledged by local authorities in science and government, that constraints on mariculture are social and political not environmental or technological. At the present time, a complex bundle of institutional arrangements keeps shellfishing in the hands of baymen and constrains industrialization by imposing lease limits and restricting technological development. While these regulations are ostensibly conservation measures, their main intent is social and political- to prevent the enclosure of the marine shellfishing commons by large scale companies so that large numbers of people with little capital can earn a living on the water. The management goal of enforced inefficiency serves a social welfare function by determining that certain natural resources remain the common property of the many - not the private property of the few.

The realm of law hasn't always protected independent baymen in New York. At the turn of the century, shellfishing was a capital and technology intensive industry. Large areas

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of the marine commons were enclosed with the result that independent baymen became salaried workers and in many cases were forced off the water. We shall explore why this technological reversal occurred and what is different about the contemporary socionatural environment that baymen work in. Where does the support for "the legislated primitivism" come from given the decline in the number of baymen and their economically marginal status? A large part of the answer is found in the changing cultural significance of these baymen. As we shall see the cultural contest taking place in the marine commons between baymen and the proponents of scientific shellfish farming is bound up with struggles over the meaning of place and local identity. The march of technological progress hasn't been welcomed by all, especially by people interest in preserving local heritage and traditions.

Coastal Gentrification. Another aspect of modernization that is having a profound impact on baymen is the rapid growth of tourism, recreation, and leisure industries in the coastal zone. Increasingly, processes of consumption rather than processes of production are becoming the link to nature in modern society. Despite a steady decline in the economic value of commercial fishing and marine commerce, the sea still plays an important economic role as a realm of consumption and has become a "consumption artifact." (Harvey:1985) Increasingly, the gentrification of the

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seacoast and the proliferation of service based economic activities associated with tourism and leisure have fundamentally altered the coastal environment, to the detriment of commercial fisherman. Increasingly the economics associated with recreational or what baymen refer to as "sporty" fishing far outweighs that of commercial fishing. Commercial fisherman and recreational interest often are pitted against each other in heated controversy. As we shall see maritime heritage has become an important aspect of coastal tourism and leisure in the region. The museumization of tradition has become part and parcel of the social and material environment and is having a major impact on the work of the baymen.

Natural Resource Management

While government has a long history of managing publicly owned natural resources such as fisheries, since the 1970's its role has expanded dramatically. There has been an increase in scientifically oriented management bureaucracies as well as new forms of environmental legislation and policy at the federal, state,and local levels. In this work I shall treat the occupational culture of the baymen as one element in what Miller and Gale (1986) refer to as a "natural resource management system (NRMS)" From a sociological perspective natural resource management systems are composed of four interacting elements:natural resources, management bureaucracies, profit seeking

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industries, and diverse publics."At the core of this concept is the notion that natural resources are socially defined and therefore products of society. I also stresses the inevitability of conflict in the multiple use commons over different social definitions of nature and how it should be used. Changes in the occupational structure of the baymen are bound up with the shift from a conservationist to ecological perspective regarding natural resource management. The conservation movement was an effort on the part of leaders in science, technology and government to bring about more efficient development of natural resources. Commercial fish were like gold nuggets, valuable commodities to be recovered from a state of nature and transformed into cash. The environmental movement, on the other hand, is far more widespread and popular, involving public values that stress the quality of human experience and hence of the human environment. Conservation was an aspect of the history of production that stressed efficiency, whereas environment was part of the history of consumption that stressed environmental quality.(Hays 1988:3) Natural resources such as fisheries are no longer viewed solely as a realm of production, as "natural factories" to be managed according to the "gospel of efficiency." Increasingly, a wide range of non- extractive values such as aesthetic, recreational historic, and scientific concerns are playing a role in natural resource management. Historically, the price measure

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has not been able to account for many environmental values which are important but are too long term, too diffuse, or too uncertain. Increasingly, there is an acknowledgement that some values attached to nature are intrinsically "sacred" and not reducible to any price.

Social and cultural considerations have become mandated by law. Under the Fishery Conservation and Management Act of 1972 it is stipulated that biological considerations may be modified "by any relevant economic, social, or ecological factor(s).In a similar vein, the Coastal Zone Management Act of 1972, provides for the consideration of "important ecological, cultural, historic, and aesthetic values "pertaining to the coastal zone.

In New York, a whole series of "new natural resource laws" began to emerge in the 1970's which stressed the importance of weighing cultural and social factors in resource management policy. Instead of viewing the natural environment as a biological abstraction, these laws treat natural and cultural systems as inextricably interconnected. There is an awareness that humans are an integral part of natural ecosystems and that managing nature entails people managing people. In short, baymen are not so dependent on the realm of nature as much as the realm of law and social policy. The social world of the "independent" baymen is inextricably embedded in wider social economic and cultural changes taking place in the

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region.

Occupational Identity and Imaginary Communities.

Acquiring an identity, a culture, a heritage is a social process. An occupational culture is less a static collection of traits than a process. It is something that is constantly being created, recreated, invented, and negotiated in the process of social interaction--especially conflictual interaction. Culture is constantly created and recreated-as people become self conscious and reflective about their identity. People continually alter and invent culture as new situations arise. As Becker (1982:520) notes, new collective understandings arise within the context of social action: A group finds itself sharing a common situation and common problems..members of the group experiment with possible solutions..In the course of collective discussion, the members of the group arrive at a definition of the situation,its problems and possibilities, and develop a consensus as to the most appropriate and efficient ways of behaving. Culture is a strategic resource, a kit of tools or action strategy which people employ to make sense of and to cope with social life.(Swindler:1985)

Cultural identity is politically constituted. Impending threats can forge and help to maintain a sense of community and cultural identity where none previously existed. A threat can act as a glue which holds fragile or provisional communities together. In such circumstances, people may

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begin to reflect and negotiated the meaning of place, tradition and heritage. As Cohen observes"the strength of local culture does not necessarily diminish as the locality becomes increasingly precarious: often the reverse seems to be the case. When the maintenance of the culture becomes the effective raison d'etre of the peripheral community.(1982.7) We shall explore the process by which baymen constructing and negotiating a cultural identity under conditions of contestation. Conflictual social interaction has been an impetus for constructing and negotiating boundaries between competing users of the commons. Conflicts and impending threats from mariculture development and coastal gentrification have helped to spur on an identity of resistance.

The Long Island Baymen and Sense of Place

I will focus on two distinct geographical communities of baymen, in an attempt to capture the regional dimension of the Long Island inshore fishery and the cultural world of the baymen. While I will compare and contrast these two areas, my major aim is to widen and hopefully enrich the discussion of the role that environmental myths and symbols play in struggles over the meaning and use of natural resources in the Long Island coastal zone. While for analytical purposes, I will focus on each quasi geographical community separately, it is important to keep in mind the regional dimension of the baymen's occupational world.

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Many of the environmental and sociopolitical forces which impact baymen at the local level are regional in nature. The environmental damage experienced at a particular place is the result of complex processes from far away. While the environmental impacts are local, the sources of the problems are distant. Both communities are experiencing similar environmental pressures-pollution, coastal gentrification, conflict with sport fishing and leisure industries, and increased managerial bureaucracy, thus making the notion of local control over natural resources highly problematic. Thinking globally and acting locally is a very concrete issue for people in coastal communities. Environmental threats have helped to forged a sense of community.

Methods

My interest in this project stems from many years spent living near the water and working in many different aspects of the fishing industry on Long Island. I worked as a baymen during the heyday of clamming and am part of the history that I want to understand. There are pros and cons that inevitably stem from personal involvement but I feel that the gains far outweigh the losses. In exploring the interplay between symbolic meaning, myths and the uses of the marine environment, I relied upon several sources of primary and secondary data and utilized a variety of quantitative and qualitative research methods. This study is the result of a historical exploration of assorted

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archival and historical materials as well as life histories of baymen. I observed and took field notes of formal and informal significant events, meetings, and social gatherings at selected sites over a period of time. Whenever possible, I collected and observed published minutes of meetings, as well as video recordings of significant public events and "scenes." I talked with key actors from various sectors of this natural resource management system who play direct and indirect roles in shellfishing policy and management. Much of this study consist of quantitative and qualitative analysis of concrete cultural artifacts and aesthetic, pastoral representations of baymen.

Investigating Collective Memory and the Social Construction of the Past

While I looked to the past for clues to understand the present, this work is not be a historical analysis per se as much as it is an interpretive exploration of the process by which people symbolically construct a sense of history, tradition and community. I have investigated the meanings and functions of collective memory, myth and nostalgia in a particular time and place. In the early stages of my field work I discovered that the people I was observing had much experience with being observed. Many baymen were in fact, quite used to having their stories and occupational narratives documented, recorded, videotaped and filmed. After a while, I began to view the various folklore and oral

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history projects as far more than a source of information which supplemented my field work, a way to understand the community- they became a key aspect of the field itself. Documentation, film and oral histories in local history museums are concrete examples of how social identities and memories are actually constructed through this or that version of the past. As Fentress and Wickham point out (1992:89),"Oral history archival projects which document a way of life are often, themselves acts of commemoration, monuments to the past, as well as (or, sometimes rather than) the complex historical sources they can be when they are critically analyzed."[2]

Social memory can become inscribed in the landscape and become part of sense of place. As Hufford (1994:7) has pointed out, "Vernacular histories, whether stored in myths artifacts, festivals, or landscapes, are vital resources for the ongoing construction and maintenance of places and the social identities dependent upon them." History has given way to "histories" as groups who rewrite their past re-imagine their place in history, and challenge the dominant narrative that have been told about modernization and progress. Professionals in the field of heritage preservation through their curatorial and research activities are actively contributing to the development of the phenomenon which they are busily collecting and studying. Professionally produced festivals, cultural impact

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assessments, zoning ordinances, technical assistance to grass-roots movements, and heritage parks, are strategies for defending traditional ways of life. Such strategies help to constitute the heritage that they are defending and preserving. Heritage is not a given in the world.:in many cases professionals in the field of heritage preservation and their constituents share in the act of making it. The assorted professionals involved in the field of heritage preservation, do not discover, they constitute; and the relation of what they constitute to the "real" is not one of verification. Thus, various heritage professionals and cultural intervenors are not just observers but collaborators in the making of heritage.(Hufford:1994:5)[1]

Chapter Outline

This work will divided into three parts.

Part one. In chapter one, I shall discuss the theoretical framework on which this study is based and define the key terms of analysis that will be used. In chapters two and three, I will explore the several strains in the perception of Long Island baymen which contribute to their mythical status and cultural clout. The myth of the baymen is a signifying construct of several potential meanings operating on many levels. Myths come alive and take on meaning in the process of social interaction. Particular aspects of the myth are emphasized and take on meaning depending on the situation and circumstances.

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Part Two. The next series of chapters in part two explores the process by which selected aspects of baymen history and folklore have taken on symbolic meaning in the contemporary coastal zone. In chapters four, five and six will explore the historical evolution of the inshore fishery and how struggles over the use and meaning of the marine commons have become part of the region's collective memory and sense of place. We will focus on how the myth of the baymen plays a major role in marine natural resource policy and management issues. In particular, we will focus on how the myth of the baymen, is at the core of political battles surrounding mariculture development and other technological improvements in the marine commons.

Part Three. Chapter Seven explores how the myth of the baymen plays a role in struggles over place identity, and in the politics and rhetoric surrounding heritage preservation and tourism in the Long Island coast. Chapter eight explores the evolution of Men's Lives and the politics of heritage preservation on the East End of Long Island. Chapter ten will explore gender issues surrounding the work of "Men's Lives."Chapter eleven will be a conclusion which draws together some of the central issues. While for analytic purposes, I shall explore these different dimensions separately, it is important to keep in mind that myths are inherently fluid and discursive by nature.

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Notes

1.According to Smith (1989) "The dynamics generated from the economic, political,and technological contexts within which commercial fishing operates today rather than storms or demons pose the most critical clear and present danger." Increasingly in the various fisheries in the United States public policy decisions external to the fishery itself are having a significant effects on the structure of the fishery.

2."We may sometimes, it seem's, only be deluding ourselves when we thing we are debunking social memory by separating myth from facts; all we may get is another story. This does not mean that we must accept social memory passively and uncritically. We can enter into dialogue with it, examine its arguments, and test its factual claims. But this interrogation cannot uncover the whole truth. It is a mistake to imagine that having squeezed it for its facts, examined its arguments, and reconstructed its experiences, That is to say having turned it into history, we are through with memory.

3.In Filming the Fens:A Visual Interpretation of a Regional Character,"(1994) Burgess argues that television documentaries in the "sense of place genre" exude a "unmediated natural effect" when in fact the process of filming helps to constitute the regional character they are depicting. " People create images of places, forming impressions about the identity of landscapes, assumptions about the ways of life of the inhabitants by drawing on a rich variety of popular cultural texts. television documentaries are particularly influential in the process precisely because they appear to be showing people and places "as they really are." In fact..such processes reveal the extent to which all media text are the result of a complex series of professional, technical and social negotiations between the production team and different people with local communities."Thus, assorted "texts" can become part and parcel of the sense of place.

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CHAPTER TWO

ENVIRONMENTAL SOCIOLOGY AND THE LIMINALITY OF PLACE

Nature is so pervaded with human life that there is something of humanity in all, and in every particular

Emerson

We seem unable to escape from this perpetual movement back and forth between the culturalization of nature and the naturalization of culture. It frustrates our understanding at once of society and of the organic world.

Marshall Sahlins

Our relation to the natural world takes place in a place.

Gary Synder

We invented a nonexistent plan. But if you invent a plan and others carry it out, it's as if the plan exist. At that point the plan exist.

Umberto Eco

With this stone and this grass, with this red earth, this place was received and made and remade. Its generations are distinct but all suddenly present.

Raymond Williams

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Introduction

In exploring the interaction between work, culture and the natural environment in the Long Island coastal zone, I have selectively utilized theoretical insights from the more structurally oriented symbolic interactionist perspectives as well as the work of social geography. Both perspectives address the objective components of subjectively meaningful situations by linking experiential accounts of everyday life with larger material and ideological structures. Both offer insights on how to explore the interplay between the processes of social life and the processes of the natural environment.

In order to understand the values and meanings attached to the marine commons and some of the conflicts over how it should be used, we have to explore modern cultural attitudes attached to nature. The symbolic burdens heaped upon nature are many. People interpret nature and endow it with symbolic, cultural and mythical significance. According to Raymond Williams,"the idea of nature has been central, over a very long period, to many different kinds of thought...What matters is not the proper meaning but the history and complexity of meanings:the conscious changes, or consciously different uses."[1]

In the process of social interaction with the natural world, people continually construct and negotiate the symbolic meaning of nature. At the core of "environmental

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sociology" is the notion that natural resources are products of society and that "natural" environments are defined into being by social and cultural processes. Our "daydreams and nightmares" about the natural and the built environment are always framed or filtered through particular " rhetorics of nature "and "vocabularies of nature." (Burch 1971:67) Varying environmental contexts aren't physical things which are just "outside." Rather they are social and cultural constructions. To be sure, natural phenomenon and objects such as rivers and mountains, do have an objective reality. But however real they may be,these phenomena do not become"environments"until they are defined as such by particular societies having particular cultures which render these phenomena behaviorally meaningful [2] In the process of attaching meaning to their surroundings they interact and create, improve, alter, and recreate the natural environment. Ideas of nature are always mediated by cultural practices. Definitions of nature and how it should be used are arrived at through social processes which emerge from community. The community as such creates its environment by being sensitive to it. Mary Douglas argues "physical nature is endowed with multiple, socially constructed realities and laments that the systematic inquiry into how many kinds of constructions can be put upon physical nature" has not been a serious enterprise.[3]

Human meanings and symbols aren't just free floating

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representations outside of nature-they infuse and merge with it. Symbolic and metaphorical interpretations and meanings have material consequences and play a role in shaping the reality they describe." Nature" is shaped and reshaped in the process of interaction with the result that symbolic meanings and human experience,"inner nature", becomes part and parcel of "outer nature". In the process of symbolic interaction, cultural meanings and values mold and mirror the "natural environment".

Communities of people continually interact with and construct the places that in turn shape them. In their social practices people endow their "built" and "natural" surroundings with meaning, images, ideas, myths and symbols,and create a "sense of place". A sense of place" is a phrase which tries to capture the complex interaction between humans and the natural environment. A sense of place implies an shared emotional and symbolic attachment to a geographic locale. It is a "particular structure of feeling," which becomes part and parcel of the physical environment. A sense of place is a symbolic landscape with meaning embodied in material culture and artifacts. People are part of the places they inhabit. According to Gussow," place is a "piece of the whole environment that has been claimed by feelings," a region of which an individual feels himself to be a part. Yi-Fu Tuan's (1974:93) uses the term topophilia to describe affective bond between people and

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place, the -"feelings that one has toward a place because it is home, the locus of memories, and the means of gaining a livelihood."

The distinction between space and place is crucial for an understanding of how people attach meaning to place. Space is neutral, measurable, and quantifiable, easily contained on maps. Place is unmeasurable because it depends on the involvement of an individual. According to Klapp "space robs identity. Place on the other hand, nurtures it, tells you who you are-either " I belong" or "This is foreign to me, and I am an outsider."

A sense of place suggest a particular way of seeing, which is both reflective and constitutive, mirror and mold. According to Friedland (1992:14) ".. place is the fusion of space and experience ,a space filled with meaning ,a source of identity. It is also a specific context of our actions,a milieu, as the French say. It is outside and inside us, objective and subjective, universal and particular."

Places have multiple and at times conflictual meanings attached to them which are forever changing. Whatever their objective conditions, places are the sites of social interaction where the levelling, disruptive, and contradictory tendencies of modern culture, technology, and economy filter down and become "lived experience."

The Social Construction of Nature

According to Raymond Williams,"....the idea of nature

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contains, though often unnoticed an extraordinary amount of human history."(Williams 1980:97) It is constantly constructed and reconstructed.[4] In a similar vein, Bourdieu(1990:287) argues that "even the 'landscapes 'or 'native soil'so dear to geographers are in fact..social products of social determinants... Following this logic, and in opposition to the naively 'naturalist' usage of the notion of landscape, one would have to analysize the contribution of social forces to the processes by which a region is turned into a desert."

People "make their own geography," but not under conditions of their own choosing. (Giddens:1984:363) The ongoing interaction between cultural activity and the natural environment is a history filled with unintended consequences. Increasingly phrases such as "the death of nature", "the end of nature", and the "socialization of nature", are being employed to refer to the fact the nature has become highly artificial and that the processes of people and the processes of nature have become inextricably intertwined.[5] Ecosystems have in large part become "technosystems. According to Ulrich Beck (1992:81) "..in advanced modernity, society with all its subsystems of the economy, politics, culture and the family can no longer be understood as autonomous of nature. Environmental problems are not problems of our surroundings, but-in their origins and through their consequences are thoroughly social

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problems, problems of people, their history, their living conditions, their relation to the world and reality, their social, cultural and political situations...At the end of the twentieth century nature is society and society is also nature."

The blurring of the boundaries between the natural and the artificial has made the modern social-natural environment a realm of lived liminality. While technology and scientific expertise has totally penetrated nature, modern "socialized nature" is in many respects more unreliable, uncertain and threatening than the "old nature" (Giddens 1991:137) The unrelenting "civilization of nature," has generated widespread discontent, ambivalence and in many cases a distrust of science, technology and growth. The conflict between technological development and nature is emerging as one of the major issues of modern times. Increasingly our "daydreams and nightmares" about environmental quality and decline have come to play a prominent role in social, political and personal affairs. What has come to be known as the postmodern de-centering of activity is clearly exemplified in the modern socio-natural dialectic. Much like the circulations and flows of the modern global economy, environmental problems have come to be understood as international in scope yet intensely local in their manifestations. The idea of "thinking globally and acting locally" has become a painful reality in communities

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where invisible but toxic chemicals, and pollutants from far away impact the waters, the air and the land in ways barely understood. The interconnectedness of seemingly disparate activities and the blurring of boundaries in environmental issues has come to be viewed as both threat and promise. The amorphous heterogeneity, and uncertainties associated with environmental issues and threats has made the dilemmas of rationality addressed by Max Weber (Weber 1974:pg.144) as troubling as ever. Science gives answers about the means to master life technically but it can not address questions about the value of this technological mastery. Applied science can create a "second nature" which is more efficient and less messy than "authentic nature" but it can not answer questions about the ultimate value of this activity. As developments in biotechnology and genetic science begin to alter and make "human nature" itself an uncertain and "risky business," conflicts over values and meanings will surely rise. While the triumph of technological rationality has disenchanted nature, the psychic and social impulse of enchantment has not withered away. On the contrary, social movements with the aim of "reenchanting" the natural world have become widespread at the global and the local level.[6]

In the denatured and artificial landscapes of late modernity, pastoral myths and nostalgic yearnings for a more natural and authentic way of life closer to nature abound and take many complex cultural forms. The unrelenting

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colonization of the natural world and local cultures by global economic and technological rationalization has "reactivated cultivated cults of the natural, the pure and the authentic." (Bourdieu 1984:221) Modern environmental preservation movements, combine pastoral, anti-modern sentiments with modern scientific ecological concerns.[7]

Local Versions of Pastoralism

Myths, though sometimes presented as true, generally don't elicit belief that way. Their conviction resides not in factual veracity but in their rhetorical and their poetic power-their ability to capture and structure the imagination of a people. Myths aren't false beliefs but convincing and accepted stories of the way the world is.

Pastoral myths and a yearning to return to nature are a characteristic feature of our cultural identity and remain a significant force in American life. According to Leo Marx,

> pastoralism is difficult to define or even to locate because it is an expression less of thought than of feeling...It is widely diffused throughout our culture, insinuating itself in many kinds of behavior, It is an inchoate longing for a more natural environment...whenever people turn away from hard technological and social realities this obscure sentiment is likely to be at work.

While pastoral myths are pervasive they are by no means uniform. They have a local flavor which emerges in particular "micro- climates."[8] While pastoralism is ubiquitous, there are many versions and regional variations of it. While pastoral myths draw upon powerful symbols which

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resonate in the wider collective cultural consciousness, they are rooted in the particularities of place. Local versions of pastoralism are spatial stories and narratives of place. While nature is the master symbol, it can generate an infinitely variety of "texts" which acquire particular meanings in particular places. In many times and places, diverse groups of people have selectively drawn upon pastoral imagery and created a wide variety of pastoral bricolages.[9]

While pastoralism has deep roots, it has always been a contradictory and ambivalent cultural force. Despite its strong hold on the cultural imagination, it has eluded simple political characterization because it draws upon complex and contradictory ideological and symbolic sources. The idea of nature takes on meaning in differing social contexts, with differing social consequences. According to Gusfield, (1992:76)"..symbols and myths may appear as continuous archetypes, appearing again and again in history.... Symbols such as nature or the primitive can occur frequently in history, They exist as part of the sock of symbols, ideas, myths,and legends available to be drawn on in any given period."[10]

Pastoralism is much more than a literary convention. It is a structure of feeling which influences political thought and social behavior. It is part of the region of culture where literature, general ideas and cultural symbols

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meet.Annette Kolondy has observed that "insofar as the pastoral impulse is shared by the culture at large,it becomes a pattern by which a number of cultural artifacts are shaped." [11] Pastoral themes and images play a powerful role in the performative discourse in the politics of place and regional identity. Such themes can infuse the rhetoric of local politics and structure the way people" perform tradition." [12] Pastoral yearnings have generated a great deal of "creeping heritage" and nostalgia. In their struggles to preserve threatened and vanishing aspects of culture and nature, people are continually "imagining community." While the widespread tendency to re-establish vanished traditions and even construct new ones, has been widely documented, it hasn't been explored in the context of environmental struggles. In social environments where "... history is experienced as nostalgia and nature as regret," (Lefebvre 1991:51)) heritage preservationism takes on a great deal of meaning. Traditions don't lie down and die just because historical forces make them obsolete. In many cases, they acquire a renewed sense of life and meaning. According to Cohen (1985:50),in many cases"the symbolic expression of a community and its boundaries increases as the actual geo-social boundaries of the community are undermined, blurred, or otherwise weakened."[13] As modernization processes render communities and place obsolete they are symbolically recreated through myth, ritual and

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constructed traditions.

The past weighs heavy, but it is a peculiar rendition of the past which springs from present circumstances. Collective memory is essentially a reconstruction of the past in the light of the present. As Coser has remarked, (1992:37) "Memory needs continuous feeding from collective sources and is sustained by social and moral props....The present generation may rewrite history but it does not write it on a blank page." However one interprets the heritage phenomena, one thing is clear: the meanings attached to both the past and modern nature are modern concerns bound up with the reflexivity of the present. Reflexivity, which includes reflection upon the nature of reflection itself, can lead to a quest for the new or an appetite for the traditional. The preservation of the past is an act of creation. "Nostalgia, writes Davis, (1979:116) creates as it preserves." The past,like modern nature is never something simply there just waiting to be discovered."Remembered past like all other products of human consciousness is something that must constantly be filtered, selected, arranged, constructed, and reconstructed from collective experience." Traditions are not fixed or frozen but are part of the lived experience of people. Traditions are always "selected traditions" that contain both residual and emergent meanings which are always being negotiated in the process of social interaction. A call to tradition can

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serve diverse political, cultural and economic ends. The use of the past for strategic and political purposes is on the surface a conservative process yet it can serve radical ends.(Shills 1981:138-139) While the notion of a longstanding traditional heritage that has remained unchanged "since time immemorial" is a historic fiction, on the symbolic and mythical level it elicits resonance. The image of tradition is a means by which people struggle with the flux of change. Williams (1974:44) has suggested that " The idea of a happier past set against the disturbance and disorder of the present,...has often served to cover and evade the bitter contradictions of the time. Although we continually domesticate both the past and modern nature, in the symbolic realm, they can acquire a sense of permanence. (Lowenthal 1989:131) As we shall, see it is not uncommon to glorify "natural way of life "while simultaneously rationalizing the means to exploit that way of life.

Regionalism, Place Making and the Natural Environment

Regionalism is a theoretical framework which attempts to grasp the meaning of place at both an empirical and theoretical level. Regionalism explores the process by which people define and attach meaning to their surroundings -how they create a sense of place. Regionalism tries to grasp the social process by which people negotiate and construct a sense of place amidst the forces which undermine stable identities. Regionalism explores how cultural and symbolic

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meaning acquire a spatial dimension and become encoded in place-how they become part and parcel of people's lived experience. The regional emphasis on sense of place is good framework with which to contextualize pastoral narratives and myths.

According to Giddens people's activity "takes place" by appropriating and transforming nature within definitive context or "locales" which are physical as well as social environments. The regional framework has much in common with the early Chicago school's human ecological approach in that it tries to conceptually capture the complex interplay between the human and the natural world. According to Giddens,(1984:365) "the process of regionalization is best understood not as a wholly spatial concept but as one expressing the clustering of contexts in time-space. As such it is a phenomenon of quite decisive significance to sociology on both a theoretical and an empirical level. No single concept helps more to redress the misleading divisions between micro and macro sociological research, no concept helps more to counter the assumption that a 'society'is always a clear-cut unity with precisely defined boundaries to it." Regionalism is an attempt to overcome what Burgess called the " regrettable rural urban distinction by acknowledging that there is a lot of the built in what we call the natural environment and visa versa.[14]

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Regionalism developed in large part, as a response to the erosion of cultural diversity and the loss of meaning in a world of advancing modernization and standardization. It is bound up with the yearning for the authentic in a world of abstraction and felt inauthenticity. A key theme of regional thinking has always been the recovery of a sense of authenticity and a sense of place close to nature from a world becoming increasingly artificial, mechanized and "placeless."[15] It acknowledges that the quest for authenticity is a modern concept which presupposes widespread modernization and artificiality. While regional thinking follows in the footsteps of many who have looked to nature as a refuge from the mechanization, dehumaization, and reification of social life, it acknowledges that nature is social through and through. A regionalist perspective on the interaction between people and natural places emphasizes the indivisibility of nature and culture. As Burch points out (1971:9) "Environmental issues are linked to the ebb and flow of political life because the origins of natural resources are to be found in society, not in the earth. Unlike nature, the web of human society is woven of myth and rhetoric, of faith and persuasion, which filter and sort the meanings of man and nature. Therefore environmental crisis,like other social problems, emerge when the traditional myths and rhetorics are questioned and new ones compete for their replacement."

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Regionalism acknowledges the tension between local and universal cultural forms and that place or regional identity can not be formulated in a vacuum, as separate from encompassing political, geographic, or social realities. It must be defined in relation to an external, often imposed system of values and in relation a larger whole,a nation, a continent or a world system. "According to Foster "regionalism is a part -whole proposition:a region must be a "region within." Regionalism acknowledges the inevitable "in betweeness of place"and the blurring of boundaries in modern life. According to Paul Rabinow.

> ".. although we share a specificity of historical experience of place, however complex and contestable they may be,and a worldwide macrointerdependency encompassing any local particularity..Although we are all cosmopolitans, Homo sapiens has done rather poorly in interpreting this condition. We seem to have trouble with the balancing act preferring to reify local identities or construct universal ones. We live in between."

When talking about place it is important to stress following Tonnies(1940:18) that "..the essence of gemeinschaft and gesellschaft is found interwoven in all kinds of associations... not isolated from each other in the countryside and cities."

Mumford's Sociological Regionalism. Although Lewis Mumford has been neglected in the sociological literature, he formulated a ecologically based regionalism which presaged the recent postmodern emphasis on "soft

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technological paths" and recovering a sense of place in a placeless world. Regionalism offers a theoretical framework as well a method of analysis for analyzing the interactions between people and the natural world. The grasp of the region as "...a dynamic social reality" is at the core of his critical, sociological regionalism.Mumford described a region as a socialized environment, a product of interaction in which human history and natural history are inextricably intertwined. He argued that:

> "The human region is a complex of geographic ,economic,and cultural elements. Not found as a finished product in nature, not solely the creation of human will and fantasy, the region like its corresponding artifact,the city is a collective work of art. (Mumford:1938 pg.367)

Mumford's regionalism was profoundly ecological. He pointed out that the importance of the natural world increases with the march of civilization. "Nature"as a system of interest is one of the chief creations of the civilized man."59 His emphasis on "designing with nature" was not a call to return to a primordial nature but based on a view of nature as a social product. Regions aren't natural areas but thoroughly humanized "social habitats." "The continued culture of the land, and culture of the mind through the land is the mark of a high civilization."

Regionalism is a theoretical and practical project about discovering "place possibilities " in the midst of

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the ravages of unchecked technological growth. Mumford was aware that the fetishism of progress or what he called the "the myth of the machine" was paving over the particular and the distinctive in modern life, and yet he was against the assorted the cults of the primitive, the natural and the traditional. He viewed technological development as a necessity and argued that to be against it on principle like the southern agrarians was to "accept cultural impoverishment."

> So far from disappearing with isolation ,regional differences become more marked,as each new occupation ,each new social interest brings out a hitherto undiscovered color that modifies the common pattern. Primitive regional differences may diminish with intercultural contact:but emergent differences become more profound unless the region itself is disabled by the metropolitan effort to wipe out very other mode of life except that which reflects its own image. This is a sociological fact of universal bearing.

Regionalism stresses that places aren't just there waited to be discovered but have to be self consciously cultivated. A sense of place isn't a given but is an ongoing negotiation on the part of people that emerges in the process of social interaction.

Planning from a regional perspective was an attempt to replace "mechanical space- eaters" and to turn to "the healing order of nature, modified by human design".(pg.226) Regionalism was an attempt to grasp and cultivate differences as opposed to levelling and destroying them. Regionalism recognized:

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> the existence of real groups and social configurations and geographical relationships that are ignored by the abstract culture of the metropolis, and which opposes to the aimless nomadism of the modern commercial enterprise the conception of a stable and settled and balanced and cultivated way of life." (pg.98)

A key theme of his critical regionalism was that of the blurring of the various boundaries in the modern socio-natural world. Regionalism addressed the:

> "...breakdown of the boundary between the inner and the outer, the conscious and the unconscious, the external and the internal environment. With man their is no outer environment available except through the medium of society...In order for the outer environment to function effectively, man must seize it, assimilate it:and when this is done it is no longer an outer environment.(pg.304)

Regionalism entails thinking reflexively about a sense of place and acknowledges that ways of seeing and thinking help to create place-they are constitutive of places.

> A region is a system of interrelationships that overflow and become shadowy at the margins. This means that all boundaries in black and white are, in one degree or another arbitrary. Reality implies a certain looseness and vagueness,a certain failure of definition....Nature provides the materials.. .Conceptually and concretely, and designs the structure. The region, no less than the city, is a collective work of art. That is why it requires the actions of men, as well as the specialized knowledge of geographer and sociologist, to define it. (pg.315)

The idea that regions are inherently fluid and comprised of blurred boundaries is both suggestive and problematic for an exploration and analysis of a sense of place and regional identity.[16] What exactly is this

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specialized knowledge that helps one to understand the meaning of place? More importantly, is the issue of whose sense of place?[17] In many cases, the discovery of a regional sense of place was a fanciful product of the literary and artistic imagination. Henry Nash Smith, has remarked that the regional movement never had much substance .....efforts to 'feel that purposeful earth'...were preposterous...regionalism didn't affect anyone who didn't read. It was a fluttering of literary dovecotes and the schemes of a few well intentioned intellectuals and planners." In his study of the French Men of letters of the nineteenth century Grana remarks:

> "creatures of urban civilization that they were, the literary rebels often suspected cosmopolitanism and yearned after remote and unspoiled societies. The uniqueness of national and regional life became a stylistic and psychological passion. So did the hatred of technology, the violator of nature's mystery and integrity, and the love of craftsmanship-a personal, intimate, subjective mode of production."

While regions are abstractions which exist in people's minds who define and accept them, as a socially constructed territorial zone they can become imbued with emotion and influence social action. Mumford viewed regions as tools of thought and as a means of analysis and synthesis. Historically, a key problem associated with regionalism and the study of place attachment has been the tendency to treat ideas, metaphors, and linguistic conventions as if they were

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palpable aspects of material reality. In discussing the problem of reifying socially constructed boundaries Bourdieu argues that there does not:

> "...exist criteria capable of founding 'natural' classifications on 'natural' regions separated by 'natural' frontiers. The frontier is never anything other than the product of a division which can be said to be more or less based on 'reality'.....Everyone agrees that 'regions' divided up according to the different conceivable criteria (language, habitat, cultural form,etc,) never coincide perfectly. But that is not all:'reality 'in this case, is social through and through and the most 'natural'classifications are based on characteristics which are not in the slightest respect natural and which are to a great extent the product of an arbitrary imposition,..."

Regionalist discourse is performative discourse. it is an act of social magic which consist in trying to bring into existence the thing named, performative discourse brings about what it asserts in the very act of asserting it. Regionalization is a rhetorical strategy by which people construct and endow abstract spaces with meaning-how they create a sense of place.[18] While language is key, it must be stresses that places have multiple meanings which are continually being contested and negotiated in the process of conflictual social interaction and political struggle. While identities can become spatialized and inscribed in the geography of an area, it is important to keep in mind De Certeau's notion that, "spatial stories are encoded by a logic of ambiguity."(1984:128)

While Mumford's highly suggestive and fluid view of

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regional ecology entailed a constant shifting back and forth between conceptual categories about places and real actually existing places, it was always grounded in the real geography of a constantly changing socio-natural world.

Nostalgia and Place

Given the fact that the global and the local have become inextricably intertwined, and that local communities are shot through with distant influences, the notion of a regional identity or sense of place has become problematic. Places have become more alike in some ways and more differentiated in others. The forces of modern life both erode a sense of place and create new meanings of place. According to Sack "a sense of place has come to be fragmented into complex, contradictory, and disorienting parts. Space is becoming far more integrating and yet territorial fragmented, Places are specific or unique,yet in many senses they appear generic an alike. Places seen to be out there and yet they are humanly constructed. Our society stores information about places, and yet we have little sense of place. And the landscapes that result from modern processes appear to be pastiches, disorienting, inauthentic and juxtaposed."[19]

In theorizing about the struggle to reassert a natural sense of place in a world of flux, many theorist have utilized Kevin Lynch's notion of cognitive mapping. Cognitive mapping is the process of attaching meaning and

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significance to the environments which we inhabit-of turning empty spaces which surround us into a sense of place. Cognitive maps or "maps of meaning" are concepts which to grasp the interplay between the environmental and the subjective, the global and the local. What happens to our mental maps in a time of extreme social change and upheaval? For Jameson and others who view the "condition of postmodernity" as the extension and triumph of the iron cage, the overcoming of alienation involves the "practical conquest of a sense of place" In his essay entitled Postmodernism or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism?(1992:54), he argues that:

> "An aesthetic of cognitive mapping..which seeks to endow the individual subject with some new heightened sense of its place in the global system-will necessarily have to respect this now enormously complex representational dialectic and invent radically new forms in order to do it justice...The political form of postmodernism, if there ever is any, will have as its vocation the invention and projection of a global cognitive mapping, on a social as well as a spatial scale."

The restless formation and reformation of geographical landscapes, spurred on by nomad capitalism operating on a global scale, does not erase local differences and local identity, but rather revalidate and reconstitutes place and presents new challenges for how place and people give, and are given meaning. Giddens argues that despite the fact that places are becoming increasingly "phantasmagorical" and shot through with distant influences, there is a widespread

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tendency for people to search for ways to become "reembedded" in a local sense of place. According to David Harvey, the regionalist project with its emphasis on the recovery a sense of place is problematic under the conditions of postmodern consumer society with its ceaseless drive to commodify place. For Harvey, the regional emphasis on local practices and recovering the vernacular represents a nostalgic regression, which mimics the "condition of postmodernity" or more specifically "post-Fordism." Post-Fordism refers to a structural shift from an economy centered on the mass production of standardized products for a mass market to a more flexible mode of production based on specialized production for consumer driven "niche" markets. In this new flexible mode of production, differentiation, and heterogeneity in the cultural realm corresponds to changes in the political economic structure. According to Harvey, modern consumer culture doesn't obliterate regional or vernacular culture. On the contrary it thrives on the proliferation of localized cultures rather than on the consolidation of such cultures into one homogenous mass. In the postmodern landscape, the emergence of regional consciousness, and the proliferation of various local strategies is a form of fetishism that mirrors the needs of the post-Fordist image economy which thrives on difference. The conditions which help to erase a sense of place, are the same conditions which create an artificial one or a

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symbolically constructed geography of the mind. In a world of increasing abstraction and placelessness, the quest for a sense of place, roots and heritage-the various strategies to assert a local identity are both a reaction to and mimics the conditions of the new consumer driven, flexible mode of production. Places easily degenerate into another packaged commodity, just another niche market for the post-Fordist economy which thrives on innovation, change, and difference. Given postmodernism's tendency to draw a veil over "real history" and "real geography" there is the "...the omni-present danger that our mental maps will not match current realities."(CPM:305)

> "The assertion of any place bound identity has to rest at some point on the motivational power of tradition. It is difficult, however,to maintain any sense of historical continuity in the face of all the flux and emphemerality of flexible accumulation."(pg.303)

The culture of preservationism and attempts to protect heritage, tradition and a sense of place are fully implicated in postmodern consumer culture and suffer the same fate as other commodities in the era of advanced marketing. The conditions generated by the mode of flexible accumulation tends toward the utter dissolution of the traditional sense of place. Increasingly, the meanings and symbols of many places are being destroyed or commodified under postmodernism with the result that places are being transformed into "quaintified" postmodern townscapes that

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mimic the appearance of real places. Increasingly, distinctive landscapes are demolished, or if exceptionally distinctive, copied everywhere else. These "placey" environments are not the result of place making but rather some subtle form of cooptation by the agencies of commercial development. Increasingly what remains of old places takes on new meaning because it is identified with "heritage" and labelled with historic plaques, discussed in tourist brochures and made subject to planning controls intended to protect its distinctive features.(Relph 1992:34)

Postmodernism, as a regime of surfaces draws a veil of real geography by constantly constructing images and reconstructions, costume dramas, staged ethnic festivals,etc.

> "The irony is that tradition is now often preserved by being commodified and marketed as such. The search for roots ends up at worst being produced and marketed as an image, as a simulacrum or pastiche (imitation communities constructed to invoke some folksy past,...The photograph, the document, the view, and the reproduction become history precisely because they are so overwhelmingly present. The problem, of course,is that none of these are immune from tampering or downright faking for present purposes. At best, historical tradition is reorganized as a museum culture, not necessarily of how things once upon a time were made,s old consumed, and integrated into a long-lost and often romanticized daily life) one from which all traces of oppressive social relationships may be expunged) Through the presentation of a partially illusory past it becomes possible to signify something of local identity and perhaps to do it profitably.(pg.303)

Harvey's work follows a long tradition of distrust in the significance of images, regarding them as inferior to the

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representation of "real geography." Harvey, like many commentators of the postmodern condition, at times suffers from the same nostalgia he criticizes by idealizing a supposed past which existed before the fall into the "tyranny of the sign."

Much of the commentary on myth takes place within a myth vs reality frame of reference. Many debunkers of myths and "invented histories" while acknowledging that all traditions are selective, suggest the possibility of an ultimately knowable historical past. There is still a sense that there ought to be something that represents the "real past." The distinction between genuine and invented traditions is too rigid and is based on faulty assumptions. The imaginary is part and parcel of real geography. Culture is a human creation which is part and parcel of the ongoing symbolic construction of social life.[20] As Anderson (1983:18)notes, "All communities larger than primordial villages of face-to face-contact(And perhaps even these are imagined." Communities are to be distinguished not by their falsity/genuineness but by the style in which they are imagined." Symbolically constructed traditions are not inauthentic:rather all traditions are invented-symbolically constructed in the present and reflect contemporary concerns.[21] This idea is at odds with the notion of an easily definable distinction between authentic and inauthentic communities and places.

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Nevertheless, carrying out a Barthian social geography of myth is problematic amidst the pervasive marketing and visual consumption of place images. What does it mean to say that myth turns culture into nature when nature is socially constructed? What does it mean to "naturalize" something when nature is on the move and constantly being made and remade? Given the pervasiveness of "lived liminality", there is no fleeing from myth. A great deal of the literature which debunks myth making in particular places has become redundant given the endless reflexivity of postmodern consumer culture. Commercial culture today proclaims and advertises, rather than "naturalizes",its powers of artifice, myth, invention, simulation. As Urry has pointed out(1988), in many cases people take delight in the contrived character and artifice of place. A packaged look is just another style among many and contributes to a" post tourist experience"-in which one finds delights in the inauthentic of the pastiche surface feature of post modern life. "They know that the apparently authentic fishing village could not exist without the income form tourism or that glossy brochures are artificial reconstructions of a possibly, non existent past."

If postmodernism is truly a "regime of surfaces," can there be a depth ethnography which tries to get below the surface, to uncover the "veil imposed on real geography"? Can there be field work in an era when fields are in a state

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of flux and constantly being made and remade in an attempt to perfect an image? How does one engage in a critique of myth under such circumstances?

John Dorst points out some of the problems with doing field work in a suburban tourist site where pastoral mythology and the rhetoric of tradition has become inscribed in the landscape. He studied a tourist town which was constantly making a spectacle of itself by rewriting its history, preserving buildings and constructing new "authentic ones". It was constantly selling its image via local festivals and museums and promoting its heritage- a simplified set of images, objects and narratives which, although it appears as natural and inevitable has been selected and constructed to serve particular interest. Dorst's ethnographic site arent so much literal places as much as it was as imaginative reconstructions of an imagined past. Nevertheless, it's pastoral imagery and mythology had a very real, material dimension. Dorst argues that given the importance of tourism for the site, the failure to be like a painting would result in serious economic loss since life imitates art as a matter of economic necessity.

How does one investigate "realized pastoralism?" What happens when staged authenticity has become pervasive and people are constantly involved in "self inscription" and "writing culture"?How do you interpret a site which is always being viewed, studied, filmed, recorded, documented?

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How do you interpret "liminal places" and sites which are constantly being constructed and deconstructed? Deconstructing constructed images, events, and myths has lost its critical edge because many of the key institutions of our modern consumer are engaged in the process. Dorst argues that If the task of ethnography can be described as the inscription and interpretation of culture, then postmodernity and its cultural logics seems to render the activity of ethnography problematic if not superfluous. Many of the institutions of modern consumer culture such as advertising, niche marketing, the various forms of public relations, planning agencies, and the legal profession are constantly generating "ethnographic text" and cultural accounts of heritage, place, and history. Self documentation has become pervasive and part of the ever expanding "culture of promotion." There is a blurring of the boundary between ethnographic texts and the ever expanding promotional literature generating by the tourist industry. According to Bruner (1992) "Social scientist and tourist have much in common..Both long for the pastoral, for their origins, for the unpolluted, the pure,and the original."In a similar vein, McCannell(1976:177) remarks that "the sociologist and the tourist stare at each other across the human community, each one copying the methods of the other" as they attempt to interpret and make sense of the various sites of postmodernity. He refers to his particular method of

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analysis as that as that of the "tourist enthnographer" For McCannel,"Tourist are way ahead of sociologist and anthropologist in their attempt to reconstruct modern social structure:they are certainly better financed, better organized and there are more of them."(pg.175) What does it mean to critique a performance, a staged event, when all the world's a stage? In Dorst case, both the ethnographer and the residents of the town are caught up in the swirl of postmodern "staged authenticity"? What does authenticity mean when authentic replicas abound? Dorst's reading of the postmodern suburb which he describes as "regime of surfaces"is problematic. He doesn't describe the fragmented subjects of postmodernism as much as he reproduce them in his work. The difficulty with such an approach is that it ends up risking complicity with the forces of hegemony to which it is critically addressed. More importantly, it levels the distinction between top down official history and other histories-hidden histories-popular histories. According to (Herzfeld:1991) ethnographic explorations of contested places, should investigate as many of the competing jargons and authenticites as possible.

Many of the key words and metaphors in the postmodern debate are very, very real. They aren't just free floating mental representations. Hyperreality and myth has become part and parcel of sense of place? Assorted "tales of the field " ethnohistories, oral histories and cultural accounts

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become cultural commodities for the tourist gaze in an ever expanding postmodern museum culture. Myth and symbols are part and parcel of real geography in the postmodern world and have complex social and material impacts. Places are both lived places as well as real topos-there is an interactive dynamic between the symbolic and the material which is constantly shifting at the same time that it is quite real.

Raymond Williams, The Border Region and the Natural World

Raymond William's highly reflexive geographical way of seeing is relevant for the current postmodern discourse on the meaning of place, nature and myth. Amidst the postmodernist privileging of representations, images, surfaces and the playfulness of language, nature has become an empty signifier, hopelessly bound up with what Baudrillard calls the "rhetoric of the real." While the postmodern world of hyperreality spells the end of nature, and its replacement with seemingly free floating signs and images of nature, it is important to keep in mind what William's refers to as " The absolute founding presumption of materialism: namely that the natural world exist whether anyone signifies it or not."(Williams 1979 pg.167-168) [22] In a world where the borders between the real and the imaginary, the natural and the artificial, country and city are becoming increasingly blurred, Williams's highly reflexive style of cultural materialism offers a method for

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analyzing representations and images which is historical, conscious, and political. His emphasis on the border region as a fluid conceptual framework is suggestive for a historically grounded regional ethnography that can capture the complexity of a sense of place at the level of lived experience.

Williams repeatedly pointed out that one of the keywords that was missing in social and cultural theory was nature. In his writings he discussed the complexity and ambiguities attached to the word. For him, nature is one of the most common and one of the most complex words in the English Language. Of all the key words which he "deconstructed",the idea of nature makes them seem comparatively simple. For Williams there are many natures with multiple meanings attached to the word. The most basic common sense ideas of 'nature ' and science are historically constituted and socially changed and contested. He discussed the various interpretations of nature-its "auratic" qualities that have inspired an endless stream of pastoral and counter pastoral writings which have influenced the sense of place.

> "Out of the ways in which we have interacted with the physical world we have made not only human nature and an altered natural order; we have also made societies. It is very significant that most of the terms we have used in this relationship - the conquest of nature-are derived form the real human practices i.e.relations between men and men." (CC pg.84)

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William's analysis of the complexity of the relationship between the culture and political economy, becomes more powerful when placed in the context of his emphasis on ecology and the natural world. He always questioned the blindspot in Marxism which emphasized growth and a particular version of progress which saw the domination of nature as a necessary precondition. He constantly struggled with reified categories and rigid dualism and stressed the need for a radical political ecology that would capture complexity and ambiguity in the historically constituted interaction between people and the natural world. "It would be ironic if one of the last forms of the separation between abstracted Man and abstracted Nature is an intellectual separation between economics and ecology."(1984:84) He pointed out that "the danger of the environment are clear and our ideas have to shift. We have to radically rethink "...our insane overconfidence in the specialized powers of metropolitan industrialism."(1973:301) The possibility of recovery to bring about a greening of the country and the city,"to bring out and build their best qualities" and to ward off destruction "a very complicated struggle reaching into every part of our lives".(CC pg.302)

He turned his theoretical gaze to the split between country and city, the built and the natural and showed how these seemingly separate categories are indissolubly linked. He referred to nature as a cultural production and

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constantly pointed out that there is"an awful lot of human history in what we call Nature"-a lot of the built environment in the natural environment. In discussing the environmental impact which local sheep farmers have had on the "natural environment he argued that:

> " When I see the amount of hedging and ditching that goes on in our valley, I know what would happen if, for their own reasons, the sheep farmers were not doing or paying for it...It is important that some "wild" places should be kept open and within the forms of natural growth....There is not much wilderness in this anciently worked island, and most of it is a man-made facsimile of the real thing, but we might find there was too much for most taste if this kind of tending stopped. When I see the amount of work on urban parks and gardens publicly paid for as a matter of course, I wonder at the common urban blindness to all this work that actually produces and preserves much of this "nature" that visitors come to see.

For Williams the real merits of many of the rural writers was their "insistence on the complexity of the living natural environment"(CC pg.300) At the same time he was aware of the powerful almost universal tendency to mystify the natural by juxtaposing and contrasting it with the so-called artificiality of the city.

> On the country has gathered the idea of a natural way of life: of peace, innocence and simple virtue. On the city has gathered the idea of an achieved center:of learning, communication, light. Powerful hostile associations have also developed: on the city as a place of noise, worldliness and ambition;on the country as a place of backwardness, ignorance, limitation.

In his highly reflexive mode of cultural analysis, Williams always focused on the local and the specific

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aspects of place. His notion of a "structure of feeling" is key aspect of his cultural analysis. His use of structure is idiosyncratic. It is an attempt to grasp the specificity of lived experience. It shares something of the meaning " sense of place" but goes beyond it in several respects. It is a concept which ties to captures meanings and values as they are actually lived. Structure of feeling differ from concepts such as world view or ideology because they are just emerging, still implicit,and not yet fully articulable.Instead they interweave feeling and thought as to make them indistinguishable. Williams stressed the need to look at "structures of feeling" in historical and spatial context and to "deconstruct" keywords and cultural representations which stand out and take on meaning in concrete and historically specific places. William's views on the traditional, the residual, and the emergent can offer some insight into a critical regionalism which takes into account the historical and the dynamic aspect of a particular region. The focus on the tension between the pull of the past, the residual and the emergent possibilities is an attempt to chart the dialectic between continuity and discontinuity. He focused on what is emergent in a setting from the interaction of well-defined dominant and residual formations with that which is not quite articulable.

Postmodern Social Geographer. His "ecological ways of seeing,"was an attempt to grasp the border region of the

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socio-natural world. He was keen on the nuances of places. He spoke of the "paradox of place" and tried to articulate a way to grasp the in-betweeness and hybridity of places. His style of observing "structures feeling," was an attempt to ground social interaction in the particular, to read the "sense of place."[23] He showed how "...there are many questions between identity and rootedness of certain kinds and these relations apply and affect us across all the borders of our lives...But always one way of approaching them is to see what is happening where you are. Sometimes, when you do this you find that the most local is also the most general."

The border region is a suggestive metaphor which operates on many levels. It has counterparts in the sociological notion of the stranger and the marginal man. It captures the interplay between the local and the global, the heightening of a sense of place as well as the experience of cosmopolitanism at the level of lived experience.

There was a strong connection between William's personal identity and his theoretical position. He personalized his research and focused on his "roots." It is precisely this identification with his method which gives his work power. He lived and worked in multiple border regions and at times suffered from ambivalence and conflict over the divisive tendencies of modern life. He could write of the need to overcome divisions, split identity, and

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reified dualistic thinking. He wrestled with nostalgia and mythical thinking, because he understood it's destructive tendencies so well. He could speak critical of the mystifying power of nostalgia because at some level he was firmly its grip.

Williams struggled with articulating and exploring the meaning of community, nature and place throughout his life. In exploring the historical encodings of these key words -in deconstructing and contextualizing the contrast of country and city, the built and the natural world, his work points to the complexity and ambivalence of living in the various "border regions"-those places in between. According to Eagleton,"Long before the rush to deconstruction Williams 's work was troubling the firm demarcation between 'inside' and 'outside' in the indeterminate doubleness of its discursive sites: Wales/England, city/country, literature/culture, working class intellectual." While he deconstructed the pastoral and showed it to be a historically constituted way of seeing, he could also point out that it contained a kernel of truth. He was nostalgic over the loss of an imaginary community- the way things should have been-the border region between what is and what should have been. Between the romantics and scientific socialism, fact and fiction. The cross pressures of William's needs carried him into the "border country":between custom and education, work and ideas, love

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of place and experience of change. Samuel has remarked that William's versions of green socialism was about a "recovery of a lost wholeness." He was attached to the lost world of his childhood which infused his love of the land and a deep connection to place. In William's works their was a yearning, almost an obsession with the sense of separation and loss. Marshall Berman, in a sympathetic review of William's The Country and the City has remarked that the work was disingenuous because he lived in the border region within and projected it outward-he displaced his feeling of separation and division and turned it into a historical trope and narrative. According to Berman:

> "the knot that bound him to the land, and to his past, has been cut, and he himself has helped to cut it. To believe that he can tie it again now ..is to create yet another form of pastoral-and another mystification. Like the rest of us, Williams must live with his nostalgic yearning:the green fields of childhood are forever beyond his reach.(86-87)[24]

William's living and thinking in the inherently ambiguous border country, his perpetual wrestling with his own nostalgic yearning, was a not an inconsistency but a source of strength which enhances his geographical way of seeing.[25]

Traditions may be fabricated from the top or have more spontaneous origins. While there is a distinction between the invention of history from above vs the invention of history from below, both are strategic uses of a symbolic past or an imaginary community. Pointing out that traditions

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have been invented doesn't get us very far. As William's reminds us,(1973:23) all traditions are selective:the pastoral tradition quite as much as any other...We must not look..at what the country was really like: that is a utilitarian or materialist, perhaps even a peasant response." He insist that instead we should explore the structure of feeling which from which the various pastoral metaphors and mystifications emerge. It is not a matter of decoding a false representation and laying bare the reality it conceals. There will always be representations. They are part and parcel of the socio-natural environment.[26] In exploring the interplay between symbolic meaning, myth and place, it will be assumed, following Williams, that particular places are multifaceted and have multiple histories encoded in them. Myths might be a free floating and shimmering presence but they have empirical manifestations. They can become part and parcel of regional identity and sense of place. Metaphorical ways of seeing can have real geographical impacts which can alter and reshape places. At times pastoral myths can alter the reality they are supposedly representing. They then become a "realized myth". Myths can direct social conduct and become "metaphors we live by". While there is a constantly shifting quality to place myths, sometimes they become "dead metaphors."

Myths don't appear out of thin air, they emerge from particular material and social environments. Myths may seem

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to have a kind of floating life of their own but they need always to be anchored back in the realities that produce them. According to Williams (1989:178)

> "The analysis of cultural representation is not a subject separate from history, but that the representations are part of the history, contribute to the history, are active elements in the way that history continues;in the way forces are distributed; in the way people perceive situations, both from inside their own pressing realities and from outside them."

The feeling of lost authenticity of "modernity" smothering some essence or source, is a pervasive theme in modern thought. According to Williams, the constant nostalgia and longing for a lost golden ages is a repetitive, pastoral "structure of feeling." In many cases, nostalgia is not just associated with a melancholy longing for a particular past but also for a specific place.[27] Given the resilience of pastoralism, William's takes it seriously rather than merely dismissing it as a nostalgic myth. When age old traditions are sometimes conjured into existence long after the event, the circumstances of their creation throw as much light on the times in which they were invented and accepted as they do on the times to which they ostensibly refer. Williams argues that:

> "The structure of feeling within which this backward reference is to be understood is then not primarily a matter of historical explanation and analysis. What is really significant is this particular kind of reaction to the fact of change, and this has more real and more interesting social causes.36

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Polarized images nature/culture, city/country and work/play are entwined with the many other ambiguities of local identity and become bound up with the ongoing process by which people negotiate their sense of place. In imagining community people constantly negotiate borders and create narratives of community.

Thinking Regionally About the Long Island Coastal Zone

Regionalism as presented here is a method of analysis which tries to grasp the "lived ambiguity" of the various border regions and the local strategies by which people negotiate their meanings in social interaction. Critical regionalism attempts to capture the blurring of the boundaries between the city and the country, nature and culture, work and play at the level of lived experience. Making distinctions and creating "metaphors to live" by are "cultural tools" which enable people to construct and maintain boundaries.

In the Long Island coastal zone, conflicts over the meaning and use of marine natural resources have become part of an ongoing discussion about the Island's heritage and sense of place. A reflexive regional ethnography is a good way to investigate the process by which people struggle with

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and negotiate meanings of place. As Marcus and Fischer (1986:156) point out:

> "A return to local culture ,and to some degree,the past upon which the appeal of regional identity depends, is an ideal topic for a critical ethnography which seeks to expose the ways the notion of culture itself is conceived as a commonsense concept, deeply implicated in the political economy of contemporary American society."

Given that local cultures rooted in history and place are inherently in a state of flux and fluidity, it is necessary to engage in a "constructive use of desconstruction."

> "To document the stabilization of identity in an essentially deconstructive world is a primary task of all ethnography...the struggle to establish identity does not rest on some nostalgic bedrock of community..but arises inventively out of the same deconstructive conditions that threaten to pull it apart..."Marcus 1991:326)[28]

Myth making or the construction of spatial stories and narratives is very much a part of the lived experience of many people in the coastal zone. It is a structure of feeling that saturates the local landscape which baymen live and work in. Staged authenticity and imagining community doesn't take place in a cultural vacuum. If baymen engage in a form of staged authenticity, their performances take place within particular framework of symbolic meaning. Pastoral performances occur because there is a large audience starved for tradition and that the "jargon of authenticity" and the rhetoric of heritage has become pervasive. To paraphrase Goffman although people define

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their situations, sometimes a particular definition is in charge of the situation.[29]

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Notes

1. Williams,Raymond. 1980. "Ideas of Nature" in Problems in Materialism and Culture. London:Verso pg.68

2.Firey:1948.pg.263. In claiming that nature is socially constructed I am not arguing against the physical and material reality of the natural world. As fine points out in Authenticity and the Experience of Natural Places,(1993:156),"although the interpretive significance of place does not derive form the noumenal reality of the location as a physical space, meaning does become attached to place so that it becomes firmly linked and unquestioned by actors."

3.Douglas, Mary. 198 Rules and Meanings. pg. 10

4.According to Smith (1984:32)" The production of nature is indeed paradoxical. Nature is generally seen as precisely that which cannot be produced: it is the antithesis of human productive activity. In its most immediate appearance, the natural landscape presents itself to us the material substratum of daily life...But with the progress of capital accumulation and the expansion of economic development,the material substratum is more and more the product of social production..In short when this,immediate appearance of nature is placed in historical context,,the development of the material landscape presents itself as a process of the production of nature." Barthes's (1972) use of "naturalization" as a form of ideological mystification relies on the notion that "nature" is that which cannot be produced-nature lies beyond culture and history.

5 Giddens,A 1991; Merchant,C 1980; McKibben,B 1989; Beck,U 1991.

6.The idea that myths would disappear with the progressive disenchantment of the world through science and technology now seems exaggerated -many speak of the persistent drive to reenchant the world. According to Benhabib 1993:68) Modern society appears".. just as burdened with myths,rigidities,and developmental constraints as modernization theory had once diagnosed to be the case for pre-modern" societies.

7.Hays,S 1988; Botkin,D 1990; Sirey,J 1984; Burch,W 1971; Worster,D 1979.

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8.When Barthes wrote Mythologies 1972(1952) over thirty years ago he resigned himself to the fact that in his generalized reading of the signs of contemporary culture he was not "able to carry our any real study of the social geography of myths." While the ideological themes and structures underlying the myths of contemporary consumer culture are pervasive and seemingly natural, they are by no means uniform. He acknowledged that, "Every myth can have its history and its geography; each is in fact a sign of the other...thus "it is perfectly possible to draw what linguist would call a isoglosses of a myth, the lines which limit the social region where it is spoken.As this region is shifting, it would be better to speak of the waves of implantation of the myth." Thus,in modern consumer culture, "the social geography of myths will remain difficult to trace as long as we lack an analytical sociology of the press."(pg.149-150)

9.In "What is Pastoral," Alpers (1981) observes that there as many versions of pastoralism as there are theorist who write about it.

10.Myth suggest that some of the imagery used in pastoral performances are deeply entrenched. Short argues that myths are stories that are more widely shared ,ideologies have a more limited production and a more selective quality. Myths of nature suggest a wider and possibly deeper appeal. While spatial stories have a local and regional flavor, they draw upon a powerful master symbol-Nature.

Many in the field of American Studies have argued in favor of replacing the less critical term myth with the more critical, demystifying term ideology. The myth-and-symbol school exemplified by Leo Marx and Henry Nash Smith and other pioneers in American Studies,has been criticized for the idea of a monolithic national character with its tendency to overlook the disparate polycultural character of American history and culture. The proponents of myth-symbol scholarship have tended to concentrate on works of literature -and often literary classics-to make general claims about all of American culture and its mythic structure form the seventeenth to the twentieth century. According to Brantlinger(1991), Marx and Smith were naive in using myth and have now been convinced that ideology is the better term. The distinction between myth and ideology is confusing especially since many people use the terms interchangeably. Barthes notion that myths "naturalize" the historical and contingent aspects of culture into nature was an alternative term for a repressive ideology. Many scholars interested in myth and symbols have modified the approach - they are not as interested in generating broad hypothesis but in seeing how specific ideas about the past function for limited groups of Americans in particular settings.

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Moreover, they have focused on both popular and great literature, film, advertising, and works of scholarship as opposed to an exclusive focus on high culture.

It is my feeling that regionalism addresses this shortcoming by focusing on local versions of pastoral mythology. 10.

11. Even though pastoral is concerned with the natural,it can deal as easily with urban primitivism as the wild west." Pastoral styles have played a large role in suburban development and modern landscape planning. Thus,pastoralism as a concept, because of its amorphousness can be applied to everything, including apparently unnatural things.

12."The cultural symbols and meanings that order experience do not exist in a vacuum...Symbols take on meaning that, implicitly or explicitly, have a structural as well as a cultural meaning.Not only do they order experience ,but they order it in distinction from other meanings and from others who manifest different meanings." (Gusfield:1992)

There is a long history of what are typically thought of as contemporary postmodern themes. As Leo Marx argues the focus on the persistence of pastoralism could serve as an antidote to "presentism" of much work in the field of cultural studies. Shields (1991) speaks of place myths and shows theoretical continuity between older approaches to environmental meanings and postmodern approaches. He describes various "places on the margins" with a hundred year history of lived liminality. It is important to remember that contemporary myths or ideologies attached to nature are in many cases the most recent variations and re-inventions of a longstanding themes in Western Culture. Regarding the American cultural landscape, Perry Miller has remarked(1964:208)"American self recognition is essentially an irreconcilable opposition between Nature and civilization-which is to say, between forest and town, spontaneity and calculation, heart and head, the unconscious and the self-conscious, the innocent and the debauched, We are heirs of Natty Bumppo, and cannot escape our heritage."

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13.As Cohen observes, (1982:7)the strength of local culture does not necessarily diminish as the locality becomes increasingly precarious;quite often the reverse seems to be the case,when the maintenance of the culture becomes the effective raison d'etre of the peripheral community. He also points out that "people become aware of their culture at its boundaries."

14.According to Giddens,(1984:366)" There are interesting parallels between the work of Vidal, based mainly on rural environments, and that of the Chicago School, based upon urban ones."

15.In calling for a regionalist perspective Flores (1994:3) argues "..the particularity of distinctive places fashioned by human culture's particular and fascination interpenetration with all the vagaries of topography, climate, and evolving ecology that define landscapes- and the continuing existence of such places despite the homogenizing forces of the modern world-ought to cause environmental historians to engage in writing "bioregional histories."

16.Recent work in the area of the field of Appalachian studies illustrates some of the problems associated with regionalism and the tendency to blur the boundary between cultural representations and reality. Many have argued that the existence of Appalachia as a separate region may never have been anything but a cultural construction induced by interventions from the outside-specifically be a class of cultural intervenors. In his book
entitled that the Invention of Appalachia Batteau, argues that "Appalachia is a creature of the urban imagination. The folk culture, the depressed area, the romantic wilderness, The Appalachia of fiction, journalism, and public policy, have for more than a century, been created, and forgotten and rediscovered ,primarily by economic opportunism, political creativity, or the passing fancy of urban elites." Thus Appalachia, much like "nature", "wilderness", and other powerful symbols, is as much a state of mind as it is a material entity.

17. We will discuss this further when we speak of pastoral myths as 'spatial stories' about the people but not by or for them.

18.See Jones,Suzi (1976) Regionalization: A Rhetorical Strategy and Bourdieu's (1991) discussion of performative discourse and the social construction of regions.

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19. While some see the erosion of territoriality at the hands of the modern communications technology, others see resilience of localities. Regional identities and localities persist despite force that threaten to undermine them .It is likely that both processes may be going on concurrently.

20.Clifford,J 1988;Handler,R:1985 Fine,G.A 1990, Cohen,A 1985; Gusfield,J 1975 ;Foster,S 1988; Batteau,A 1990; Whisnant,D 1983.

21.The preoccupation with the authentic is a historically specific phenomenon. There are multiple jargons of authenticity and many varieties of "staged authenticity."Kirshenblatt-Gimblett argue for turning the noun into a verb i.e.authenticate. Thus something becomes authentic when a professional in the culture industry designates it as such. As we shall see, in the Long Island coastal there are plenty of experts involved in authenticating heritage.

22.Williams term for hyperreality or the "society of the spectacle" is the "dramatized society" He notes that with the advent of television drama is no longer a local or occasional production of images ,but rather is in quite new ways built into the rhythms of everyday life...till the eyes tire ,millions of us watch the shadows of shadows and find them substance."

23.William's has remarked (1974)"People have often asked me why, trained in literature and expressly in drama, making an ordinary career in writing and teaching dramatic history and analysis, that I turned to ..what they would call sociology...I could have said ,debating the point, that Ruskin didn't turn from architecture to society:he saw society in architecture-it its styles,its shaping intentions, its structures of power and of feeling.its facades and its interiors and the relations between them;he could then learn to read both architecture and society in new ways. But I would prefer to speak for myself."

24.In a review of the Country and the City, E.P Thompson writes that after reading the book we are left with a "final difficulty not overlooked by Williams ,but the most critical of all..For we are trapped, as he has shown within certain structures of feeling:the prevailing rationalizing urban mode on the one hand,the evasive, retrospective rural mode on the other, and you can't argue people into a new structure of feeling.What is needed ,at the end of the

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book,is not an argument but a poem or a novel, Border Country rewritten form the author's new standpoint."William's did this in his posthumously published People of the Black Mountains, a two volume unfinished novel.

25.Clifford (1985) has remarked that William's Country and the City was a work of critical nostalgia.

26.In a similar vein Bourdieu argues suggest as corrective to the endless debates over the reality vs the representation of reality, social analysis should include in reality, the various interpretations of reality
Haraway points out that at times representations and metaphors can become new realities. According to Cosgrove and Daniels (1988:1) " A landscape is a cultural image,a pictorial way of representing,studying or symbolizing surroundings.This is not to say that landscapes are immaterial...A landscape park is more palpable but no more real,nor less imaginary than a landscape painting or poem. Indeed the meanings of verbal,visual,and built landscapes have a complex interwoven history....and of course ,every study of landscape further transforms its meaning,depositing yet another layer of cultural representation "

27. In speaking of tension between the universal and the particular dimensions of cultural symbols, Williams points out that," Clearly the contrast of country and city is one of the major forms in which we become conscious of a central part of our experience and of the crisis of society. But when this is so, the temptation is to reduce the historical variety of the forms of interpretation to what are loosely called symbols or archetypes:to abstract even the most evidentally social forms and to give them a primarily psychological or metaphysical status. This reduction often happens when we find ceratin major forms and images and ideas persisting through periods of great change. Yet if we see the persistence depends on the forms and images and ideas being changed, though often subtly, internally and at times unconsciously, we can see also the persistence indicates some permanent or effectively permanent need, to which the changing interpretations speak. I believe that there is such a need and that it is created by the processes of a particular history.....
We don't want the permanence without the history. We need to explore the coexistence of persistence and change .... We have to be able to explain in related terms,both the persistence and the historicity of concepts. 288

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28.Clifford remarks that (1988;12)"Claims to purity are always subverted by the need to stage authenticity in opposition to external, often dominating alternatives....If authenticity is relational, there can be no essence except as a political,cultural invention,a local tactic." Hence, the common usage of "strategic essentialism" among a wide variety of cultural activist. Identities aren't simple and fixed but rather "multiple and fluid or negotiable and that the same individual or group may privilege one identity over another according to the situation and the moment. Staged authenticity and the performance of tradition is always a form of "strategic essentialism"i.e. a form of "naturalization."

29.For Goffman meaning is embedded in situations, not created anew in each interaction. "Instead, then, of starting with the notion of the definition of the situation we must start with the idea that a particular definition is in charge of the situation...(1961:133) In Frame Analysis (1974"1-2) he argues in a similar vein that people to not make meaning in a cultural vacuum but draw upon cultural frames."Presumably, a "definition of the situation" is almost always to be found, but those who are in the situation ordinarily do not create this definition, even though their society often can be said to do so; ordinarily, all they do is to access correctly what the situation ought to be for them and then act accordingly."

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CHAPTER THREE

THE BAYMEN OF LONG ISLAND

> Living history'-despite or because of the oxymoron-is a trope which no sign of exhausting its imaginative appeal.
>
> Raphael Samuel

Introduction

The small scale, commercial fisherman who work the inshore waters of Long Island are called bayman. Baymen are independently employed workers, who own their own boats and equipment. Unlike their offshore counterparts, who travel far out into the ocean in larger vessels for days, weeks, and sometimes months at a time, baymen work close to shore, often within sight of land, from small boats on a daily basis. [1]

Gaining entry into the occupation is relatively easy, and inexpensive. The baymen's tools and equipment are quite simple and not especially unique, although they reflect local conditions. While baymen are far from being wealthy, they are free from time clocks, bosses, and routine work. Being a bayman is attractive to those attractive to those who value personal freedom and independence more highly than making money. Being one's own boss, even if it is on a part time basis, is key. In the words of a baymen who works the waters of the Great South Bay:

> " No matter what you're doing- whether it be potting eels, trap fishing or digging clams, I

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> think the word baymen and independence have to go hand in hand."

Many baymen have had experience with various types of work and often make a distinction between working on the water and "real jobs." In their occupational narratives, baymen typically emphasize cherished aspects of their work- their fierce independence, their love of nature, and their hatred of rules and regulations- by contrasting it with the time-clock bound, subordinate indoor life of the factory worker. A baymen, who left a higher paying job to work on the water remarked,

> "They don't call us independents for nothing, We're free spirits who work when and where we want to, not when some bureaucrat blows a whistle."

Another baymen of 22 years tells of how he once left the bay for a land based job that paid $23 an hour.

> "I didn't have my independence. I wasn't raised that way, I had to go back out to the bay."[2]

Another bayman argues that,

> "While there are plenty of hard times,I got nobody tellin me what to do, where to go, or how to do it. That's what I like about fishin."

Stuart Vordo, a baymen from the East End, speaks of" peace of mind, and a real, real heavy sense of freedom. The only individuals I have to deal with are the gulls, and I don't understand them, and they don't understand me, and we get along fine." [3]

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> "Most of the followers of the bay are the salt of the earth. They come from old stock and they're fiercely independent and proud of the freedom that's associated with their work."

ollowing the water as a baymen requires versatility. Bayme are constantly adapting to a changing socio-natural envirnment. Baymen have an intimate knowledge of the constantly shifting rhythms and cycles of the inshore waters. They are occupational pluralist-jack of all trade workers who engag in a wide variety of fishery activities depending on the sason, law, and optimal combination of ecological and marke conditions. Their occupational identity extends beyond the secies caught and the gear type used. Baymen are more than lam diggers, scallopers or bass fisherman. According to McCay(1983:20)

> "Pluralism, opportunism, and a preference for following the bays" rather than going to distant ffshore waters continue to mark the work style of he baymen. In the statistics of landings and ffort, each of the species and gear-types has its wn history. To treat them separately, however, is o misrepresent the meaning of baying, for which it s the bundle of possible things to do and the ight to do them that count the most."

To follow the water is to follow he seasons. "Baymen do everything" says an East Hampton bayme." You are your own boss, on your own time to come and go s you want, but you must work as the season changes. To make a living a fisherman has to do something everyday"

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Another baymen remarks that:

> ... being a fisherman imore than having a job, it's a lifestyle, It's not something leave at the office and don't think bout..your much different than a 9-to-5 job. It is your personal life. It's all encompassing...In the rest of the world ,people are not being paid for producing. You show up to work, you get paid .And as a fisherman, you can work hard all day and not get a penny. I believe in producing,in hard work.In a sense, fisherman represent that...
> I also feel that physical work can be very satisfying. A fisherman has to be very much in touch with the environment and what's happening...you have to be in touch with the seasons. There's more to it, but ..you have to have a certain amount of patience...and you have to stick to it. All the time even when things aren't going right.,your gaining experience.And you have to be very versatile.[4]

The term baymen is locally derived and used throughout the area known as the New York Bight. While baymen have occupational counterparts in other parts of the coastal zone, such as New England or the Chesapeake Bay area, these fisherman are not called baymen. While harvesting the sea has played an important role in the economy and culture of Long Island from pre- colonial times until the present, the term baymen is of recent origin, and came into vogue in the early 19th century. In many respects, the 19th century baymen were similar to the baymen of today in that they were

> "..a rugged type of men who braved the weather at all seasons in open boats. For nine months they lived on the profits derived from the oyster beds, and dependent for the other three upon clamming and fishing. They were poor for the most part, but independent masters of their own time and tools"[5]

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> It is a most difficult matter to determine how many men are professionally engaged. The men who fish are also by times oysterman, farmers, clammers, yachtsmen,and gunners, following either of these occupations as they may feel at different times inclined...Goode and Collins 1887 22-23 on Long Island Baymen [6]

Social Identity, Environmental Politics and the Sense of Place

The relationship between the bayman's occupational identity and the community is complex. The baymen's occupational versatility complicates the notion of territorial based community. Baymen are entangled in a web of group affiliations. The boundaries of the baymen's occupational community are constantly shifting. Because of the particular nature of modern environmental problems, baymen are members of multiple associations and alliances both formal and informal.

While there is distinctive occupational identity and ethos which characterizes baymen across the island, there are traditions within traditions and variations of baymen culture rooted in the particularities of place.

The several towns of Long Island each have their own baymen associations. At times, baymen have organized and banded together to fight specific issues and threats, but cooperative efforts have been sporadic and short lived. There is an extreme tension between their independent spirits and the values attached to cooperation. As we shall see, it is this independent spirit which has taken on a

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mythical quality in the local cultural imagination. Being on the border between these opposing positions has benefitted baymen. Their liminality has been a source of symbolic power in their rhetorical strategies.

The Baymen of the Great South Bay.The Great South Bay is located approximately 40 miles from Manhattan, on the southern shore of Long Island. It is approximately 25 to 30 miles long, 2 to 6 miles wide, and averages about six feet in depth. The baymen of the Great South Bay are primarily clam diggers. The bay has always been a leading shellfish producing region. At the turn of the century, it was the home of a world renown oyster industry that made "Blue Point" oysters a prized commodity on both sides of the Atlantic. When the oyster industry declined in the early 1900's due to a combination of naturally occurring and humanly induced environmental changes, the bay developed into one of the largest hard clam (Mercenaria mercenaria) producing regions in the country. Between 1970 and 1978 the Great South Bay harvest accounted for as much as 50% of the nation's total production. In the 1979 the landings began to drop ,and in 1984 they were only 50% of the peak values. At the present time harvest levels have sank to record lows.

Many Baymen have followed the eastward march of suburban sprawl. Once productive ecological communities which supported many have declined. Many who have stayed in the fishery, migrated eastward trying to keep a step ahead

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of development. Until recently, more baymen worked in Great South Bay waters than in any other area on the Island.

The" East End" Baymen. While there are far more baymen who work the Great South Bay, they do not have the cultural clout which has been bestowed upon the baymen of East Hampton. While baymen on the "East End" are few in number, they receive a great deal of exposure in the press and local media. To the "East Enders," the baymen of Great South Bay are from "Upisland " or the "West."

With the loss of the striped bass fishery as a result of legislation, and the loss of bay scallops because of "brown tide," many of the East End baymen have left the water. The few that remain seem to spend as much time "politicking" as they do fishing.

While there are differences, cultural and geographically, the baymen still represent a regional phenomenon-peculiar to Long Island. Ecologically, it is clear that the various town borders are pretty irrelevant when it comes to the flows and movements of the marine commons. Politically, the baymen are part of a state wide organization. For example. all baymen attend the state wide shellfish advisory meetings (SAM) and the Marine Resources Advisory Committee(MRAC). Many of the baymen in these suppossedly statewide environmental organizations are frustrated because, "the East Enders" receive the most publicity.

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Independent Baymen and the Watery Commons

The baymen of Long Island are commoners. Their occupational ethos and identity is very much bound up with the fact that marine environment which they depend upon is a "commons". This institutional framework, backed by law and custom, structures all aspects of their work and is the foundation of their culture. According to Crowe:

> "The commons is a fundamental social institution that has a history going back through our own colonial experience to a body of English common law which antedates the Roman conquest. That law recognized that in societies there are some environmental objects which have never been, and should never be, exclusively appropriated to any individual or group or individuals."

While the commons has a long and complex history, baymen regard the opportunities to follow the bay and earn a living from its resources as an inalienable right and a vital aspect of their heritage. Common use rights are local rights embedded in the particularities of community and place.

Historically, the commons has been a social arrangement that was supportive of the poor enabling them to eke out a modest living during lean times.. [7] Many baymen regard the "free bay" commons as a refuge, a place to turn to in times of need.

> "People from all vocations turned to the clam tongs when work was slack in their lines. It has often been said that no able bodied man in this vicinity would ever starve if he was willing to work on the Bay. [8]

The marine commons of Long Island has always been a contested and ambiguous terrain. Conflicts over the use and

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meanings of the commons have played an important role in the social geography of the region from colonial times until the present. Multiple use conflicts abound and have intensified and become more complex with greater coastal development and increased economic and cultural differentiation of the region.

To many baymen, attempts to dismantle or curb commons use rights are regarded as an attack on their local community and heritage by outsiders. On Long Island, the historical experience of the enclosure of the marine commons by private shellfishing companies and the upheaval which ensued has become part the collective memory of baymen in the region and plays a large role in contemporary fishery politics. A strong anti- enclosure stance is an important part of the baymen's occupational identity. According to a natural resource manager from the "East End,"

> "To think that a baymen could be constrained by this or that complicated set of metes and bounds, by a gridwork of buoys and off-limit areas installed over a wide expanse where now there is only a flat sheet of navigable waters, is to misunderstand the very concept of the species! In the long run, a few of them, assuming they have the means, may become sea farmers, but most would be driven out. As a student of the Plains Indians recently told me, it wasn't the rancher that ultimately destroyed the spirit and sustenance of the buffalo-hunters, it was his fences.[9]

Attempts are made to restrict easy access to the resource or to privatize the pursuit through the development of mariculture fuel opposition and resistance. When experts argue that the "the bays should be run more like a farm than

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a wilderness," baymen claim that following the water is part of their birthright and natural heritage and rally for the preservation of a "free bay". At the present time because the baymen now enjoy popular support, and are seen as politically powerful by local governments, their views have, for the most part, prevailed. The commons is both a material and symbolic realm. The baymen's fierce determination to maintain the commons as a free fishery and to keep from being fenced in has generated a great deal of folklore, myth and nostalgia.

The privatization and parcelling of the waters for mariculture isn't the only form of enclosure threatening baymen. Coastal gentrification, the spread of marine pollution and the growth of recreational and leisure uses of the marine commons is also displacing them and pushing them off the water. While such process which threaten to displace modern commercial fisherman might not be enclosure in the classical sense, baymen experience it in much the same way.

There are no well defined boundaries in the marine commons. A great deal of the literature on managing common property resource systems addresses the ecological harm which results from imposing arbitrary boundaries on inherently complex and dynamic ecological systems and treating them as if they were "natural". Indeed ,the fisheries epitomize the dilemmas of the managing a common property resource where the boundaries are blurred and

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uncertain. The problems of protecting inherently borderless ecosystems from assorted spills, leaks, and floating contaminants is constantly addressed.

The Management of the Commons

Following the water as a baymen involves knowing more than knowing how to locate and catch fish and shellfish-it involves learning how to strategically maneuver amidst an array of fishery rules and regulations. Management isn't external to the working world of the baymen but rather an integral part of it. Baymen are inextricably embedded in a complex bureaucratic structure. They have become increasingly dominated by techno-scientific management programs and assorted governmental agencies. Increasingly the rhythms and cycles of nature have become inextricably intertwined with the rhythms of bureaucracy. Myriad regulations, restrictions, and court decisions play an ever increasing role in the daily work routine of the bayman. The combination of rugged individualism and "following the water" is troublesome to many involved with managing the fisheries. This is especially the case when the water is a commons. While baymen regard the commons and the opportunity to harvest its resources as part of their birthright and "natural heritage", many natural resource managers and fishery experts regard the commons as a major source of environmental destruction. While both resource managers and baymen agree that the fisheries are in a period

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of crisis and drastic decline, there is a great deal of controversy regarding causes and solutions. Very much like in times past, there are many voices who place the blame for the depleted state of today's fisheries on their common property status. While we shall explore some of the theoretical debates regarding the commons more fully another section, in terms of the baymen's oppositional identity, it should be emphasized that the symbolic and metaphorical meanings attached to the marine commons plays a powerful role in the "performative discourse"[10] attached to fishery politics.

Assorted constraints and threats from environmental managers help to define the boundaries of baymen culture. In their occupational narratives baymen often contrast their independent spirits with reference to a passionate hatred of rules and regulations-the life blood of the bureaucrat and manager.[11] "I've been fishing since I was able to walk," says Milt Millers,"Yet those apple pickers in Albany think I don't know nothing about it."

Baymen do not appreciate what they see as interference from managers whose knowledge, they feel, is based upon "theory" removed from the test of day-to day experience. They take considerable pride and glee in relating stories of enforcement agents who cannot tell one species of fish from another, of bureaucrats whose boats run out of gas and who must be rescued by passing commercial boats and of their own

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skill in outwitting regulations and those who enforce them. Given the baymen's point of view, it is neither surprising that they try to find ways to get around or ignore the rules nor unusual that they see themselves as guiltless "Robin Hood" figures for doing so.

Increasingly, conflicts between baymen and managers takes place in formalized and institutionalized settings with established rules of procedure. As they have become integrated into an evolving bureaucratic system, modern baymen have adapted and learned to use it to their advantage. In the local political arena, baymen have become politically astute and bureaucratically savvy. They have become skilled in the realm of law, public relations and politics, and competent players in the policy process game.

While on the one hand their interest are opposed to one another, beneath the rhetoric of conflict, baymen and managers share a common discourse. Both are inextricably embedded in a legal rational, bureaucratic framework. Both complain that politics always takes precedent over biology, overlooking the reality that politics has always played a role in management of the inshore fisheries. In short, both the managers and the managed draw upon the same symbolic and rhetorical well of meaning.

Oppositional Identity and the Culture of the Baymen

Social identities are not static and are constantly negotiated under conditions of contestation. Key and themes

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and symbols attached to the baymen's work take on meaning in the process of conflictual social interaction. Facing threats on several fronts, baymen have become heavily involved in "boundary work" and symbolic politics. Occupational identity emerges at the boundary. According to Cohen (1987:17),"Boundaries are mental constructs which condense symbolically their bearers social theories of similarity and difference. They become eloquent emblems of their individual and collective selves". The baymen's occupational identity is oppositional in that it in large part derived from a contrast to other groups whom they interact with in the coastal commons. According to Tzvetan Todorov " Identity is constructed with relation to the Other,in the never ending confrontation of the identical and the different ,the familiar and the alien."

Stereotyping and public image making must be understood in the context of intergroup relationships. Cultural narratives emerge from the process of conflictual social interaction. In their public discourse, baymen define themselves in opposition to several other groups such as bureaucrats, "sporties," politicians, tourist and "upstreeters". In their contact with newspaper reporters, television interviewers, sport fisherman and folklorist, baymen have come to appreciate the importance of impression management techniques and the strategic use of stereotypes. Stereotypes play a powerful role in natural resource

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management policy by serving as rhetorical devices. Stereotypes, whether positive and negative- far from canceling one another out, help to construct boundaries and the distinctiveness of the baymen's occupational identity. As we shall see, gender distinctions play a role in the baymen's symbolic boundary work.

Performative Discourse, Occupational Identity and the Politics of Cultural Representation

> "To be a given kind of person, then, is not merely to possess the required attributes ,but also to sustain the standards of conduct and appearance that one's social grouping attaches thereto.....A status, a postion is not a material thing to be possessed and then displayed; it is a pattern of appropriate conduct, embellished,and well articulated. Performed with ease or clumsiness, awareness or not, guile or good faith, it is none the less something that must be enacted and portrayed, something that must be realized."
>
> Goffman

In a wide variety of context fisherman exhibit a common concern for their public image and the effect it has on their social standing and political clout.[12] The Long Island baymen are no exception. In recent years, with the growing importance of imagery and public relations in the politics of fishing, baymen have become heavily involved in assorted sorts of rhetorical strategies. According to Foster(1989), a rhetorical strategy is a stereotyped answer for a general class of situations, an 'answer' which in effect codifies social opinion "to outsiders." Bad press can mean loss of income for a baymen. In recent years there

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has been an increase in seafood scares and negative publicity associated with contaminated shellfish. Combating negative publicity is an important element in their impression management strategies.

With the growing importance of the media in the world of fishing, following the water as a baymen has come to involve a great deal of "image politics." The changing notion of what it means to be a "highliner" reflects this heightened concern with imagery and representation. To be a "highliner" is a mark of distinction, status and envy among commercial fisherman. When you're a highliner you're the best, a member of the fishing elite. The prestigious highliner" of the year award" granted by a leading trade publication which previously went to fisherman who the most technically skilled, caught the most fish, and made the most money is now given to fisherman who are the most politically savvy image catchers who are able to further the interest of the commercial fisherman. In 1990 Arnold Leo,(a baymen we will be discuss a great deal of in a latter chapter)the secretary of the East Hampton baymen's association received the award for his political work and skillful use of the press and media.

Battles over to natural resources and how they should be used are a form of symbolic politics. Increasingly, in their symbolic struggles, baymen "perform their narratives" to people in the press and the local media in an attempt to

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combat negative and potentially damaging stereotypical images. In their performances for outsiders, the choice of narrative and emphasis of the performance is greatly affected by the baymen's awareness of who they are talking to and how they will be perceived.

In the baymen's performances, cultural symbols and phrase assume a rhetorical function. Emotionally charged terms like heritage and tradition are constantly used and selectively deployed for purposes of persuasion. An appeal to tradition is a rhetorical device claiming a mantle of authenticity for some policy or action. Culture-the term itself has become strategic term in their political rhetoric. At a public hearing a baymen remarked:

> " We have to spend more energy promoting "culture"." We have to promote a healthy, positive image so people want to buy regional product. We have to generate a sense of "regional pride" about locally harvested seafood."

At a conference on coastal zone management a baymen remarked:

> "We have to preserve the inshore traditional fishery-it has a long history and was here before the tourist industry. The declining water quality spells the loss of the culture -the loss of that traditional life style is a disaster."[13]

In the politics of fishing, the rhetoric of community, has become an explicit cultural element, as it has become a less certain and viable social entity. The more economically marginal fishing becomes, the more it becomes a symbolic resource where the idea of community is located. While

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numerically small, baymen are symbolically powerful. Baymen play well in local political arena their image is colorful and their authenticity valued.

The Decline of the Baymen and the Rise of the Heritage Industry

As the opportunities to follow the water have declined, the baymen's plight acquired a myth like status and generated a great deal of folklore and nostalgia. The baymen's struggle to survive as fisherman, takes place in material and symbolic environment permeated by an obsession with heritage. With the growing interest in maritime heritage, baymen have become the objects of the tourist/ethnographer gaze. Increasingly oral historians, folklorist and others in the burgeoning "art-culture system"(Clifford:1989) are busy gathering interviews, taking photographs, making videos,and collecting artifacts from old baymen, a sure sign that the days of commercial fishing are numbered."It's the old 95-5 phenomena, remarks a local folklorist. It's only when 95% percent of something has disappeared, that we begin cherish what is left. We don't appreciate something until it's almost gone." Increasing numbers of people are busy trying to document the vanishing baymen before they disappear.

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> For the past twenty years I've been a resident of Amagansett,finding inspiration for camera and pen in the local surroundings. My neighbors Stuart Vorpahl and his family are rugged individuals determined to earn their livelihood at a vanishing life style, trap fishing. The scarcity of fish makes it no longer dependable a craft as it was for the American Indians or even past Vorpahl generations.But Stuart and his family continue putting the stakes and nets into the bay bottom every spring. their tradition and determination compelled me to document the work and their devotion to the sea.

Cultural identity is always mediated. The baymen's cultural identity is continually being negotiated in the process of conflictual social interaction. The march of the maritime heritage industry has had a profound impact on the cultural identity of the baymen. In their interactions with professional "interpreters" and folklorist, baymen have developed a self conscious appreciation of their culture which has acquired new meaning as a tradition through being photographed, documented and displayed in museums.[14] The more baymen are sought out and identified by interpreters in the heritage industry, the more identity they have. Amidst an atmosphere of "creeping heritage" and nostalgia, baymen have been aesthetically purified and transformed into "culture heroes in work boats. Self consciousness, reflexivity and awareness of classification are conditions of existence in our modern consumer culture. When discussing the profession of heritage interpretation it is important to focus on the social process by which something named,

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categorized and placed in a particular context. Interpreters, in identifying specific cultural traits, classifying them, and placing them in a narrative framework or text, help to define and construct the identity of a particular group. In doing so, they contributed more to the edification of group identity than to its analysis. As French Folklorist Francois Zacot(1990:12) has pointed out,"the more a group is identified, the more identity it has." At a conference of maritime folklore of Long Island someone commented "when is a folk not a folk? When an academic folklorist isn't around came the reply.

When Baymen "perform their stories," there is a shifting back and forth between positive and negative stereotypes.[15] As we shall see, a negative stereotype of baymen held bay those in resource management circles is typical viewed in a positive light by folklorist and other cultural workers in the heritage industry.

Representing and Interpreting the Culture of the Baymen

Assorted cultural representation abound. While it is important to distinguish between representations, images and impressions of baymen created by outsiders and those created by baymen themselves, such distinctions are becoming increasingly blurred. There has been a great deal of interpenetration between insider and outsider representations of baymen given the march of the heritage industry. The process of self-identification, entails

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continuous cultural mediation and negotiation over insider and outsider definitions of the situation. At times, people being investigated begin to identify themselves and speak through categories imposed from above. In some cases the glorification by others can become a self glorification as the role play first imposed from outside is adopted.(Bausinger:1990:150) In some instances "cultural intervenors" such as folklorist and others involved in the interpretation professions, are able to define what the culture is, to normalize and legitimate that definition in the larger society and even to feed it back to the culture itself where it may be internalized as 'real' or 'traditional' or authentic.'.."(Whisnant 1983:260) According to Friedman,(1991:332) identification is the rendering to someone of identity. Ethnography renders the Other's identity to ourselves and, via the conditions in which it is executed back to the Other. By speaking of him, or for him, we ultimately force him to speak through our categories."[16] Alette" Geistacfer has described an extreme version of this process of top down cultural representation and identification. In showing how the political and economic forces in Saint Perrre and Miquelon have created fishing policies which have led to the near disappearance of fisherman she argues that:

> "By taking away the fishery and redefining the activities of fisherman, the state has stripped them of their identity. Although they still live by the sea, own a boat to go sport fishing, and

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have their culture preserved in books and museums, these fisherman represent nothing more than heritage as defined by the outside world, while no longer sustaining life inside.

While a great deal of heritage preservation and interpretation is more about folklorist and their agendas than it is about the folk, in many cases, the folks being displayed and represented play an active role in politics of cultural representation. It is well known that anthropologist endow other cultures with the qualities of internally homogenous and externally distinctive and bounded objects, despite real heterogeneity within cultures and, at the very least, fuzzy boundaries between them."According to Gavi(1992:181)
" In many cases, not just anthropologist, but the participants themselves are committed both to the importance of the differences among them and simultaneously to the ongoing production of an image of themselves as internally homogenous and externally distinctive, as though, when the curtain rises for the audience of anthropologist and perhaps more especially, politicians, these actors must collude with their audience in this fiction, even as they belie it with their offstage discord."

Amidst an implosion of cultural representations and images of their way of life constantly being generated by the heritage industry, baymen have become "signs of themselves." [17]

Both anthropologist and those they study participate in the same symbolic system. Both are by the same historical

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forces ,and shaped by the dominant narrative structures of our times. Both draw from the same symbolic well of meaning. Both interpreters and "interpretees" operate according to models of the world and rhetorical frameworks.[18]

Cowboys and Baymen as Texts.Cowboys are similar to fisherman in that they are a romanticized folk group. Both groups share similar occupational characteristics On many occasions, I have heard people utilize metaphors of the" wild west " when speaking about the plight of the baymen. "They are the last holdout of a dying breed." Fishery experts often compare the struggles between baymen and shellfish farmers to "range wars." One resource manager has remarked that "In their stubborn refusal to be fenced in, baymen have taken on a John Wayne persona- they are the last of the cowboys fighting for an open range."

In his recent book of the occupation culture of the cowboy, Allmandinger stresses the need to focus on real cowboys as opposed to those cultural analyst of the myth and symbol school who discuss non- cowboy text written by non-cowboys so that they can treat cowboys as metaphors. He argues that these analyst aren't interested in real cowboys and faults them "....for using cowboys as symbolic springboards to explore a wide range of cultural issues most of which have little or nothing to do with real working cowboys." Such a rigid distinction between real cowboy culture and pastoral representations generated by non-

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cowboys obscures the complex process of myth making and imagining community. All performances, be they by "real cowboys" or "city slicker" cowboy wanabees," draw from the same symbolic well of meaning in order to frame a particular narrative. Both are "pastiche makers" who selectively interpret and appropriate assorted symbolic meanings in order to piece together a cowboy style.

Baymen have come to understand the benefits of being represented as a vanishing tradition and part of a dying way of life. This is especially the case if that imaginary way of life speaks to pastoral and primitivist longings of discontented moderns who feel detached from nature and a sense of place. In their performances and dramaturgical rituals, baymen tap into a structure of feeling that permeates the landscape. They have become a version of MacCannell's performative primitives-playing authentic traditional types for discontented moderns longing for nature and natural living. There is an element of irony involved in their rhetorical strategies, since they are very conscious of the importance to appear almost unconscious.[19]

While people imagine community, sometimes they do this under symbolic conditions not of their own choosing.[20] Baymen play an active role in the politics of cultural representation. In the social process of selectively utilizing emotionally charged themes, baymen draw upon available symbolic cues and codes. In their boundary work

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baymen have become symbolic "bricoleurs." The baymen's dramatic performances take place within a particular cultural framework of meaning. People don't invent a performance style from scratch. When baymen engage in rhetorical performances and types of "staged authenticity," they draw upon and appropriate images and themes of tradition which meet particular needs of the present. As Sahlins(1976) has remarked, "The bricoleur doesn't create a symbolic economy from scratch. They use bits and pieces from an embedded significance.[21]

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1.According to Arnold Leo, The fisherman who go further out to sea for their livelihood aren't as hard hit as the baymen, who are " the essential fishing community." 17June 1988 The social and economic distance between baymen and owners of large trawlers is quite large. According to Peter Matthiessen,"With all their property, with all their big boats, docks, and gear, they had never been thought of as baymen." (1986:139)

2.Newsday. 4/14/91.

3. Matthiessen,Peter. 1986. pg.202

4. On The Water. 1986. Sept/Oct. pg.12

5.Gabriel, Ralph Henry 1921.The Evolution of Long Island:A Story of Land and Sea. pg.91

6. The bayman of New Jersey baymen were similar but different. The massive G.B Goode study of 1887:393-94 points out that "Many of the people are wholly dependent on agriculture, but the greater number of those living near the water own small patches of land, on which they raise scarcely enough to supply their own tables. They are largely dependent of the bays for a livelihood. There is also a large class the 'follow the bay' during the entire year, oystering in winter and fishing or clamming in other seasons.

7.In Living The Fishing(1983:359), Thompson et. al. point out that,"The distinctive history of fishing has rested on the freedom of the sea, modified only by a marginal restriction of inshore waters to local communities,and by the assumption that the sea's resources are boundless..Long after the land had become divided up under the exclusive control of private individuals ,the sea remained an open resource...so Long as there were fish they could find,catch and sell,they had a future,.This legal framework,little questioned until now,provided the essential context for the survival of the small entrepreneur in a free market;and it was reinforced by longstanding government intervention..... But such assumptions are no longer acceptable in view of the now incontrovertible evidence of the disaster consequences of over-fishing."

8. Van Poppering. 1947. Pg.16.

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9. Larry Penny. 1988. "The Perennial Bayman", East Hampton Star.

10.Bourdieu,P. 1992. "Identity and Representation: Elements for a Critical Reflection on the Idea of Region" pg.223

11.As Hughes has remarked,(1961:28-29)"Wherever some group of people have a bit of commons life with a modicum of isolation form other people, a common corner in society, common problems and perhaps a couple of common enemies, there culture grows."

12. In a study of the social identities of fisherman, Gilmore (1990) remarks that she was struck by a recurrent concern with image on the part of fisherman. "Not only is the recurrent concern with image striking, but so are consistences in images of fisherman through time, across the United States, and in disparate cultures around the world."

13.1991 Long Island Coastal Zone Management conference held in Riverhead. New York.

14 The increased use of technology in social research has had some effect on the relationship between researchers and subjects. Meyrowitz,in No Sense of Place (1985:345) points out that "Video cameras and tape recorders have been among the developments that offer new techniques and strategies to record, describe,and analyze social situations...The study of the transformation of situations through the new media (including the transformation that is inherent in a researcher's "removal" of events from their original situations by recording them on video or audio tape) has gone largely unnoticed."

As we have seen, many baymen have become increasingly image conscious. Many of the interpreters and friends of the baymen joke about the fact that with the increased media coverage, some of the baymen have their own publicity agents.At a 1992 benefit for the plight of the vanishing baymen, a nationally renown celebrity and champion of the baymen remarked to a large crowd of "friends of the baymen","We helped to put them in the spot light and look what happens- they've gone and become celebrities on us".At the same benefit a friend and patron of the baymen remarked to one of the favored 'oltimers',"watch out Stuart, once you become a myth its all over."Upon hearing this remark I found myself thinking the very opposite-"Once you become a myth, it marks the beginning of a career of living history and heritage.

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15.Mullen 1992 171

16.In a similar vein, in discussing how the fisherman of Monterey stage "work displays" for tourist, Norkunas points out that the role that natives often play, as part of the show the tourist come to see, engenders a special kind of ethnic interaction between themselves and the tourist. The irony is that the presence of tourist, whose whole experience depends on the authenticity of what is presented to them spoils the natives by makes them less exotic and more like tourist themselves and eventually causes the natives to transform their behavior according to the percieved taste of the tourist. Such "bastardized" versions of the native's cultural heritage may become, for the native, authentic markers of a re-created identity. The natives's own identity, change to suit what are believed to be tourist taste, becomes so known and ingrained, and perhaps encouraged by developers and the state, that it eventually becomes accepted as true by the natives themselves.

17.According to Barbara Kirshenblatt-- Gimblett, (1992:416When the ethnographic gaze turns people into objects of ethnography, they can in certain circumstances become "signs of themselves" with the result that ".. We experience a representation even when the representers are, if you will, the people themselves."

18. According to Freeman (1993:7) Interviews of the sort that social scientist gather are themselves texts, and while they may not have quite as much literary flourish as those we buy in bookstores, they are in their own right literary artifacts, taking the form of words, designed to give shape to some feature of experience. As for the observation of human action, the story is actually much the same. Human action...is itself a kind of text; a constellation of meanings which, not unlike literary texts or interviews, call forth the process of interpretation."

19.As Foster remarks (1990:183)"A rhetoric that sustains its effect strikes its audience as more than mere rhetoric:it rings of the truth,resonates with "positive knowledge.,"and glows with the burnished aura of believability. One's case is more likely to be persuasive if one's argument possesses a compelling authenticity."

20.According to Hummon(1990:209) ".. people try to make sense of their lives but they do so under conditions, including symbolic conditions not of their own making."

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21.Sahlins (1976:217) According to Derrida, the analysis of bricolage could be applied to all forms of criticism which rely on some type of myth of origins. If one calls bricolage the necessity of borrowing one's concepts from the text of a heritage which is more or less coherent or ruined , it must be said that every discourse is bricoleur. The engineer, who Levi-Strauss opposes to the bricoleur, should be the one to construct the totality of his language ,syntax, and lexicon. In this sense the engineer is a myth. A subject who supposedly would be the absolute origin of his own discourse and supposedly would construct it "out of nothing", "out of whole cloth," would be the creator of the verb, the verb itself. The notion of the engineer who supposedly breaks with all forms of bricolage is therefor a theological idea; and sense Levi-Strauss tell us elsewhere that bricolage is mythopoetic, the odds are that the engineer is a myth produced by the bricoleur. As soon as we cease to believe in such an engineer and in a discourse which breaks with the received historical discourse, and a such as we admit that every finite discourse is bound by a certain bricolage and that the engineer and the scientist are also species of bricoleurs, then the very idea of bricolage is menaced and the difference in which it took on its meaning breaks down.

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CHAPTER FOUR

PASTORAL NOSTALGIA AND THE MYTH OF THE BAYMEN

"Ideas of nature...Are the projected ideas of men."

Raymond Williams

"Each sees what is in his own heart"

Max Weber 1949 107

Small time fisherman attained as a group the status of a social spectacle...The many aims that drove the observers to the beach encouraged them to make their perception of the individuals found there coincide with the image of their own desires. Consequently, the wish to praise something natural helped to preserve certain prejudices.

Alain Corban

Everywhere the sea is experienced as the symbol of life: its eternally form-changing movement, the unfathomability of it's depths, the alteration between smoothness and excitation, its disappearance at the horizon and the aimless play of its rhythm-all these allow the soul to transpose it's own life feeling into the sea...

Georg Simmel 1911

It is vain to dream of a wildness distant from ourselves... There is none such. It is the bog in our brain and bowels, the primitive vigor of Nature in us, that inspires that dream. I shall never find in the wilds of Labrador any greater wildness than in some recess in Concord,i.e. than I import into it.

Thoreau

Myth does not mean something untrue, but a concentration of truth

Doris Lessing

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Introduction

As their physical presence has receded, baymen have become grist for the symbolic mill. While the bays are short on baymen these days, they are rich in metaphors, signs and symbols, especially when heritage enthusiast are around. There are several strands in the cultural perception of the baymen which contribute towards their mythical status. The myth of the baymen is aignifying construct of several potential meanings operating on many levels. The perception of the myth is context dependent. Particular aspects of the myth are emphasized and serve different functions depending on the situation. Stewart Hall's remarks about the contextual dimension of symbolic meaning is pertinent, (Hall:1982:235) "The meaning of a cultural symbol is given in part by the social field in which it is incorporated, the practices with which it articulates and is made to resonate. What matters is not the intrinsic or historically fixed objects of culture, but the state of play in cultural relations."

First of all, I think it would a good idea to give some very concrete and empirical examples of the pastoral aura which surrounds the Long Island

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baymen. The myth of the baymen is part of the collective memory of many people in the region. It is widely acknowledged and discussed by many people involved in fishery and coastal affairs and has become part of the rhetoric in local people's ongoing discussion about the meaning of place and regional identity.

Romancing the Real

There seems to be wide agreement among those who write about the baymen and their way of life, that their subject matter is shrouded in a haze of romantic imagery and nostalgia. The tendency to romanticize the baymen is not restricted to the assorted literary types who follow the fisherfolk- the local color writers, maritime history buffs and folk lore aficionados, but is quite widespread. While many regard the tendency to "storify and glorify the baymen" as an occupational hazard which should be resisted, others regard it as a particular style to be perfected and embellished. Whatever their proclivities, both proponents as well as debunkers of maritime nostalgia and myth acknowledge its hold on the local cultural imagination. Hofstadter comments about the myth of farming as a way of life is germane to the romantization of the modern

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day baymen. " Its symbols were deeply appealing. Even arch opponents of agrarian interest adopted its rhetoric."

While the romantization of the baymen isn't new, it has intensified in recent years as commercial fishing has declined and their material presence has receded[1]. The proclivity to blur the boundary between romanticized imagery and mundane reality of the baymen is acknowledged by many of the people involved in coastal affairs. A recent book on the Great South Bay, published by the Marine Sciences Research Center, acknowledges the dilemma of doing scientific research given the fact that the "The removal of living resources for food has a long history in the bay and is the subject of much folklore and nostalgia."(Koppleman 1991:87) Some of the articles in the book, written by academics and people in the Long Island marine management bureaucracy are structured like counter-pastoral texts. A theme running throughout the book is that the necessary task of evaluating baymen is made more difficult because "objective" accounts don't seem to have as much influence as the literary and folkloric narratives which are constantly being generated. Some researchers worry that people who make decisions about managing the

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> environment won't be able to distinguish between the imaginary and the real and will be motivated more by emotion than by biology.
>
> "Baymen are an enigma. They are ... a political force on Long Island ,not because of their numbers, now small in comparison to the high tech engineers and businessmen commuting to New York City, but rather because baymen and their lifestyle represent the dream many cherish of a simpler existence when independence was a virtue and "man -against the elements a desired and attainable image"[2]

A recent documentary film on the vanishing baymen makes similar claims about the "image of the baymen " and what it means to people in the area.

> The baymen represent what America was built on: independence, hard work, strong spirit, tradition and community. The loss of this way of life is not only about the loss of men's lives- it's about the loss of identity, tradition and our own Long Island heritage."

A local resident who deep ties to fishing industry pointed out that "baymen are an illusion."

> They are loners and antisocial. Their extreme independence causes people to fantasize about their so-called freedom. It's a fantasy. Baymen are away from it all-close to nature. There's no boss. People don't see the back- breaking work, the low pay and the boredom-they see independence and simplicity.

A marine advisor who in heavily involved in the promotion and marketing of Long Island seafood and who deals with very concrete aspects of the "public perception" and

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image of the baymen remarked that:

> "The baymen are a part of the character and tradition of the region. People admire someone who maintains independence. They have writers and celebrities on their side. Baymen are a positive image....People want to hold on to old things. As we become more urbanized they want to hold on to their past. People respect and envy the independent baymen. They fantasize and identify vicariously with them-people who maintain their independence as everyone is getting sucked up in the corporate world. They paint a rosy picture of this way of life but they never talk of the down side. They just talk about the romantic side."

Some have suggest that the reason baymen have become an "apple pie" issue in the area and enshrined in an aura of romance has very little to do with baymen per se and much to do with the fact there is something intrinsically mystifying and metaphysical about following the water. In a recent novel about a mythical town located along side the Great South Bay, we get a strong sense of this intrinsically mystifying meaning attached to working on the water.

> The getting of clams is an ancient undertaking that varies somewhat from place to place and species to species. Of all, the most romantic, the most emblematic of mankind's relationship with the sea, the most persistently attractive mythologically, is the hunting and gathering of the elusive quahog. In Babbington when I was a boy, the methods varied primarily according to aims of the clammer.(1992:77)

In the Ice Castle, a novel about a baymen from the Great South Bay we read the following:

> Kessler, nineteen,looked up at the millions of alien Western stars...what should he do with his life?
> He felt contemptibly small against the prairie and

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> the stars. He listened to the coyotes and looked at Oklahoma City tiny on the horizon and wished he were back on the Great South Bay fishing. If the only person he had to please was himself, he'd just as soon fish for a living. Become a waterman. Be a clammer and a fisherman.
>
> Out on the bay, working by himself in nature:it seemed a purer life. He didn't dislike people, but all they did was jockey for status and squabble over money. The "bitch goddess, success. He'd read that phrase in English this year. It seemed like a noble decision:to drop out of competitive society, despise possessions, live a life you loved, not live to impress. It was the sixties; ideas like that were in the air, and he believed them. An exciting outdoor life, living with the elements, pitting your skills against the weather and the sea.

A local marine biologist who is involved with resource management issues remarked that,

> "When I put on my hip boots and oilskins to do field studies and head out to the open bay and feel that sea spray on my face, I can really relate to the mystique of the fisherman and the sea. It's like I leave all my troubles on the desk and enter another realm. Being outdoors, close to nature- that freedom from routine, there is really nothing like it for deep thoughts."

Another field worker expressed similar thoughts,

> It's that sense of being away from it all. Its an illusion I know but you still feel it. Just being on the water has a way of calming you. When I see the lone baymen in the distance, I sort of envy him even though I know he is engaged in really strenuous and boring work. There is just something about it. I can't explain- freedom, the sea- It's that old man and the sea thing. It's crazy but-you know what I'm getting at.

In discussing some of the difficulties involved in preparing a social impact assessment for federal fishery management plan, a anthropologist who specializes in fishery

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related problems has written:

> " The independence and freedom fisherman speak of is both physical and in a sense, metaphysical. Anyone who has stood on a deck, dwarfed by the enormity of the surrounding waters and sky and blown by the unseen wind, can, with the barest glimmers of imagination, sense the promise of freedom offered by working at sea. -She mentions the "mystique",the "magic" and the "joy" which captains, crew and researchers attach to fishing work.

In a marine heritage museum in Maine ,visitors can listen to mannequin lobsterman in a recreated lobster shack talk about what his way of life means to him. A video narrated by the late E.B. White adds another level of meaning to the interpretive process. As visitors walk among boats and tools of the trade, White describes the work in terms of a feeling "men unconsciously need" and declares that there is no finer sight than that of a returning boat "in lands where men are free." A reviewer of the exhibit who found fault with these metaphorical and poetic leaps, nevertheless acknowledged "the difficulty involved in interpreting this way of life given the fact that:

> " there is something transcendent, even mystical about fishing, whether for sport or profit. Building an existence around the pursuit of an unseen real quarry in an ever-changing sea brings the lobsterman into perpetual contact with this mystic realm. White often succeeds in evoking this special feeling, his occasionally misaimed darts often serving to underline the difficulty of his task."(Gross.1988:907)

The authors of Living the Fishing begin their book with following remark:

> "The image of fisherman conjures up deep feelings:Biblical resonances of Galilee, echoes of

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> childhood hymns, nostalgia for the last true hunters plying a trade that goes back to the very origins of humanity...pg4 [3]

The tendency among people who write about fisherfolk to become sentimental and nostalgic extends far beyond the shores of Long Island. Social scientist who write about fishing are not immune from this peculiar occupational hazard. Indeed, many of the key social scientific studies of fisherfolk read like ethnographic pastorals. For example, Tunstall in the his work entitled the Fisherman: The Sociology of an Extreme Occupation,(1962:14) has pointed out that studying the occupation of fishing "..poses special delimmas for social research given the " outward wrappings of stereotype and myth." He refers to a widely held myth attached to fishing which he describes as "the myth of a strong family tradition in fishing." One reason why this is widely believed is that the fisherman he studied believed the myth and often claimed that most fisherman come from fishing families."(105) He points out that he had trouble convincing fisherman that there is no family tradition in fishing and cites an example of fishing mythology- A deep attachment to nature.

> "It was in fact-it is less so now-quite difficult for a lad born into a fishing family not to become a fisherman. They were keen too. Many of them are still. The world is not wide enough when you are young, and the smell of the sea is a forever in the blood,"(pg.105)

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Estellie Smith (1977:15) in a discussion of modern fishing cultures has argued that:

> "There, of course, no such thing as the traditional culture, if by that we imply 'long standing, unchanging, and somehow more authentic than what will be tomorrow.' Such traditional-innovative contrast is a heuristic fiction of historical analysis. Yet somehow if we know that a trait is not the same as the one which existed in remembered time, whether that knowledge be obtained through memory ethnography, archives, or the archeological record), the more recent form becomes less substantive than its ancestor, the "traditional"trait. The latter, in the same process, then acquires, a graceful patina of immutability,'from times immemorial."

Nevertheless, despite the increasing technological rationalization and bureaucratization of fishing it is "the heuristic fictions which prevail in social scientific, literary, and popular discussions on fishing.

> "Those whose lives are centered around commercial fishing are still viewed by many as 'folk' on the fringe of modern societies, anachronistic hunters and foragers whose simple lives are dominated by ancient myths, traditional taboos and irrational superstitions."(Smith 1988:46)

There is a great deal of reflection on the part of fisher researchers about the persistence of stereotypes despite strong evidence which shows them to be inaccurate.[4] In discussing the occupational images and stereotypes attached to fishing Acheson(1988:28) has remarked that:

> Talk of the New England fishing community brings to mind a picture of rustic communities where men carry out a traditional way of life, regulated by the turn of the seasons rather then the office clock. We tend to see the fisherman as being slow to changes. Taciturn, independent and certainly free of the kinds of constraints that bind the

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> rest of us. In our minds he is the last of the rugged individualist scorning help from the government and adamantly opposed to any kind of control over his life."

In discussing the importance of stereotypes and how they impact on the process of researching fisherfolk, Van Mammen (1983:38) points out, a great deal of the social scientific literature on the fisheries typically " emphasize the ancient and romantic man against the sea theme as played out within relatively stable and homogenous communities "In the days of Captains Courageous, the stereotypical New England fisherman was a "Yankee," a label rich in connotative meaning. The Yankee has been commonly depicted as reticent, rugged, fiercely independent, self-reliant, and most significantly, of ruddy Anglo Saxon descent. Pictorial versions of this Yankee fisherman are omnipresent in New England kitsch art, curio motifs, and commercial images." He goes on to show that despite the fact that,"..the major significance of these fisherman is their relative absence in all but the small villages along New England's coast, in many cases researches tend to link up with such characters. "Understandably, it is to these fisherman that outsiders such as researchers are referred by port authorities and residents who, in good faith, wish to assist the questioning stranger." To further complicate matters, Van Mannen, in discussing the expressive or symbolic side of occupational identity, points out that fisherman themselves often draw

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upon romantic imagery in fashioning a fisherman "lifestyle". When the label is both sought and embraced by an individual, it becomes ,when mirrored back at them in social interaction, a social identity."

Gilmore (1990) offers similar remarks about fisherman stereotypes.

> "often we see the gruff eccentric, but cleaned up and cast in a life of romance and strange adventure, typically the old salt with the New England accent, graying beard, pipe, and right yellow foul weather gear or dark pea jacket and watch cap. Advertisers, fast-food promoters, especially-television producers, and film makers have bombarded us with this image, even superimposing it on acting crews manning authentic fishing boats in native contexts."[5]

Such images are not restricted to the New England coast. Robert Caro in discussing Robert Moses's encounter with the baymen of the south shore of Long Island has written:

> The Great South Bay (is) the haunt of the baymen, a closemouthed, independent breed, some of them descendants of families that had "followed the bay" since the Revolution, others New England Yankees who, hearing about the bay's bountiful harvest of oysters and clams and tommycods and smelts, had left the whaling boats, bringing with them their taciturnity and distrust of outsiders.Less than thirty miles from the borders of New York City, the baymen lived in a world that resembled nothing so much as the remote fog banks of Nova Scotia. Their lives revolved around the bay...Force off it by winter storms ,they settled down in taverns near the piers that jutted into it,drinking (they were famous for their drinking) and spinning legends about it.Once you were "bay salted,"they said, you would never leave" ..They were fiercely determined to keep their world for themselves. The bay bottoms, the hell fire preachers in the weather -beaten little churches constantly reminded them, were "sacred,"their

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priceless "natural heritage,"

distrusting anyone "from away", the baymen distrusted especially anyone from New York. Hating the city-many boasted that they had never been there ...they feared that its "foreigners, would descend on and befoul their beautiful beaches at the first slackening of their vigilance." (Caro 1975:148)

Some baymen dislike the way they are represented by others. In a letter to the local paper a baymen captures the pastoral aura which surrounds his work. In response to a series of articles about the vanishing baymen.

> "I am what is commonly called a baymen, and have been for 12 years, but in that time I have come to prefer the term "commercial fisherman." It seems that the overromanticized characterizations that we see in our local newspapers concerning those who harvest seafood for a living paint a somewhat distorted, stereotypical image. The word conjures up the picture of a ruddyfaced, bearded individual who always wears his work boots and oilskins, squints with one eye while talking in his scratchy ,Down East accent, and somehow, even while walking down a city-street, always has sea spray flying in his face... In response to an article which claims that the "old- time bayman is becoming a thing of the past" I must agree. He went out with the old-time general storekeeper ,the iceman, and the schoolmarm, the romantic version, on the other hand never existed." (Newsday March 18,1983)

While the romantic versions does not exist, it is alive and well in the local cultural imagination. Not all baymen feel angry about the romanticized imagery which has been bestowed upon them. In some cases, it is baymen themselves who actively embellish and help paint "a somewhat distorted

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stereotyped images." One baymen begins a letter by quoting from Walt Whitman, on the love and beauty of fish-shaped Paumanok

> Starting from fish-shaped Paumanok where I was born,well -begotten,and raised by a perfect mother-O to go back to the place where I was born,
>
> O to have been brought up on the bays, lagoons, creeks,or along the coast, to continue and be employed there all my life, the briny and damp smell,the shore,the salt weeds exposed at low water, the work of fisherman, the work of the eel-fisher, and clam-fisher.
>
> It doesn't take long working as a clammer to assimilate these same intense feelings of kindredship with the bay. I have had many more jobs of status and social acceptance but the freedom of being a baymen was too much of a draw to resist.
>
> Like the sailors of old, the sea called me, forever bonding me to it,to enjoy its inherent beauty, to challenge its danger, to live off the sea in of all places a tiny harbor in NY!
> People ask me Why?
> I simply respond: can your office compare with the overwhelming majesty of the Bay?
>
> We, as modern day Indians are angry at what some get rich quick developers consider progress ......
> We as the last remaining Indians, pioneers,free spirits
>
> 43 yr. old baymen and ex-teacher Jerry Beman

Local Versions of Pastoralism

The romance of the baymen is a local version of pastoralism which draws upon powerful symbols and themes associated with "Nature". Baymen have become a metaphor for a way of life close to nature at a time when nature is felt to be vanishing. The baymen's rhetorical link to nature in the local cultural imagination has bestowed upon them

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unlimited metaphorical possibilities. While many of the assorted "texts" and cultural representations of baymen are structured and function very much like pastoral literary devices, it is important to stress that the metaphorical meanings attached to the baymen are rooted in local conditions and the particularities of place. Contemporary pastorlism in the Long Island coastal zone is a "selected tradition."[6]

At the core of the pastoral mode is the complex/simple antinomy. The pastoral mode as a literary device collapses one into the other. "The pastoral is a process of putting the complex into the simple" argues Empson. According to Leo Marx," By using the "trick" of having a simple shepherd express strong feelings in a sophisticated language, the poet combined the best of both worlds-it straddled the borderland between wilderness and civilization. The reader was put in a position to enjoy the vicarious resolution of one of his cultures deepest conflicts. More importantly for our story, is the fact that pastoral cultural representations are idealized stories which are "about the people but not by or for the people. It is the everything being included in the humble thing." It is noteworthy that Empson, whose influential," Some Versions of Pastoralism" refers to a documentary film by Grierson on trawler fishing as a good example of modern pastoralism. Empson remarks that:

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> The film entitled Drifters gave very vividly the feeling of actually living on a herring trawler and (by the beauty of shapes of water and net and fish,and subtleties of timing and so forth, what I should call a pastoral feeling about the dignity of that form of labor"8

Empson goes on to say that it is unlikely that the fisherman who worked on the trawler would actually experience or perceive a pastoral point of view about their work. Pastoralism is experience from a distance -it is an outsiders point of view. With the imposition of a pastoral point of view, mundane and dirty work is aesthetically purified and elevated so that it becomes a form of lofty and noble toil. For the most part, the aesthetic appreciation of menial labor resides with people of the pen, not the plowers of the fields or the followers of the sea who actually do the work. As Horowitz has pointed out (1976:419 .

> Many Americans... still harbor faith in rural ideals and troglodyte values. Indeed it is probable that these rural ideals are more firmly and fervently held by those who have never been on a farm and never encountered an honest -to - goodness farmer..Living in the country without being part of it, allowed the charms of nature to gratify and illume,but not to disturb one's cosmopolitan sense. A gentleman might take up the hoe for diversion but not for a living."

Pastoral text are intellectualized views of the countryside from the town. Pastoral text preserve the themes of escape from society to the extent of idealizing a simplified life in the country or on the frontier. As we shall see, this version of pastoralism extends beyond the world of literary text and informs a great deal of ethnographic writing.[7]

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Romance and Reflexivity

Some writers quite reflexive about their penchant for romanticizing the fisherfolk whom they write about. In discussing the disparity between the romanticized image of the Chesapeake Bay waterman as rugged individualist and the reality of their working lives, folklorist George Carey points out the glorified image of the waterman downplays the fact that they have been edged in by myriad regulations for the past century and a half. Ater weighing the evidence he emphatically remarks, "The romantic myth of a waterman as a freewheeling individualist becomes just that:myth."

In attacking the myth of the waterman, Carey helps to reinforce and sustain it. His critique is very much in the pastoral tradition. While utilizing a counter pastoral rhetoric he is still very much within the narrative mode associated with pastoralism. In many cases, the debunkers of pastoralism are very much caught within its grip. Many counter pastoral tracts are just another version of pastoralism which employ a similar narrative framework. In their use of language and imagery, both myth makers and myth debunkers draw from the same symbolic well of meaning as thus help to sustain a pastoral structure of feeling.

Thus, after laying bare the romanticized imagery Carey remarks that,

> "We are right back to where we began, right back the romantic notion of the waterman that we can't

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seem to shake no matter how hard we try." (33)

> The key problem is that "the prominent picture that the poets, writers, and media often foist upon us....is an image not without substance.23

On many occasions, I have gotten a strong sense of the myth of the baymen by people who wanted to debunk it. For example, I have spoken with people involved in the field of maritime interpretation and heritage preservation, who prided themselves on being immune from the tendency to romanticize the baymen and to become nostalgic about their way of life. Nevertheless, these same people were quite eloquent when they talked about the baymen's aura and helped me to understand it more. At times, these self avowed realist, could spin a good yarn when criticizing the romance of the baymen.

In our talks, the theme of nostalgia came up quite often. On many occasions, people criticized colleagues for being nostalgic and unnecessarily sentimental. When I spoke with the colleagues who were called nostalgic I heard the same thing. "It's the others, who are nostalgic, not me." Some of the people who were more directly involved with the monetary aspects of maritime heritage, were quite blunt about being nostalgic."Lets face it -it's good for business. If people weren't nostalgic, I wouldn't have a job." In a similar vein another heritage worker remarked "Fishing is dead but maritime history is a growth industry."

At a baymen's meeting at East Hampton I heard the

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following conversation between a film maker who planning to make a documentary film about the Long Island baymen and a folklorist who has done extensive research and compiled life histories baymen. The film maker was trying to decide on how she would frame her narrative and tell the story of the baymen said,

> I'm not sure of the focus I will take. I don't want to focus on their political struggles. I want images that pack real emotion and will get people's attention. Maybe I'll do another plight of the baymen film- that seems to work."

The folklorist remarked that:

> "In my writing I have stopped referring to the baymen's plight. I take a different approach-its not their plight-its ours-People don't know what they missing. We are the ones who have lost something."

The Film maker liked what he was saying.

> That's what I'll focus on -the sense of loss that affects us all...I think I'll do a nostalgic piece- your basic Americana stuff. That will do the trick.

<u>The Myth of the Bayman and the Jargon of Authenticity</u>

While baymen can be quite articulate and eloquent at times, especially in their interviews with folklorist, interpreters and people from the press and media, their is another aspect of their demeanor which has helped to elevate their mythical status. In many cases, words aren't necessary for baymen to evoke strong feelings in others. The baymen's very presence speaks for itself. It is commonly asserted by writers, poets, artists and other seekers and salvagers of local color, "that the baymen have no need for words." In

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the words of local writer who has drawn upon baymen for his poetic imagery," Baymen might not be articulate, but their special language speaks for them." An artist who utilizes baymen for his "semi abstract" representation of the sea has remarked, that "It is their quiet, sense of grace and oneness with nature that inspires me. The baymen are quiet heroes who speak the special language of nature."

Paradoxically, many of people who appreciate the baymen's proclivity to spin a good yarn and tell a good story, are the same ones who claim that the baymen have no need for words. If this is the case, who spins the yarns and tells the stories? Who speaks for these quiet heroes?

While Thoreau (1972:525)contemplated nature from a highly mediated and intellectualized stance, he admired and longed for a different kind of knowledge which he observed in those rustic folk engaged in subsistence fishing.

> "Early in the mourning, while all things are crisp with frost, men come with fishing reel and slender lunch,and let down their fine lines through the snowy field to take pickerel and perch; wild men, who instinctively follow other fashions and trust other authorities than their townsmen, ... They are as wise in natural lore as the citizen is in artificial...They never consulted with books, and know and can tell much less that they have done. the things which they practice are said not yet to be known.....His life itself passes deeper in Nature than the studies of the naturalist penetrate; himself a subject for the naturalist."

He appreciated the fisherman's "primitive mode" and claimed that "Such a man has some right to fish and I love to see Nature carried out in him "(ibid:526 Thoreau clearly

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envied the natural knowledge of these folk, a wisdom beyond words. If Thoreau were alive, what we he think of the baymen? Are the people who are flocking to the coast seeking some imaginary Walden by the sea?

> Baymen know that their livelihood comes from a public resource which must be protected. As far as I'm concerned, I've broadened my life in being able to communicate with people who know nature. This work is non verbal, nonintellectual, a kind of knowledge not from books, profound and ancient."
>
> "The baymen enjoys a very sensuous way of living. Savoring the air, its crispness or its softness, the quality of light, the baymen has no need for words. His idea of a holiday is to get on a boat and go out on the water. Life Styles of East Hampton-Bayman
>
> Baymen live in affinity with God and Nature, Of Humble origins, with course manners perhaps, without education, they possess peace, happiness and joy."
>
> "They (the baymen)know who they are, there's a certain spontaneity and lack of pretense. They really live day to day as best they can. I identify with this very strongly. I like the values of traditional people who are closer to the earth. It is an attitude which I think is very precious and is in very serious danger of being stamped out entirely. As it is now, we're on a very material bent."
>
> "People from the city and suburbs don't have the same feeling of oneness with nature, that they can always catch some fish or eke out a mess of clams to eat...the deep- rooted faith that nature will provide is a hard thing to kill. It explains the bayman's fierce and continuing resistance to laws and people who would put them out of business...As baymen are forced off the water, a stable,family oriented community is disappearing. Also being lost is a group of people intimately in tune with the environment.[8]

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One person remarked that what he like about baymen was "...the values they incarnate and their lack of self consciousness about their oneness with nature." Thus, for many people, when following the water is in your blood, loving nature is "natural." When something gets" in your blood" their is no needs for words.

There is a good chance that words would disrupt the pastoral feeling which is said to emanate from the baymen's very being. It is likely that it is the baymen's taciturnity which has enabled others to project emotionally potent and lofty feelings onto them and not some innate affinity for nature. When your a "quite hero" who plys the waters, the less said the better. [9]

Nevertheless, with all this emphasis on quietness, there is a lot of noise. Peter Matthiessen a writer and spokesmen for the baymen who has helped to "put them on the map"has remarked that "there is lot of comic overtones to the plight of the vanishing baymen".....While baymen might not be articulate ,with all the recent media interest in them, there is a good chance that they will learn to talk."

Thus, the supposed simplicity of the baymen has come to represent virtuous values and natural wisdom. As humble folk living in harmony with their essential natures, baymen don't have a complex history merely an unchanging and constant "heritage." The much touted vanishing heritage of the baymen isn't perceived as a rich history of connections,

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contradictions, suppressions and exclusions, but as Nature. Their supposed oneness with nature-is a way of simultaneously praising them and silencing them. In speaking of folkloric discourse, Appadurai remarks that,"Both the 'lore' gathered and the 'folk' who produce and enjoy it are far more complex realities than these terms have allowed us to imagine." The ideal of the folk creates an illusion not just of synchronic homogeneity but also of historical and geographical fixity.(Appadurai 1991:468-469)

Interpreting the Interpreters

In order to understand how quiet and inarticulate fisherfolk tell good stories, we have to explore the relationship between the spinner of the yarn and those people who record and interpret them. What is going on in the relationship between the interpreter and "interpretee"?

At a recent environmental writers conference held in the middle of the island, many of the people who have written about the baymen were invited to speak.[10] Many of the writers and aspiring writers in the audience were very much interested in the baymen's language and speech. Are the baymen articulate? What do they sound like? How do they speak? The writers and poets generally agreed that baymen "were indeed articulate in their own special way." They also stressed that baymen have a "keen sense of memory and of local history."

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Louis Simpson, a poet who spent a day with a baymen on Great South Bay read from a short piece called "The Baymen."

> "He has been a baymen all his working life, except for two years in the Army, including a tour of Vietnam. He couldn't wait to get back to the bay...He was the first in his family to take this up. His father had a different kind of life-he was a buyers for Wanamaker and made a lot of money...
>
> Gulls are flying around- they're hungry. Once, one lit on his head and snatched the sandwich out of his hand and flew off with it. When he's alone they'll perch on the boat and sit there all day. But not if there's another person. He and the gulls have this in common: They don't like crowds. He says, "It's not that I'm anti social-I don't like dealing with the public.." He tried it one winter in his brother's catering business, filling in for a driver who was sick. It was the longest two weeks of his life.
>
> He doesn't have to do what he dislikes because there are very few things he wants. "People who only want more money, they're never happy and never will be."[11]

The poet said that "at first the baymen was suspicious but after a while he loosened up. He was friendly but quiet and stoical. The bay was the answer to his life." Peter Matthiessen, the author of Men's lives,a book about baymen which discusses their special language was also present. He mentioned that the Baymen on the East End are like old stumps. A very few are outsiders. They speak a salty argot inherited from their ancestors, the first British settlers of Eastern Long Island. They are in their own way very articulate.

The women don't speak in the special way like the men-

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it is partly because they have been more integrated into the larger society, while the men still spend a lot of time "on the water." According to a reviewer"One of the most remarkable aspects of Men's Lives is the accuracy with which Matthiessen has captured the fisherman's language, a blunt, salty vernacular that says more about these men than pages of description would.(Wendy Smith:1986) Another reviewer, remarked that the book was too nostalgic and that while Mathhiessen the baymen represent "elementary heroes under threat" he suspects".. that the fisherman gave Matthiessen a much more straightforward account than he has given us; altogether less artful..."

Are baymen naturally artful or do artist and writers project their aesthetic sensibility onto them so they can in turn can speak for them in the baymen's voice? Is this a case of putting the complex into the simple?

One journalist who writes about waterman , remarked that he could identify with the comment on the baymen's laconic attitudes.

> "The watermen I've have spent time with and have written about don't talk much. One time when I wanted to put a waterman in a slide show, I had to interview him for seven hours just to get three minutes worth of talk out of him."
>
> The best "story teller" I know was an outsider who became a waterman. He comes across on T.V. very well. He was the representative and spokesman that media people routinely relied on for good photo opportunities and sound bites when they did pieces on the bay. Sometimes I feel that a photographer could do a better job of representing these people than a writer. A good image of a waterman or a baymen is all you need to

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evoke powerful emotions.

I have observed that in the West Sayville baymen oral histoy meetings, it was the few baymen who could tell a good tale which dominated the discussions. I often found myself wondering if the majority of baymen in room actually remembered or just nodded in agreement when those colorful speakers reminisced about the past. In some cases, those who could speak well became local celebrities. The practitioners and recorders of oral history drifted toward such speakers out of practical necessity. "Talk to so and so -he gives a good interview and tells some good stories." "Stay away from so and so he's too quiet and rambles alot." Because of all the selecting, editing and interpretation on the part of the interpreters, the colorful characters who were designated as typical baymen, were in fact quite atypical.

The baymen's seemingly unconscious oneness with nature is paradoxical -once it is articulated by the people who supposedly possess it, it's too late. There was no return to a blissful state of nature for Rousseau. "When men could have enjoyed it they were unaware of it, and when they could have understood it, they had already lost it."

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There is something tragic about the longing for a sense of natural authenticity given the fact that the self consciousness and awareness which enables one to reflect on the condition of felt inauthenticity is the "unnatural" and deadly enemy of the desired state of naturalness. While the nostalgia and longing to return to a state of oneness with nature is the result of reflection and the awareness of being separate, the desired lost authenticity is predicated upon an absence of self reflection and self consciousness. The primordial oneness with nature is harmonious only in the sense that ignorance is bliss."The parodox, the dilemma of authenticity, is that to be experienced as authentic, it must be marked as authentic, but when it is marked as authentic it is mediated, a sign of itself and hence not authentic in the sense of unspoiled."(Culler 137:1981) Typically, the cultural others of romantic mythology,- the primitive, the folk, the peasant," speak without self consciousness, without criticism, without affectation." They are defined by an absence of self consciousness-of calculation or of interested self-awareness. With the rise off romanticism, the life of the primitive other became a poignant contrast with

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the spiritual impoverishment and crude materialism of the contemporary. According to Susan Stewart:(1984:17)

> "The utilitarian vision of an ordinary language perfectly mapped upon the material needs of the everyday is a vision of language before the Fall:speaking from the heart or from nature as the vox pouli is mythically able to do. Thus the folk are seen to rise in one voice because of their lack of consciousness of difference, Such theories of language can be placed amid other Western cults of the primitive: the celebration of madness in romanticism and modernism, the cult of the child, the cult of the pastoral-cults that have never been held by the mad, the child or the folk themselves."

In a similar vein, Bierkets (1992) has remarked,

> "And here is the demonic irony at the root of all others:that the quality we most prize in all these trumped up images of the past is the lack of irony and self-consciousness. We long for nothing as much as a ime when people did things of simple necessity and desire, when everything was not tainted by self awareness, when the guy running to meet his girl under he Biltmore clock was not simultaneously watching himself running to meet his girl under the Biltmore clock." [12]

Shifting Ambiguities and Multiple Meanings of the Baymen

Stereotypical meanings, rather than being fixed are multifaceted and contradictory. Signs of virtue among friends can become among foes, signs of vice. Signs attached to stereotypical images may in different context have entirely different meanings. The mutual imaginings of city and countryside oscillate between snobbish condescension and a rhapsodizing sentimentality is a recurrent theme in modern history. It is quite common for uprooted urbanites to regard

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regional backwardness as quaint. In many rural places transformed by the imposition of the "tourist gaze", small local communities lacking modern goods and services ,were re-imagined as unspoiled havens of authenticity in an artificial world. In a similar vein, McKay has shown how the rhetoric of regionalism, "embraced but simultaneously transformed the negative stereotype of Canadian Fisherman. "They admitted backwardness but placed it under a positive sign. The wild and the primitive ,once ignored ,denied or derided, became positive attractions."

Such a shift in values has occurred with the gentrification of the Long Island coastal zone. Over the years fisherman shanties have gone from shack to sheik at the same time that old wooden fishing boats previously regarded as eyesores that ruined waterfront views, have acquired positive value as a "heritage in wood". At the same time that zoning laws are passed which make it illegal for Commercial fisherman to keep their gear and equipment in their yards, newcomers to the area are "dressing up" their houses with old looking fishing gear with the hopes of giving it a salty atmosphere. Baymen, previously regarded as shiftless, "seaside hillbillies" are now valued for the their rural simplicity and natural knowledge. In many cases, their lack of education, previously regarded as a mark of inferiority is now viewed as the triumph of natural wit, native intelligence and commons sense. Their proclivity to

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live for the moment, previously derided as an inability to defer gratification and just plain laziness, is now hailed as a form natural living which is close to the earth.

People, Place and Folklore

The romance of the baymen is bound up with complex attitudes towards place. To be an object of local color implies being rooted in place. It is hard to define a place without reference to the traditional folks who have helped to shape it. According to Dubos, the vernacular sense of place gives to all human settlements a distinctive local character and contributes to the "genius of place". The local vernacular culture rooted in place in an" architecture without architects". People who are rooted in place....may be less conscious of its distinctive characteristics than the scholar, or even the sightseer or globe trotter. But precisely because they are geographically stable, they become an organic part of the place and contribute to the persistence of it's character. They incarnate it's spirit."

The romanticization of the baymen has become inscribed in the landscape. For many people, especially those involved with heritage preservation and regional pride, the baymen are an integral part the area's sense of place. According to New York City resident who summers in the Hamptons, "The baymen actually define what this place is".

> "These guys represent something unique,"...They are the real Long Island, the Long Island that keeps disappearing. ... Baymen are the essence of the area,"he said "They are Living history."

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> The represent the original people here ,the old farming and old fishing families. They are the real spine of this place. They are the ones who give it its character. People might come and say why do we need them anymore. But I think those people have a very stunted view of things."

It is the baymen's deep rootedness in place which attest to their natural simplicity, local knowledge, and purity. Once again we are faced with the pastoral paradox. The people who most clearly embody and incarnate the sense of place, what the place actually means, are not conscious of their innate spiritual affinity for it. Indeed, from a pastoral point of view, self conscious awareness of being rooted and connected to place is a sure sign that it doesn't exist. Cochrane,(1987:9) a folklorist who has studied the relationship between fisherman and sense of place exemplifies such a position:

> "Ironically, people with a profound attachment to place,..are the most unaware of that relationship. From a folklorist's perspective this statement has important implications. Narratives that at first glace appear to be devoid of sentiment toward place may imply, in fact, the opposite. the strongest positive response to place is not easily put into words. Rooted individuals lack interest in other places. An incuriosity of sorts restricts them from comparing and dramatically opposing "their" place with others. In contrast, narratives that self- consciously assert the striking beauty and importance of place(a tacit comparison) are an indication of a better articulated, but less heartfelt, attachment to place. Yet folklorist are more likely to be struck by narratives of the latter group than the former and thus miscalculate the importance place has for the storyteller and his or her audience."

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In a similar vein Lowenthal has remarked that:(1985:50)

> "The charm of anachronistic places and their fidelity to the past whose aura they convey-depends on unawareness. Their inhabitants are not moderns being quaint, but ordinary people leading normal lives. Once their datedness is widely enjoyed, such locales lose their authenticity and become period stage sets:'primitive' places where one could formerly step back in time now purvey the past self-consciously.

Yi-Fu Tuan has observed that intellectuals, being somewhat removed from experience and being partially detached, are more apt than other persons to ponder the meaning of place. Reflection and abstraction diminish the immediacy of place and paradoxically entail and sense of environmental separation and loss. In many cases, the preservation of local color and the creation of a sense of place is in large part constructed by outsiders who are not part of the place that is being preserved. As we shall see, in many towns on Long Island, many of the people concerned with local pride and heritage are cosmopolitans who constantly on the move.

In many cases, outsiders such as folklorist, in their valorization of the folk, can spur on a process of self reflection and self consciousness. A oldtimer remarks that "I didn't realize the kind of life I led till folklorist/film maker sought him out in order to record and document his vanishing occupational lore. "I was just trying to make a living."[13] Baymen are well aware that their

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heritage and traditional image is appealing to others. Under the watchful eye of the heritage industry and the tourist gaze, baymen find themselves "going native for tourist" and others interested in their folksy way of life.

Heightened self consciousness and awareness on the part of a group about their distinctive cultural identity and heritage is somewhat of a paradox. As Meyrowitz remarks in No Sense of Place(1985:133),

> "Many people take renewed pride in their special identity, yet the heightened consciousness of the special group is the result of being able to view one's group from the outside; that is, it is the result of no longer being fully in the group." Ironically, the sense of restriction felt by many minority group members may be the result of the sudden increase in access to a larger, more inclusive environment."

In exploring the traditionalization of the baymen we have focused on blurring of the boundaries between pastoral images and facts. While symbols and myths aren't free floating, at times they appear to be. While the myth of the baymen is embedded in the local sense of place, that same place has become a "liminal site" permeated by a variety of distant influences. Under such conditions, the distinctions between insider/outsider, city/country,universal/particular, self/other, elite/local are becoming increasingly blurred and fluid. Once again, we can see that myths thrive in the liminal zone.

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Notes

Pictures of old-time baymen who knew the ins and outs of Long Island's sheltered waters, are hard to find;the original baymen, reputed to have been a far wilder and solitary individual than his modern counterpart, had vanished from the scene by the time photographers began to document the shoreline. By the turn of the century the baymen must have become a romantic image.

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2.The Great South Bay, Ed by J.R.Schubel, T.M.

Bell, H.H. Carter.1991 "The article by Kassner entitled the

The Baymen exemplifies some of these processes.

3.The book Living the Fishing opens with the following: Fishing- a way of life? The authors argue that contrary to the nostalgic and romantically tinged image of fishing as stable, long-standing traditional way of life, fishing has a very complex, unstable history with a great deal of diversity among the various fishers communities.

While the book is in the counter-pastoral mode, it is very much in the "social picturesque" tradition.
The rapid growth of the heritage industry has led many practitioners of oral history to become self-reflective about their discipline. According to Thompson et al. "In its beginnings, contemporary oral history took for granted and practiced a "naive realism." "Inspired by the very abundance of the newly discovered sources in living memory which we had opened up, we made a fetish of everydayness, using thick description, in the manner suggested by anthropologist, to reconstitute the small details of domestic life. We are starting to understand that history is a narrative construction, and that metaphors are clues to social consciousness. Social analyst are not immune from the appeal of myth as can be seen form the symbolic categories that they use in constructing models. In using titles like the World We Have Lost, we covertly play with myths of former golden ages which we assume our readers share....Too many of us weigh evidence with an instinctive naivety which rest on our failure to recognize rationalistic realism as the special myth of our own western culture."

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4.The complex interplay between the universal and the particular aspects of cultural symbol complicates interpretation. The intrinsically elusive character of myths and symbols lends itself to multiple interpretations. As Samuelson has remarked, "However local and particular the circumstances of oral history work, we have stumbled, if not on a grand Jungian collective unconscious than at least on

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specific cultural universals...It is important to relate the myths we find not to 'reality' but to other myths ,and to the imaginative complexes which sustain them."In other words to other textual configurations or narrative frameworks.(1990:12)

5.A report discussing the how to revitalize the waterfront and preserve the traditional character of the area claims that "the traditional image of the fisherman is our major "symbolic resource" which we be utilized in development strategies.

6.Place has become a problematic term in local discourse meaning many things to many people.

7. Rosaldo, Renato. 1986 "From the Door of his Tent: The Fieldworkerand the Inquisitor" in Clifford and Marcus. Writing Culture pg.77-97

8.National Fisherman.8/90

9.According to Lewis (1993) urban tourist regard the local the residents in Maine as more authentic and more natural. They are "Rural, salt of the earth people... these tight lipped taciturn, yet humble folk, living in harmony with their inner natures and the rugged outer beauty of their land, must be appreciated and sometimes envied for who they are."

10.Baymen were conspicuously absent.

11."Louis Simpson. The Baymen, New York Times 11/22/92

12. According Habermas,(1984:328) the nostalgia for de-differentiated in many cases leads to the assorted"... cults of the vernacular and to reverence for the banal He refers to this longing for pure natural knowledge uncontaminated by intellectualization as the"ideology of the uncomplicated".

13.New York Times. 6/7/87. pg. 18.

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PART TWO

CIVILIZING NATURE AND NOSTALGIA

The romantic and nostalgic imagery and stereotypes attached to fishing and fisherman play a large role in the politics of fishing. On Long Island, as fishing work becomes more rationalized, and integrated into a complex bureaucratic structure, the folksy image of fishing as a lore drenched way of life close to nature, grows stronger. Despite their declining numbers and economic importance, baymen wield a great deal of symbolic clout in the local political arena. As their way of life has become threatened, baymen have become local folk heroes. Despite continuous advances in fishery science and technology, public sentiment favors the preservation of the baymen and their anachronistic style of work at the expense of economic and technological rationality.

In this section, I shall show how the romanticized and pastoral imagery which surrounds the baymen takes on meaning and becomes more poignant when juxtaposed and confronted with its opposite:the language and rhetoric of scientific management. The myth of the baymen comes alive and achieves a level of passionate intensity during debates between those who argue in favor of 'improving' the primitive and wild marine commons and those who want to preserve fishing as a

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traditional pursuit. Managing the fishery commons is inherently conflictual with perennial debates and maneuvering within and between two seemingly contradictory rhetorics-one of rationalization and improvement and one of traditionalism and nostalgia. Both rhetorics contain a great deal ambivalence.

Symbols take on meaning in the process of conflictual social interaction. In the conflict ridden cultural discourse about managing nature, key words and phrases exaggerate themselves and express contrast and distinction. The vitality of cultural symbols lies in their juxtaposition. Every discourse ..inclines towards what it is not: toward an implicit negativity.(Boon:1980:232) At the core of the myth of the baymen, is the phrase "vanishing way of life." It has become a symbolically charged trope, a pastoral metaphor loaded with meaning that has bestowed upon baymen a privileged position. As technological development transforms the modern coastal zone, pastoral images of baymen and their vanishing heritage have become a powerful force in symbolic struggles over the marine environment.

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CHAPTER FIVE

IDEAS OF NATURE, THE CULTURE OF THE BAYMEN AND THE TRAGEDY OF THE COMMONS

> The first man who, having enclosed a piece of ground, bethought himself of saying"this is mine," and found people simple enough to believe him, was the real founder of civil society. From how many crimes, wars and murders, from how many horrors and misfortunes might not anyone have saved mankind ,by pulling up the stakes, or filling up the ditch, and crying to his fellows:"Beware of listening to his imposter, you are undone if you once forget that the fruits of the earth belong to us all, and the earth itself to nobody."
>
> Jean-Jacques Rousseau

> "The wild life about us is full of tragedies"
>
> John Burroughs

> Open-access commercial exploitation is an anachronism. The human population of North American has outstripped the ability of fisheries resources to provide a profitable living for an unlimited number of fishers;there is no longer room for the pioneering attitude of conquer and subdue.
>
> Pamela Mace

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Introduction

A general theme that runs throughout the literature on the fishery management is that natural resource abuse and decline is almost inevitable under a system of common property tenure. Since natural resources are held in common are not owned and protected by anyone there is an inexorable economic logic which dooms them to over-exploitation. Many regard the commons as the enemy sustainable resource management because it encourages ruggedly individualistic fisherman to enact a"tragedy of the commons" which results almost inevitably in resource depletion and economic decline. Since the sea isn't owned by anyone and can be exploited by everyone, no one has any interest in maintaining the resource. Why should one fisher reduce his effort in order to conserve the fishery. The fish he does not catch today will be caught by someone else tomorrow.

The notion of the tragedy of the commons originated with Garrett Hardin, who in a widely quoted 1968 essay by the same title, compared the world ecosystem to a common pasture, where each individual, guided by a desire for personal gain, increases his herd until the pasture is ruined for all. According to Hardin, common ownership of resources spells disaster given the competitive nature of the people who use them. Thus, freedom of the commons

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becomes tragic because," the rational herdsman concludes that the only sensible course for him to pursue is to add another animal to his herd,and another, and another..but his is the conclusion reach by each and every rational herdsman sharing a commons. Therein lies the tragedy. Each man is locked into a system that compels him to increase his herd without limit -in a world that is limited, Freedom in a commons brings ruin to all." Hardin's Hobbesian pessimistic message is that "ruin is the destination toward which all men rush ,each pursuing his best won interest in a society that believes in the freedom of the commons."(Hardin 1968:1244)

The model has been applied to a wide variety of situations ranging from publicly owned rangeland and forest, fish and other wildlife, to air and water that people own in common as citizens but pollute as competitors, underground aquifers which collapse because competing users draw more water than the natural flow can replenish, and even to the planet's ultimate ability to support the ever-increasing number of people which individual families produce.

Hardin argued in favor of some form of "mutual coercion mutually agreed upon by all" to keep people from destroying the commons, whether it be a fishery or the entire planet. Tragic outcomes are inevitable unless some form of external authority intervenes in the workings of the commons or the commons is privatized and transformed into private property.

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In shore, the best way to end the tragedy is to end the commons. any theorist drawing on Hardin's ideas assume a necessary connection between common use rights and inefficient or destructive use of natural resources on the one hand, and individual property rights and the efficient use of such resources on the other. The privatization of the commons would internalize cost and benefits, reduces uncertainty, and thereby increase individual responsibility for the environment and the rational use of natural resources. According to Gordon, In the fisheries, the combination of market forces and a limited entry regime as opposed to a common property one would tend to reward ecologically prudent fisherman and thus work to conserve the resources. Imposing such a regime on a fishery necessitated making it private property or public property, in either case subjecting it to a unified directing power able to exclude outsiders and adjust harvesting to maximum advantage. Although he focused on the fisheries, Gordon thought his conclusions could be applied to "all cases where natural resources are owned in common but exploited under individualistic competition."

The private ownership of natural resources in and of itself doesn't necessarily protect them from over exploitation and decline. In many cases private ownership promotes environmental ruin. There are many cases in which private owners of resources choose to deplete them for short

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term economic gain. According to the logic of capital, such resource decisions are quite rational. According to William Ophuls,"If under conditions of ecological scarcity individuals rationally pursue their material self interest unrestrained by a common authority that upholds the common interest, the eventual result is bound to be common environmental ruin."Ophuls recommends a class of ecological guardians to handle the difficult policy decisions necessary to manage the commons. The individual basis of society,"he continues, the concept of inalienable rights ,the purely self defined Pursuit of happiness,liberty as maximum freedom of action ,and laissez faire itself all become problematic,requiring major modifications or perhaps even abandonment if we wish to avert inexorable environmental degradation and eventual extinction as a civilization. Certainly, democracy as we know it cannot possible survive."The tragedy of the commons parable has become a inclusive symbol in environmental discourse. According to Berkes, in the field of fishery science and management, "Hardin's parable has attained the status of conventional wisdom, and is used by some as if it were a scientific law." In a similar vein, McCay points out that the analytical model used by fishery economist, assumes that all fisherman behave as anarchic villains in a tragedy of the commons which leads inexorably to resource depletion and economic waste...Participants are believed to lack self

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regulating mechanisms and motivation"(McCay 1978)[1]

The social imagery and metaphors attached to Hardin's commons narrative serve rhetorical functions and play a powerful role in fishery politics.[2] In discussing the surf clam management plan Creed has shown that "in the decision making process, the tragedy of the commons paradigm was a "folk model shared by all participants. This folk model shaped the discourse, and thus the political process through which the public good was defined.."(27)[3]

Theorist draw different social and political conclusions from the tragedy of the commons parable. It has been used to bolster multiple, contradictory and diametrically opposed perspectives on natural resource management. The notion that common ownership of resources is destructive has a long history. Aristotle remarked that " That which is common to the greatest number has the least care bestowed upon it." Roughly speaking, debates on the commons fluctuate between a Hobbesian and Rousseauian perspective.

Rendering the Incommensurables Commensurable

As we have seen, the marine commons is a highly contested terrain. In the parlance of natural resource management professionals, "multiple use" conflicts abound. For some people, shellfish is a harvestable commodity while for others it is a link in a complex ecological community that should be left alone. For some, striped bass is

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endangered species that should be preserved for a host of ecological reasons, while for others it is a prized trophy fish, or a source of income.

Hardin is aware that people attach different values and meanings to nature and how it should be used. "Comparing one good with another is, we usually say, impossible because goods are incommensurable. Incommensurables cannot be compared..." His goal of achieving "mutual coercion mutually agreed upon" is difficult, given the diversity of values and beliefs about what is good and just. Hardin argues for a meaningful system for weighing and judging resource values that will "render the incommensurable... commensurable."

Hardin's parable is based on a particular philosophical view of social life which argues that "Nature knows best." While he is aware of the multiple meanings attached to the commons, Hardin appeals to the "laws of nature" to lend authority to his value judgements. For Hardin, the logic of nature could be the great leveller which unites people and overcomes value conflicts."In nature the criterion is survival....Natural selection commensurates the incommensurables." In real life however, the appeal to nature has not generated a common value system. On the contrary, it has led to a multitude of diverse values and rationalities which are indeed incommensurable. As a metaphorical source, the book of nature has spawned multiple and opposing readings. According to Winner,(1986:137)

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"Nature will justify anything. Its text contains opportunities for myriad interpretations."In different historical periods the same symbols of nature carry different, sometimes opposite meanings. Nature as a metaphorical source can provide directly opposite rationales for the kind of world the individual seeks. According to Burch,(1971:72) "In social life metaphors can be and are mixed." Thus an ecological ethics grounded in the laws of nature, is just one rationality among many others. As we have seen, it is the baymen's metaphorical connection to Nature, which has bestowed upon them a privileged status in the cultural imagination. As we shall explore in more detail, their identification with nature has helped to essentialize disparate aspects of the their occupational identity, and thus reduce threatening ambiguities attached to their environmental practices. [4]

Critiques of the Tragedy of the Commons Metaphor. Hardin's tragedy of the commons metaphor has many critics. There are three major critiques of the model which can be briefly summarized as follows: 1.it does not incorporate important contextual factors such as historical, cultural and socioeconomic traditions 2.it's individualistic bias and underlying ahistorical assumptions about human behavior and the state of nature underestimates the ability of people who share resources to cooperate 3. It emphasizes property rights to the exclusion of other relevant factors. Many have

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argued that Hardin fails to distinguish between a commons in which a number of owners are co-equal in their rights and duties to a resource, from an open access system, in which there are no features of exclusion. As a general rule common property isn't treated as everybody's property. Groups of people who depend upon and share fisheries and other common resources such as pasture lands and forest, typically control access and use through a variety of locally based cultural means. In many cases,the commoners themselves were not without commons sense and have developed a rich variety of institutions and community sanctions which regulated and restrained use of the commons in order to avert resource decline.

Property rights are thoroughly embedded in historically specific social and historical context whose meanings vary. Following Malinowski (1936:20-21) common property systems can only be understood with reference to the "concrete facts and conditions of use. It is the sum of duties, privileges and mutualities which bind owners to the object and to each other."

The commons is a social institution. It is a cultural construct whose meaning are embedded in place. The definitions of rights, of relative claims, of appropriate uses and users are not only embedded in specific historical sets of political and economic structures but also in cultural systems of meanings, symbols, and values.

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According to Sagoff(1992:373)" The..character, utility, and extent of the commons are determined in large part by social perceptions- by a consensus concerning what of value is and is not "there.... The value of a commons depends as much on what the community as a whole believes is important as on what individuals wish to consume and use."

The Hardin metaphor is not only socially and culturally simplistic, it is historically false. The common -property status of natural resources is neither a necessary or sufficient explanation of resource depletion. According to S.V.Ciracy Wantrup, history and ethnographic evidence shows that in some cases traditional societies have managed commonly owned resources successfully , while in other cases, private economies have utterly wasted theirs. The logic of the tragedy model, turns history on its head and blames the depletion of resources and the impoverishment of communities on the logic of the commons instead of on forces that transformed the commons from without.The tragedy of the commons rhetoric is based on the classical economic model which views individual fisherman as self seeking, essentially unconnected individual maximizers who selfishly pursue their own interest to the detriment of other fisherman and the resource which they are dependent upon. Given the inexorable logic of the commons, a sense of community on the water, is virtually impossible. According to McEvoy," The tragic tale of the commons views people as

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profit-maximizing automatons, without culture, without feeling for their work, and without community.(229) The tragedy of the commons, rather than expressing some metaphysical or metahistorical truth about society-environmental relationships ,may express only one, historically contingent, and perhaps too-narrow view of those relationships."

Being a good fisherman involves more than mastering technical skills - it involves learning how to manipulate social relations on the water. Fisherman are caught up in a thick and complex web of social relationships and find themselves continuously walking a tightrope between the values of cooperation and competition, secrecy with openness, sharing with self interest. Fisherman are simultaneously rugged individualist, and members of occupational communities with their own set of values, meanings, codes of conduct, rituals and myths.

The social scientific literature on the commons clearly depicts a wide range of customary rights and claims in the sea, many of which, officially, were never thought to exist. Although commercial fisherman are officially managed and regulated by various governmental agencies, in a wide variety of context and settings, communities of fisherman have developed indigenous management practices with elaborate norms, rules, and codes of conduct which alter the common property open access nature of marine resources. In

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some cases, their informal territorial etiquette and self policing practices produce good conservation results since they mitigate against overfishing and resource depletion Acheson shows that in the ocean commons of Maine,lobsterman have carved out territorial work zones and have enacted informal regulations on the number of traps used and other sources of fishing pressure on the stocks, resulting in biological and economic benefits.

Despite the criticism of the tragedy of the commons myth among fishery social scientist, it is widely accepted that tragedies are likely to occur when access to fishing grounds is entirely open to and when marine resources are not managed in some way or another by fishers, external authorities or by a combination of both. In response to the current crisis in the exploitation of the commons, there is a growing awareness that we need to develop modes of sustainable resource use." [5] It is becoming commonplace in the literature on fisher management that it is easier to support regulations that fisherman support as opposed to top down management which encourages rule breaking. Increasingly, in a wide variety of settings, management regimes are trying to develop co-operative management strategies which incorporate and build upon the fisherman's indigenous management practices. It remains to be seen, if such systems will help to prevent tragedies from occurring.

The Symbolic Meaning of the Commons

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On Long Island, as in other areas, the conflict between efficiency and social equity plays a large role in debates regarding the privatization of the marine commons. Hardin and others in the "Tragedy of the Commons School" are aware of the social implications of the privatization of common use rights and how it often displaces and marginalizes those who depended on them. For, Hardin, although the enclosure of the English commons was clearly unjust and led to the immisseration and pauperization of those human communities who depended upon them, such brutality was painful but necessary.

> "The focus on issues of justice instead of ecological necessity, has created a climate of opinion in which the search for justice has been preeminent. Such a concern is admirable, but the consistent emphasis on justice has probably contributed to widespread insensitivity to the evils of the commons...Injustice is preferable to total ruin."

In a similar vein, Christy and Scott, fishery economist who argue against the commons and for a limited entry structure,point out that "In an economic sense, society may be better off because of improved efficiency, but politically or socially, the imposition of such hardships, even of a transitional nature, may be difficult to bear."[6]

There are meanings and values attached to the commons which cannot be evaluated according to the logic of economic efficiency and productivity. While they are not efficient according a narrow "bio economic" logic, they are a social arrangement realm which offers considerable non-economic

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social, cultural,and ecological values to its users. Laws which govern natural resource management, particularly of coastal and wetland areas, stand in the tradition of child labor laws, food and drug laws and health and safety legislation etc. in that they restrict efficiency in market transactions. In discussing cultural meanings attached common use rights in the United States, Bromley has argued that"The proper perspective on access to, and control of the public lands would start with our European heritage wherein only a very few could avail themselves of hunting and fishing activities. Advocates who call for the privatization of the commons and decry its inefficiencies, forget that" it was with a particular social welfare function in mind that our founders determined that certain resources would remain the common property of the many, and not the fortunate few." In the world of fishing, the founders decision has been a source of perennial conflict.[7]

While baymen acknowledge the need for the management of the commons, they are concerned with issues of fairness. Some baymen feel that the tragedy of the commons model is being misapplied to their detriment. While they acknowledge the problem of overfishing (the extent of this is constantly debated) they often point out that the main threat to their livelihood comes from environmental pollution and habitat destruction and loss. They argue that the tragedy of the commons rhetoric blames the victims instead of the

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perpetrators of environmental hazards. Baymen, in their struggles to survive as fisherman have developed their own narrative about the commons- the tragedy of the commoners. In a local paper a baymen writes:

> The public underwater lands of this state are rightfully the domain of independent handharvest baymen; the fact that many of these lands are enclosed by pollution cannot change that.The legislature must see that when independent baymen are put out of work by pollution there is an obligation to prevent enclosure of the public fishery.
>
> The Bureau of Shellfisheries was, at its inception ,the "state oyster Protector," they went around bringing suit against polluters, fighting dumping and in fact were the catalyst that cried out against the destruction of the shellfisheries by steam powered dredges.It seems, at least to this observer,that today that mandate is ignored."(NSBA (on the Water 10)
>
> Another baymen speaks of the loss of common access to marine environment caused by coastal development.
>
> If we continue in our same arrogant, careless, greedy ways and go about developing every last piece of open space and shoreline, there will be no Baymen or Farmers left to provide the foods necessary for life. We are already seeing instances where our ground waters are contaminated and undrinkable. When do we say enough development is enough?
>
> It bothers me to see a Long Island Economic Summit not one facet of it included the benefits, economic values, and historical heritage of the baymen and farmers add to Long Island. Why are the Baymen and Farmers which gave Long Island its very beginning expendable in the name of progress?..If we keep developing farmland, destroying tidal wetlands and marshes and polluting the marine environment we will not have any one to turn to because the baymen and farmers would have been expended in the name of so called progress. [8]

The Two Discourses of the Commons. Debunking

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tragedy of the commons myth on the grounds of its empirical and historical inaccuracy is to confuse two different realms of understanding and to underestimate the power of its rhetoric to emotionally captivate. Myths operate on the emotional realm. While it is important to focus on the empirical facts and particular conditions of use in any common property situation, this type of knowledge doesn't command authority in the cultural imagination and resonate with people as much as "mythic facts" do. Poetic meanings reflect the multiplicity and ambiguity of phenomena. As a metaphor ,such myths provide valid insight. To evaluate them on strictly semantic basis is an act of vandalism.(Gusfield 1975:12) According to Gieyrn, scientist are no different from lay people in that they are guided by predominant cultural images, metaphors and folk ideas in conducting research and in constructing and maintain the boundaries of science.

At the present time, two contrasting myths of nature vie for hegemony in the fishery political arena- and in the cultural imagination. On the one side stands the tragedy of the commons myth with its bleak Hobbesian pessimism and on the other stands its polar opposite-the myth of the commons as a golden age, a realm of freedom and ecological harmony. In the romanticized view, the traditional commons is embedded in a "moral economy" which preserves the environment and generates equality. This idyll serves as a

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foil for what are seen to be environmental destructive and socially corrosive qualities of latter systems.

Both myths are brandished about in fishery politics. Both myths simply and reduce the complexity of social life and the way people interact with the natural environment in specific circumstances. Like all myths, they "naturalize" the complexity of culture and history. The two rhetorics reference one another. One narrative helps to define the other. Such myths reduce the ambiguities which stem from the inherent liminality of the commons and the baymen.

Imagining the Commons

There is a long history of romancing and imagining the commons and the commoners. The enclosure of the commons and the destruction of rural folk and values has generated a vast pastoral literature of nostalgic yearning and loss. According to Hofstadter:

> Wherever the peasantry was being displaced by industry or commercial farming, and particularly in England ,where rustic life was devastated by enclosures, such literature took on special poignancy. Oliver Goldsmith's classic statement "The Desert Village," which speaks of the sense of loss associated with enclosure became well over a hundred years latter the unchallenged favorite of American Populist writers and orators."

It was the people who plowed under by the march of progress and enclosure process, that became the community whose remnant would come to be regarded by antiquarians of the nineteenth century as the "folk," keepers of traditional ballads, tales, customs, ceremonies, and other relics of an

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increasingly remote and increasingly imaginary past.[9]

According to E.P Thompson, commons rights are intensely "local rights." Enclosure, in taking the commons away from the poor, made them strangers in their own land." The nostalgia and sentimentalizing about the pre-enclosure commons is tied to "separation anxiety" and loss of a sense of place. The psychic cost of being uprooted and displaced is severe and can't be quantified by economic calculations. While in many cases, the poor were economically better off after enclosure process, their social position declined. Thompson, while rejecting the triumphal accounts of the improvers and modernizers, warns against sentimentalizing the customary -pre-enclosure consciousness which was the vector of its own kind of narrowness, brutality and superstition."(182) Nevertheless, the tragedy of the commoners and the real or imagined loss of community has a mythic dimension that won't fade away. It represents the fall from a golden age in which divisions weren't so apparent. In world of complexity and differentiation the call to the commons is an attempt to recover a sense of wholeness. The commons is a" sacred place" where people are not separated from nature and each other

Fernandaze (1988) points out that "we moderns feel ourselves faced with the tragedy of the commons and long for holistic healing and the "whole earth" It is important to distinguish between the tragedy of ecological degradation"

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and the tragedy of the abandonment the commons. The commons "even when they are vestigial have a powerful psychological reality, a testimony to something meaningful.[10] The theme of the lost rural community and a "nostalgia for the imagined conviviality of commons and the desire to put them into practice is widespread in the modern world.

According to Fernandaze, the prevalence of assorted types of commons preservation societies is reflection of how " dignifying, humanizing, revitalizing, and regenerating the commons is still felt to be."(pg.268) In discussing the symbolic resurrection of the traditional commons on the part a group of urban professionals who felt increasingly alienated from their rural roots he argues that:

> The search for, and celebration of a communal heritage and cooperative traditions of the past is one of the major themes of our times. It may be a theme of any historically situated people propelled by acquisitive individualism and /or rationalized bureaucratization that is by "modernization"away from small communities and the cooperative endeavors and well- understood reciprocal obligations supposed to be characteristic of them."

Residual and Emergent Meanings of the Commons.While powerful emotions attached to struggles over the enclosure of the marine commons are part of the collective memory of the people in the area, they have acquired new meanings given the increased concern with the environmental impacts of managing marine natural resources. In the midst of a widespread disenchantment with scientific improvements and

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the "ideology of progress", the debates surrounding the commons have taken on new meaning. According to E. P. Thompson the so-called anachronistic pre-capitalist sentiments associated with the commons have to be rethought in the context of modern conditions with a growing concern with ecology. He points out that in Clare's 'enclosure elegies' and powerful poetic images of the displaced commoners is a deep ecological sensibility."So close is the mutual ecological imbrication of the human and the natural that each may stand for the other." Enclosure symbolizes the private appropriation of the natural is an offence to both nature and human community. Such a logic is with us still in factory farming and the privatization of water. It is also plays a role in some of the debates surrounding biotechnology and biodiversity in the global commons [11]

Walter Firey has show how the traditional Boston commons still exerts a powerful influence in the modern city. "Although the 48 acre tract of land which is located in the heart of the business district of the city causes a great deal of congestion, and results in loss of revenue, economically rational arguments to improve they situation fall on deaf ears. The commons still exerts a great deal of sentimental and symbolic meaning and has become a sacred space. The city forbids Boston in perpetuity to dispose of the common or any portion of it. Williams (1973:291)has remarked that " I have seen contemporary struggles over the

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defense of a garden which repeated in almost every particular the defense of the commons in the period of parliamentary enclosure. In a similar vein, Samuel(1995:78) argues that the rural gentrification is a contemporary form of enclosure."

> On a wider plane it is possible to see retorfitting as part of a new enclosure movement in which there is a transfer of population and resources from one sector of the economy to another, and a new social division of living space. Conservation appears her as the epicenter of a whole new cycle of urban, and it may be, rural development. Like the Highland Clearances of old, it dishouses entire populations;like the enclosure movement it changes patterns of settlement...

In short, enclosure is both a symbolic trope as well as a material force that plays a large role in the politics of community and place.

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notes

1.According Crutchfield,"the fisheries present in one form or another all the major causes for market-mechanism failure that call for public intervention." The modern literature on common property resource problems, indeed, began by using the fisheries as a model.

2.A recent publication on the decline of the fisheries argues that "The common ownership of marine fishery resources has contributed to the demise of fishery stocks throughout the world, particularly during the last several decades as consumer demand for finfish has increased and harvesting technology has been improved." Common ownership has results in excessive waste of the fisheries resources and human effort, and imposed unnecessarily high cost to the fishing industry and consumers and led to the depletion of fishery stocks. Common Property Resource Digest.July 1989.pg.8

3.Thomas Hobbes held the view that without legal and restrictive mechanisms established by the state, the clash of competing individual interest would produce the collective irrationality of a "war of everyone against everyone else. To resolve this conflict, Hobbes argued that individuals in a state of nature exercise their liberty to create a social contract which would set the legal foundations for the relations between people. Liberal philosophers such as Locke held a similarly negative view of the dangers of commonly owned property in a state of nature. However they argued that people could find ways to respect each others rights and that a external centralized power was unnecessary:

God, who has given the world to men in common, has also given them reason to make use of it to the best advantage of life and convenience...As much land as a man tills, plants, improves, cultivates, and can use the product of,so much is his property. He by his labor does, as it were, enclose it from the common. Nor will it invalidate his right to say everybody else has an equal title to it, and therefore he cannot appropriate, he cannot enclose ,without the consent of all his fellow commoners-all mankind." While Hobbes argues for the necessity of centralized state action, Locke believes in that possibility cooperative agreements on the part of people who use the commons.

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4.Baymen have acquired a heritage aura because of their connection to a core cultural theme -a theme which essentializes the culture. The appeal to tradition is a rhetorical strategy which bestows the mantle of authenticity upon the groups activities. The rhetorical process metaphorically links disparate phenomena and places them in a narrative frame -a nexus of images, symbols, beliefs and metaphors which revolve around a key cultural theme-nature. Such a process makes that which is intangible, abstract, or poorly apprehended appear more concrete. As Gusfield (1975:85) has remarked "In metaphor we connect qualities of one object with a seemingly different object."

5.In many areas the fishery commons are being fundamentally transformed by quota systems which grant the permanent right of access to an exclusive group. Increasingly these rights are being turned into a marketable commodity." Palasson 1992,84 Recently, the U.S. Atlantic surf clam and ocean quahog fisheries became privatized.

6.Cordell,J.C.,Modernization and Marginality. Oceanus 17,1973(5(28-336.Acheson,James,M. The Territories of the Lobsterman. Natural History 81:60-69; Berkes Ibid. Acheson, J.M. The Lobster Fiefs:Economic and Ecological Effects of Territoriality in the Maine Lobster Industry. Human Ecology 3 (3)1975,183-207Christy and Scott Ibid Pg.232

7.One of the most influential court decisions involving open access in marine territory is that of the New Jersey Supreme Court in the case of Arnold vs Mundy(6N.J.L.1,70(Sup Ct.1821) over the rights in oystering lands. The court held that the American Revolution had vested inalienably and indefeasibly in the states people the legal title and the usufruct in New Jersey's tidewater resources. Legislative powers over those resources could be exercised only as a sovereign"for the common benefit of every individual citizen".

8.3/3/1990 Letter to editor Newsday..

9. The Highland clearances strikes a chord in the modern cultural imagination. According to McCay, New Jersey baymen who objected to oyster planting on the grounds that it

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represented a form of enclosure of the commons referred to the Highland Clearances of Scotland to make their point.

10.In speaking about the emotional importance of commons use rights William's has argued Again and again,down to our own day,men living in villages have tried to create his kind of margin:a rented patch or strip,,an extended garden a few hives or fruit trees, When I was a child my father had not only the garden that went with his cottage, but a strip for potatoes on a farm where he helped in the harvest,and two gardens which he rented form the railway company form which he drew his wages. Such marginal possibilities are important not only for their produce,but for their direct and immediate satisfactions and for the felt reality of an area of control of one's own immediate labor..Under the long pressures of a dominating wage economy,these exceptional areas have been critically important:they still occur,even in town,in some subsidiary small trade or employment. (183) In a similar vein, Williams argues that the common practices and shared sense of community of the pre enclosure villages was only a partial truth. In that sense, a degree of loss is real. But only a degree:for by these methods while they remained marginal, no whole community could be economically sustained ,and stratification within it was still inevitable.." 103

11. We can get a good sense of the changing cultural meaning attached to the enclosure of the commons by looking at conflicts attached to crofting. Crofting is According to Cohen while crofting is uneconomical, it is maintained because it is a symbolic resource which embodies community. Crofting not only have individual plots of land but also held common uses rights to foreshore and grazing ground."Crofting is a way of life, an act of defiance,a statement of cultural resistance against Balmorality. For most of the twentieth century it was seen as a [pre-capitalist remnant but in the more ecologically aware last quarter it provides a glimpse of what a post capitalist economy could look like."(Short 1991:77)

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CHAPTER SIX
MARICULTURE, CIVILIZING NATURE AND THE TRAGEDY OF THE COMMONERS

> A man who has lived with sea and learned its rhythms well and shared in it's timelessness is the baymen of Long Island's Great South Bay... The baymen exist on whatever he can harvest from the inshore waters of the island. He is first of all a man of the sea, but he is also a farmer, philosopher,a carpenter, a collector of almost anything, and a naturalist. Out on the bay he finds a whole system of nature that fascinates and sustains him.
>
> The baymen's dangerous uncertain but blessedly independent livelihood 'on the water' continues to demand of them those ancient American virtues, like self reliance and solitude, that have elsewhere come to mean only the titles of unread or half read essays by Emerson.
>
> Jonathan Raban

> As an occupation for leisure hours, I recommend the pursuit of the clam. Your true clammer is of another age, born after his time. He values not at all the improvements of this age.
>
> William Hopkins, The Clammer

Introduction

At the present time, amidst a steadily dwindling natural harvest and rising consumer demand for fresh seafood, mariculture, the scientific farming of fish and shellfish is being hailed by many as a technological solution to the perennial tragedy of the marine commons. Mariculture is ushering in the "Blue revolution " which

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will salvage the eclining fishing industry by transforming plunderers of the sea into planters.

There is a growing feeling these days of the wild fishery are numbered and that mariculture is necessary, since "nature by itself isn't always productive." [1]

> "How long can we expect to preserve estuaries and wetlands as the last frontier for hunting and gathering--the last major resource that functions inefficiently as a commons? If we have profit, production and efficiency in mind, we may have to replace the slow, random processes of evolution with the up-to -date technologies of bioindustry and bioengineering" .....Technological methods of aquacultural production may have to replace "wild" or "natural" systems in its waters, just as, on its shores, Frank Perdue's factory farms have replaced whatever methods nature originally introduced to grow chickens."[2]

Since mariculture enables humans to exert far greater control over the unpredictable forces that beset fish in their natural habitat, it permits greater predictability and efficiency of supply and harvesting as well as greater calculability -the greatest number of fish for the lest expenditure of energy.

While mariculture can bring stability to an industry that has always been at the mercy of nature, it has many critics. As we shall in a latter section, modern mariculture technology is fundamentally altering or "civilizing nature" in complex ways which are little understood. Uncertainties abound. Mariculture shall be defined as "the controlled

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cultivation and harvest of marine plants and animals." There are two types of mariculture. Intensive mariculture involves complete control of every aspect of an organism's life cycle. Extensive mariculture, on the other hand, involves only minimal control over the organism. Intensive culture systems are generally capital and technologically intensive. They are able to concentrate production in a small area, and are highly productive. Conversely, extensive culture systems are labor intensive and technologically less demanding. Although they are less expensive, they are less productive per unit area.

It is also important to distinguish between private and public mariculture. Private mariculture, is a form of marine farming which cultivates a product on an area that is owned, leased, or otherwise privately controlled. Public mariculture, on the other hand uses public funds to supplent natural reproduction in order to increase the public harvest on publicly controlled land. Mariculture releases the crop to the public. The benefits of public mariculture are obvious when stocks are made available at harvestable sizes. However, when it comes to releasing hatchery produced seeds, uncertainties abound. Public mariculture of shellfish is intensive up to the point of seed planting at which time it ceases to be mariculture at all. After abandoning the shellfish in the wild, there is a long waiting period before

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the crop can be harvested. Benefits from this form of abbreviated mariculture depend on the survival and growth of shellfish in an uncontrolled, poorly understood and often highly variable environment.

For the most part, baymen are against private mariculture and in favor of public programs which will restock or rejuvenate depleted waters. While such distinctions are crucial, they are often unacknowledged in policy debates surrounding mariculture development. As we shall see, sometimes these distinctions become confusing.[3] Scientific opinion has always favored some form of exclusive property rights for non- migratory species like clams, oysters and other shellfish arguing that the commons worked against conservation. In 1880, George Goode suggested that in the interest of scientific conservation:

> The oyster industry should be transferred from the improvident fisherman to the care taking oyster culturist....Since shellfish are embedded in the soil and had more in common with agricultural crops than with migratory fish, it is the general belief that shellfish must be cultivated as carefully as garden beds, and that this can only be done by leasing them to individuals. There is difficulty however,in carrying out this policy in the case of the natural beds, to which fisherman have had continued access for centuries."

In 1893, Liet. Francis Winslow remarked that "one cause " ran like a thread through the destruction of oyster fisheries from Europe to New England: The fishery has been

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common property, it preservation everybody's business-that lis nobody's." For over a century, U.S. scientist and natural resource managers involved with shellfishing have been wrestling with the question first posed in 1891 by William K.Brooks ,an influential scientist and leading advocate for the scientific management and the privatization of the commons.

> "How can the people of the State be brought to perceive that private enterprise in oyster culture is to their advantage, and what can be done to develop a sentiment of respect for private property in oysters?

While Brooks, a champion of science, progress, and the inherent value of private property had and continues to have many ardent supporters, to this day his provocative question remains an unanswered source of controversy. Despite several economic studies which have shown that private oyster beds are more productive, the philosophy of the commons prevails.[4]

Despite the productive capabilities and proven success of mariculture, socially and politically it has always faced a great deal of resistance. Although mariculture is a very real possibility, at the present time it remains marginal. Despite the rhetoric of science, progress, and "improvement", and continued attempts to promote it, mariculture in the Long Island coastal zone remains a " small, almost hidden enterprise."

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It is generally agreed upon by many people involved in the fisheries that the constraints on the development of mariculture are social, political,and economic, rather than technological. [5] From a technical standpoint, mariculture's efficiency and productive capacity is a great advance, from a social point of view, modernization through mariculture poses several problems. Since mariculture necessarily entails some form of exclusive property rights- it entails enclosure of the marine commons. Historically, the enclosure of the marine commons by capital and technologically intensive mariculture companies has displaced fisherman resulting in a "tragedy of the commoners" and tragedies of communities. The history of shellfishing in Long Island, like the history of shellfishing in the United States at large, has been filled with struggles and conflicts between small scale, commercial fisherman who harvest wild shellfish from the marine commons and shellfish farmers who plant and cultivate shellfish and are dependent upon a system of exclusive property rights.

The upheaval which transformed the land is now taking place on the seas. As the introduction of agriculture fenced ,with strife ,the Wild West, so too must aquaculture "fence"the fishery commons."(Squires 1983:70) For many mariculture proponents on Long Island, the social and political obstacles to mariculture can be reduced to one

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word-Baymen. They decry the luddite like "social legislation" which protects the "independent baymen." At the present time, a complex bundle of institutional and legal arrangements keep shellfishing simple and in the hands of small scale, independently employed baymen by placing severe restrictions on the leasing of underwater property and by restricting the use of harvesting technology to simple hand tools. While these regulations are ostensibly conservation measures, their main intent is social and political-to prevent the enclosure of the marine commons by large scale companies so that large numbers of people with little capital can earn a living on the water. According to Jeff Kassner a bay management specialist,

> The reason why rakes and tongs are still used today when more efficient mechanical gear is available is because of the longstanding tradition that only hand operated gear can be used to harvest shellfish. This enforced inefficiency is seen by some as a means of conserving the shellfish population. It is also a form of job security since mechanical gear can out-harvest baymen and would easily replace them."[6]

In a similar vein, Muhugh has remarked:

> "Restrictions on harvesting efficiency were imposed as conservation measures but they have no evident conservation value in themselves. Instead, they serve to distribute the catch among a greater number of people. The small entrepreneur who works the public grounds with backbreaking hand labor does not welcome the development of large-scale private planting industry,for he see's it as a threat to his "independence."[7]

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The tragedy of the commons rhetoric is alive and well in the Long Island coastal zone. Many view the present decline in the shellfish industry through the lens of the tragedy of the commons model. The rationality and legitimacy of the commons and well as the behavior of the independent bayman is under attack from many in the scientific community, the government, and private sphere. It is constantly argued that the time has come to replace the anachronistic, inefficient, and destructive commons with its reduced efficiency laws with a more economically rational structure.

With advances in shellfish mariculture, officials are calling for the leasing of baybottom to private individuals and the installation of shellfish farms. At a public hearing a proponent of mariculture argued that:

> The industry suffers because most of the baybottom is public property, owned by the towns that border it. The economic incentive for individual clammers is to harvest as many clams as quickly as possible before the next clammer gets them. Since no clammer has the right to harvest clams in specific areas, there is no economic incentive to ensure future clam populations. No rational clammer will privately undertake expensive seeding programs or other mariculure programs when someone else can reap the harvest...
> Taxpayer dollars should not be used to subsidize the baymen. A preferred solution is leasing- providing individuals with the exclusive right to a portion of the bay bottom, thereby creating the economic incentive for effective management...."..

The social and economic consequences of privatizing the

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marine commons for mariculture and it's impact on the independent bayman is constantly debated. While many resource managers view mariculture as a means of diversifying and enhancing economic returns, most baymen see it as the beginning of corporate domination, a continuation of the longstanding conflict between shellfish farmers and independent baymen. Baymen are fiercely opposed to private mariculture because they feel it will encroach on their traditional way of making a living. They are fearful that privatization or leasing underwater lands to individuals would displace them and turn the natural bounty of the "free bay" over to a privileged few. According to a Brookhaven baymen, opposition to leasing the bay bottom for mariculture has " been always been a rallying point...the bays a gold mine,and companies would love to put in bids for it."[8] Arthur Frawley ,a member of the Great South Baymen's association remarked that:

> "I object to ... a handful of men taking over an industry and reaping huge profits...
>
> "We oppose any idea that would give huge chunks of baybottom lands to big companies and leave us out in the cold."
>
> It is unconscionable to give large tracts of land to power dredges. It is a basic principle of common law dating back to Magna Carta(1215) and embraced by this sate that "neither king nor legislature can grant away a public fishery." We are dealing here with the oldest public fishery in the state and with the use of common resources. The DEC has failed to act to ensure that access to

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the resources remains common."

While it seems perfectly natural to many of the proponents of mariculture that its increased productivity and efficiency would almost automatically trickle down to the benefit of baymen, many baymen argue that private mariculture in competing with them for bay bottom and markets would eventually force them out of business. At a public hearing a bayman remarked:

> Throughout the history of Long Island, people have turned to the bay during periods of economic hardship. Today is no different. Faced with unemployment many people turn to the bay as a means of providing support for their families... The average bayman has neither the equipment nor the finances to become involved with leasing plots of bay bottoms to farm shellfish. It would be impossible for him to compete with the larger companies. In effect the individual baymen would become obsolete.Large companies would eventually monopolize the entire bay.
>
> We have already lost a great deal of bay bottom to pollution. If leasing were to become a reality, public clam beds would be virtually non-existent. Even if the individual baymen were still able to work in public beds, it would be impossible to compete with the large companies, once the shellfish were harvested. The market would become flooded by the efforts of the companies. The price of a bushel of clams would be driven down so low, it would be impossible for the bayman to earn a living. The economic impact off this is obvious, not only for the baymen ,but also for the entire community..
>
> One has only to look at the oyster industry to see my point. A few companies have a monopoly on the oyster industry. Harvesters of natural oysters cannot compete with the harvesters of cultured oysters.
>
> Instead of leasing, we would rather see the towns,increase their spawning and perhaps even begin seeding programs of their own. Conservation

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> and management must be fair, equitable, and take into account the needs and attitudes of all fisherman and citizens, It is our opinion that leasing will not accomplish these goals...I pray that we can work together to find a suitable measure to protect the future of our bay. We must preserve the shellfish industry for the thousands of people who depend of it as a means of support, rather than turning it over to a rich few."[9]

While both baymen and advocates of mariculture both turn to history to support their views, interpretations of the past have become intensely politicized.[10] According to Baymen Bob Weymss, secretary of the north shore bayman's association,"

> In their studies and policy reports, the natural resource managers and scientist take a lot of liberties with history. I see history from a baymen's point of view, not from a manager's point of view. The negative attitude of baymen toward leasing is drawn from experience."

In a letter in the local fisherman's network publication he has argued that,

> the contention that enclosure by leasing, franchise, or grant poses no threat to free baymen is not borne out by history or present- day reality. The suggestion that to be against leasing is to be against free enterprise and capitalist endeavor is flawed. We are not dealing with the manufacturing of a product in a factory. We are dealing with the use of a public resource. "To understand the conflict between baymen and leaseholders it is necessary to understand the concept of "enclosure of the commons." In England this practice gained legal sanction in 1235. The intent was that barren land would be enclosed so that they might be cultivated. The land grabbing which ensued left thousands of peasants dispossessed. Much of the land that had been enclosed was not barren at all; it was productive common land that had supported peasants for

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> centuries. The enclosure of underwater lands in Holland had, by 1870, resulted in the displacement of Dutch shellfisherman; many of those fisherman made their way to long island. There is no doubt that their experience with enclosure has had a profound effect on New York's shellfisheries."

Baymen haven't always been independent workers on a "free bay" commons. Their fears of being dispossessed are not unfounded and have a historical precedent in the Great South Bay. At the turn of the century, large sections of the bay were leased to private shellfishing companies to the detriment of the commoners.

Enclosure of the Great South Bay Commons

Shellfishing has not followed a uniform path towards modernization, taking different forms in different places. Given the variation in shellfishing styles and practices, it is important to focus on the particular constellation of environmental, socio-political, economic, and technical factors that exist within a given region. Historically, the social and cultural character of a particular locale and of the shellfishermn who work in them, has had distinctive effects on the development and structure of the industry.

The Great South Bay commons has always been a contested terrain. The bay is classic case of conflicting claims to ownership and use by private individuals and local governments as far back as the seventeenth century. It involves colonial town charters and private lands grants,

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constantly shifting boundaries. The history of shellfishing in the bay, like the history of shellfishing in the United States at large is one of persistent conflict. While the modern day baymen are independently employed and harvest from a "free bay", the baymen of the past didn't fare so well. Although mariculture is marginal on the bay today, by the mid 1800's the oyster industry was divided into two opposing groups, baymen who harvested "free" public bottom and baymen-turned entrepreneurs who cultivated shellfish on leased baybottom. Gradually the leaseholders exercised a monopoly on the bay to the detriment of the independent commoners who were displaced and marginalized.

The Oystering Era. While oystering along with other types of shellfish gathering and fishing was always a subsistence pursuit for the first settlers of the region, in the early 1800's, it developed into a major commercial activity after an immense oyster bed was discovered along the coast of Blue Point. The bay attracted an ever increasing group of men "who depended for their subsistence upon the products of the waters of the bay. They were called baymen. The early baymen were primitive hunters and gatherers who worked from tiny boats and relied on wind and muscle to harvest their crop. Getting started was relatively easy and inexpensive. A small and a pair of simple " tongs" to harvest the oysters were all that was

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needed. "They were a rugged type of men who braved the weather at all seasons in open boats. For nine months they lived on the profits derived from the oyster beds, and depended for the other three upon clamming and fishing. They were poor for the most part, but independent masters of their own time and tools.[11]" The work process of the early oysterman was simple and consisted of seeking out a natural oyster bed, working it until it was depleted, and then moving on to another bed. They did replenish the resource and were totally dependent upon the natural productivity of the bay.

The first major technological development within oystering was the dredge. Although the dredge was simple in construction and easy to use it had a far reaching impact on both the oyster resource and the work activity of the bayman. Whereas togging was done by a single person in a tiny open boat, dredging required a larger sailing vessel and the labor of at least two men. While the tonger anchored his boat and remained stationary in order to work a spot, dredging required mobility and was pulled along the bottom by the moving vessel powered by sail. Dredging open up new areas that were previously unharvestable because they were too deep to exploited by tongs. Although dredging required slightly more capital, it was still with the economic reach of most baymen, and by 1860 it had virtually replaced

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togging. The next decade was one of rapid growth for the fishery. The number of baymen increased as the bay took on a gold rush atmosphere. In a few short years, by 1870, it was becoming painfully clear that the beds were being overfished to the point of depletion.

In order to preserve what was left of the scarce resource,the local authorities in charge of managing the fishery, outlawed dredging. On April 15, 1870 an act was passed by local authorities which forbid the use of anything but tongs for the harvesting of oysters from the public beds in the bay.

The steady decline in the supply of natural oysters wasn't just a regional problem effecting the Great South Bay but an international one affecting shellfisheries on both sides of the Atlantic. The heavy demand for oysters amidst conditions of increasing scarcity spurred on experimentation with oyster farming. Oyster farming enabled man to exert control over the forces of nature, thus making oystering more dependable, efficient and productive.

The type of oyster farming practiced in the Great South Bay in the nineteenth century was relatively simple by today's standards and consisted essentially of transplanting natural seed oysters from their nursery beds to more favorable waters where they were tended and kept until they were large enough to market. Ecologically, the bay 's

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temperature, salinity, turbity, tidal flows and the type of bottom were ideally suited for oyster growth and reproduction. From the early 1800's until 1931, environmental conditions in the bay relevant to oystering led baymen to divide it into two distinct ecological zones known colloquially as the "East Bay" and the "West Bay." The "East Bay" which was closed off by the ocean and fed by several freshwater streams, had a very low level of salinity while the western part of the bay was far more saltier due to the inlets which connected it to Atlantic. Oysters and clams would reproduce or" set " in the East Bay" but grow slowly and generally not be fat since the waters were too fresh and the tidal currents too slow for optimum growth and fattening. The survival of the oyster set was fairly regular and good because the water was too fresh for such deadly enemies as drills and starfish. The conditions in the "West Bay" were more satiable for growth and fattening ,but young set was more readily destroyed. The East Bay, therefore, became the reservoir for seed oysters, which when planted in the West Bay where the grew and attained market quality.

As the industry expanded and the natural production of oysters declined in the bay, local baymen turned to Connecticut waters for a source of their much needed seed. The Connecticut beds in the early colonial days were prolific but depletion occurred quite rapidly. By the middle

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of the 1800's, Connecticut oysterman began to transplant southern oysters from Delaware Bay and the Chesapeake oysters to their northern grounds. Around this time, Connecticut oysterman began to develop a method of oyster extensive cultivation which consisted up cleaning beds and dumping shells on them so that free swimming oyster larvae could set on them.

In the early 1800's New England beds were ravished by overfishing and by strange mortalities which appeared as early as 1775. The Cape Cod industry pioneered in search for imported stock to replenish their depleted beds. The search for seed produced a chain reaction as natural beds along the coast were quickly depleted. While at first, the schooner captains first took mature oysters and transplanted them on their lots, eventually they started taking seed oysters. According Warner it is difficult to understand how the Chesapeake oyster survived the onslaught." The original objective of building up northern beds with Chesapeake seed was seldom attained."

While Connecticut went steadily downhill as a marketing state because of industrial pollution, it's seed oyster businesses thrived. The rising demand for seed oysters in the Great South Bay encouraged several Connecticut growers to specialize in their production. Great South Bay oyster farmers found that better yields could be had by planting

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Connecticut seed oysters known as "East Rivers" instead of the natural seed produced in the "East Bay." Without seed from Connecticut, no great volume of oysters could have been produced in the bay. At its peak, the Great South Bay was became an adjunct to that of Connecticut. The bay's locally harvested Blue Points oysters, originated in distant waters.

While at first oyster farmers and commoners coexisted, gradually conflicts began to emerge. Oyster farming was the first step toward the rationalization and full scale industrialization of the fishery. Although oyster cultivation was hailed by many as a great scientific advance, it wasn't welcomed by all. The introduction of oyster farming caused a great deal of conflict and social upheaval between the forces of progress and the forces of tradition. Oyster farming necessarily required the creation of exclusive property rights in marine territory: enclosure of the commons.It pitted planters--large scale capitalist enterprises dependent on the accumulation of oystering property--against independent baymen lacking capital and heavily dependent on common use rights.

The baymen weren't against oyster cultivation and planting per se. There are numerous cases of organized baymen lobbying for public planting programs that would restock the depleted beds. What baymen were against was a system of oystering that favored centralized control by

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large scale enterprises over decentralized control by baymen themselves.

The baymen of the Great South Bay didn't give in easily to the forces of progress and began to resist. Instead of letting free enterprise take its natural course, many lobbied for social legislation that would protect their traditional use rights from the encroachments of large scale oyster planters and shippers. That men of capital and ambition were drawn to the business seemed perfectly natural."An oyster bed is a valuable as a gold mine,less injurious to health and easier to work.[12]"In order to discourage the formation of large scale companies that might monopolize the bay, laws were passed which limited the amount of bay bottom which could be leased to three acres per person. Also, laws were passed that prohibited leasing out natural beds where oysters bred and grew naturally. Only unproductive grounds where no oysters were to be found could be leased out, Before any ground could be leased, the oyster commissioner would tong oysters from the designated area."If the taking of oysters could not be profitable as a business,the lease was issued, otherwise application was rejected. "In many cases,planters would stake out an area that was temporarily depleted and claim that it wasn't a natural bed. For this reason the definition of a natural bed was a constantly mooted question in the town oyster

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meetings. Baymen held a powerful conviction that naturally productive areas would remain "free Bay."

In spite of these obstacles oyster planting spread. The depletion of natural oysters and the creation of exclusive property rights in the commons was accompanied by the concentration of oystering property in a few hands. Between 1865 and 1871 alone, twelve hundred acres of ostensibly unproductive bay bottom were leased out.

While some viewed the establishment of exclusive property rights as a scientific advance, most baymen viewed it as a destructive action that would disrupt social relations and encourage gross inequalities to emerge within the fishery. The "free bay", although not efficient and productive according to capitalist logic, was a social arrangement that was supportive of the poor enabling them to eke out modest livings.

While the process might have seemed inevitable, many baymen felt otherwise and began to organize and resist the steady enclosure of the commons. At issue were relationships between "big fellows" and "small fellows."Baymen feared that the big fellows would take the route so familiar in other branches of the economy, with the result that,.".an oyster trust would soon control the entire business In 1871,a leader of a newly formed baymen's association, which organized around the maintenance of a "free bay", declared

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that leasing had gotten out of hand and the it was unjust because it"ignored the poor man and gave business into the hands of the monopolist." Two years latter, baymen sent a petition to the Brookhaven town trustees which called for".. the elimination of oyster leasing because it deprived the small producer of the means of making a living for themselves and their families."

Baymen weren't opposed to all entrepreneurial activity in the bay. Many baymen who defended and fought for a "free bay" were also interested in leasing small plots of underwater land for their own shellfish as well. These baymen entrepreneurs were also members of baymen's associations who fought for the preservation of the commons because they felt that the larger companies were the only ones likely to profit from the extensive privatization of the baybottom. As we have seen, this anti-monopoly stance on the part of the small scale bayman against large scale companies, is still very much alive at the present time.

The planters had more influence with local government the baymen did and instead of being checked, enclosure increased. In 1879, under mounting pressure from the planters, the town of Brookhaven removed the three acre law, which by this time was virtually non existent,and began to permit the leasing of large areas of land. Around this time baymen pressure the state to maintain the 1870 anti-dredge

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law in order to protect them from competition of the expanding oyster companies who were beginning to mechanize. Although baymen were able to resist for a while, in 1885, the anti-dredging law was modified so that it didn't apply to leased sections of the bay. This act, which placed the baymen dependent on the commons at a competitive disadvantage, enabled the planters to benefit from recent advances in oystering technology. With the dismantling of the"luddite laws", the stage was set for the logic of capital to fundamentally reshape the industry. The pace of enclosure quickened and the planters began to accumulate large tracts of baybottom. After a decade of constant social upheaval and conflict, most of the bay's valuable oystering property was concentrated in the hands of a few nascent capitalist, who began to push the still primitive industry down the path of rapid industrialization.

Time Clocks, Wages and Independent Baymen

While in the early stages of oyster farming, the planters didn't constitute a separate class in any socio-economic sense, gradually a complex stratified system emerged on the bay. As oystering became industrialized, the industry became divided between a large number of independent baymen and few powerful companies. According to Kassner,

Because of the declining catch of seed oysters in

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> the Great South Bay which required that seed by brought in from out of state, the individual planter gradually gave way to the large corporations which had the necessary capital.. these corporations acquired the leases of others thereby circumventing the law which said that an individual could only have one lease. The planters became increasingly powerful, leasing large areas of the Bay and also controlling the marketing of oysters. The baymen who worked the unleased bay were in danger of being pushed of the Bay.

The capitalist of the trade or "oyster barons" as they were called were large-scale oyster planters and shippers. They were prominent citizens of their communities, influential in local politics, and extremely wealthy. Below them was a group of baymen who engaged in modest oyster planting, working a few acres of oyster land by themselves or with the help of their families or neighbors. Next was a class of true"commoners", baymen without leased ground who combined oystering with tongs in the natural beds with other bayman activities, and/or seasonal work for the oyster planters. The proletariat of the oyster industry were people who exchanged their labor for wages in jobs like oyster togging, dredging, and transplanting, and culling and packing oysters in the oyster houses. Following the water took on new meaning as a new breed of baymen emerged on the bay.

> Baymen became all round waterman ...Unlike his Connecticut counterpart who generally oystered only, the baymen did almost everything. In the winter season he worked in culling in the oyster houses or dredging on the oyster power boats. In the spring he tonged seed oysters on the natural beds in the eastern end of the bay. Summer time

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> found him togging clams in the middle and western part, or perhaps he took city folk out on sailing and fishing parties in his little sloop or cat boat. In the fall he was back at oystering."(Van Poppering and Glancey)

The term independent baymen came into vogue at the same time that bosses, wage labor, and time clocks appeared on the bay. As oystering underwent industrialization, the independent baymen began to derive their identity from those periods when they stopped working for the company bosses and headed to the "free bay" to tong seed oysters and clams from their own small boats. The independence of the baymen was illusory, since at all times the planters stood between them and the market. Nevertheless, the remaining pockets of free bay enabled baymen to exert some control over the conditions of their labor, at least part of the time.

West Sayville and the Dutchman. Beginning in the 1850's, after hearing of the bay's giant oyster beds, a steady stream of newly arrived Dutch immigrants began settling along the shores of the Great South Bay in an area which would eventually become West Sayville. Oystering was nothing new for the Dutch. Many of them came from families that followed the water in the Netherlands in pursuit of oysters, mussels, clams and other types fish until declining shellfishing opportunities and a depressed economy forced them to seek new waters.

The Dutch adapted quickly to the particular ecological

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and technological conditions of the nascent oyster industry. They were among the first to take advantage of the laws permitting the leasing of underwater lands for oyster cultivation and became major participants as oystering underwent the economic transformation from a cottage industry to an large scale industrialized oyster farming business. West Sayville grew rapidly into a thriving fishing port and was at the very center of the rise and decline of the Atlantic oyster industry.

Although the people of West Sayville shared a common occupational pursuit, language, customs and cultural world, as the oyster industry grew and expanded, the community became internally divided along economic and class lines. While many of the Dutch involved in oystering began as equals, it wasn't long before the enormous changes which were restructuring the industry, created divisions and economic cleavages among the people of the community. Although all the Dutch of West Sayville were oysterman, a few were capitalist while the vast majority were bayman and commoners.

Several sons of these Dutch settlers became prosperous planters and shippers and formed an industrial elite within the fishery. One man in particular Jacob Oakers,(1847-1918) became the largest exporter of oysters in the world.

As the industry grew and expanded, the Dutch oyster

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barons began to hire non family labor to work for them. Eventually, the community acquired a company town atmosphere as many of the successful bosses, in an attempt to secure a loyal and obedient labor force, began paying the passage way for fellow Dutch immigrants and providing them with mortgages for boats and houses.

The West Sayville Dutch displayed a great deal ambivalence regarding the privatization of the watery commons and the accumulation and concentration of oystering property in the hands of a few. While the powerful planters and shippers were the natural enemy of all independent baymen, most of these men began as baymen and many still considered themselves to be baymen. Likewise, many of the poor hard working baymen who worked for the local Dutch oyster barons, saw themselves as potential owners of a company. According to Taylor, this ambivalence shows up in remarks of retired Dutch baymen whose memories contain both great deal of resentment regarding the Dutch elite as well admiration and envy for their shrewdness and enterprising spirit. "Such men represented an ideal to which the Dutch immigrant baymen could aspire.(112) At the baymen oral history project in the West Sayville marine museum, the baymen's narratives shifted back and forth between a sense of Dutch commraderie and sense of conflict between the big fellows and the small fellows. The rhetoric of community

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coexist along side the rhetoric of division.

While the Dutch exerted a dominant influence on the Great South Bay oyster industry, there was a considerable number of locals who were also involved. While the American Yankees who worked in the industry regarded the Dutch as clannish outsiders, their common occupational pursuit brought them together. Dutch baymen shared with their Non-Dutch counterparts, a common interest in the maintenance of a free bay and in protection from the depredations of increasingly powerful planters and shippers. Despite ethnic conflict and differences, baymen developed a sense of class consciousness in that the watery commons was the refuge of the poor. In a similar vein, both the Dutch and local shippers came together along class lines given their similar economic interest.

Oyster Piracy as a form of Social Protest. When politics and the law failed to protect them from the encroachments of the planters, baymen resorted to organized piracy. At the turn of the century throughout the New York Bight region, oyster piracy was a common form of social protest undertaken by baymen to resist enclosure processes. Bayman viewed the leasing out of a natural bed as a form of legal theft or class robbery against the poor. One notable instance occurred in 1893 when displaced commoners, defeated by the courts, swept into private oyster planting grounds

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held by Connecticut corporations to defend their claim that " the oyster barons had no legal or moral right to lease beds where oysters naturally grew." They brandished shotguns, revolvers, and oyster knives in a battle against the armed employees and cannons of the planters. Piracy wasn't just an "economic crime",one which uprooted baymen engaged in order to survive. It also reflected a populist attitude toward justice which expects laws to be based on standards of universality and equality.In many cases when it seemed not, people rebelled and disobeyed the law;for as E.P. Thompson points out in reference to the poaching and the English game laws,"most men have a strong sense of justice,at least with regard to their own self interest."The moral economy of many rural fishing communities accepted a given the "inalienable right to fish" and eke out modest livings from the commons.

Editorials in the local press were sympathetic to the night raids of the pirates and treated them as a form of "social banditry" on the part of the poor. In one article we read "that the poor baymen is being ground down by the " rich Oyster Barons." Another article explains that If the shippers are being robbed by the pirates on the one hand, the public is being robbed on the other by the pirates who regulate supply and demand."[13]

The creation of exclusive property for oyster

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cultivation led to dame processes of exclusion, expropriation, and class domination that took place with agricultural production. Oystering in the Great South Bay followed the general pattern of land based industries from 1800 to 1900, undergoing progressive expansion, mechanization, and specialization. During this period the "oyster barons"consolidated the previously separate planting/harvesting, processing,and shipping operations. Each year they improved their operations by purchasing more land, floating more and larger vessels equipped with power dredges,and adding culling and storage facilities. The replacement of sail power with steam and eventually gasoline power was by far the most important innovation in the oyster fishery. Engine powered boats enhance productivity by making it possible to use much larger craft with far greater carrying capacity as well as enable the power dredge to replace the smaller hand dredge. In 1894, the first oyster steamer appeared on the bay, much to the horror of independent baymen. The vessel was sixty feet long,eighteen feet wide,and four feet deep.It had six 21 bushel power dredges attached to it was manned by a five man crew. While this tiny "floating factory" was quite small by todays's standards,it constituted a revolution within oystering. The new vessel, which was named the "Curiosity"could do the work of a several baymen with tongs. The baymen's whose

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livelihoods were threatened renamed the steamer"Hell's Wagon."

By the late 1890's, Jacob Oakers, the self-made Dutch Immigrant who became known as the "Oyster King",was farming thousands of acres with the help of over seventy five workers and fleet of"floating factories"and numerous smaller sloops. He was 1shipping over 30,000 bushels of oysters a year as was on his was to becoming the largest exporter of oysters in the world. The two dozen other large companies under him each controlled several hundred acres,utilized oyster steamers and relied on wage labor.

The productivity of these companies underwent a near constant advance which was inversely proportionate to the increasing immiseration and poverty of the independent baymen who were finding it harder and harder to survive as baymen. In a local newspaper article written in 1901 we read"...years ago the Great South Bay was a Klondike for the baymen,but for many years past,since the leasing of lots came into vouge,$2 a day is considered a fair day's work.In the olden times,forty,even twenty years ago,which were the palmy days of the baymen,as high as $25 a day was made by the individual bayman.(Suffolk County News,Feb 8,1901) According to Gabriel, (1921:103)

> "The most desperate among the baymen had made their last stand and had lost. Although men continued to take oysters from the natural oyster

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> beds, the importance of the baymen was gone. Organized industry, as must inevitably be the case, had won. But, how costly in human struggle and suffering had the victory been! Progress, as always had abandoned the man who could not maintain the pace."

The local oyster barons,in extending their domination and spurring on the modernization of the fishery, were unwittingly preparing the groundwork for the industry to be taken over by distant, urban capital. The process of concentration and centralization which had reshaped the industry, began to occur on a wider scale, so that by 1919 a" giant oyster trust" which controlled the entire northeast coast, captured the bay.

The domination of the bay by distant capital proved to be short lived, for the heyday of oystering was drawing to a close. Oystering reached in peak in the first decade of the twentieth century. Even though science and technology has enabled the culturist to dominate the natural environment, the industry still rested upon a precarious ecological foundation which ultimately proved to be beyond man's power to control. Around World War 11 oystering began to suffer setbacks on several fronts. The increased urbanization of coastal areas and the spread of pollution destroyed oyster habitats, with the result that oysters ceased to spawn in large quantities and the supply of much need seed declined. Also disease outbreaks around this time related to the

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ingestion of contaminated raw oysters, caused consumer confidence to plummet. In the 1930's a series of hurricanes rocked Long Island and New England permanently destroying hundreds of thousands of shellfish and breaking new inlets through the barrier beach which separated the bay from the ocean. The history of shellfishing in the bay is to a considerable extent a history of the inlets and their effect upon salinity. The increased salinity content of the bay which resulted from these new inlets, encouraged the growth of drills, the deadly enemy of the oyster.The tremendous growth of drills made it impossible for young oysters to survive in the bay.

Although the 1930's brought an end to the oyster industry in the bay, it by no means brought an end to the bayman. The ecological changes which were detrimental to oysters, proved to be ideal for the growth of hard clams. These drill resistant shellfish, previously confined to a tiny portion of the bay, flourished everywhere, transforming the bay into a highly productive clamming ground. In the words of a Baymen who lived through this complex environmental transformation, "God took away the oyster and gave us the clam."

With the decline in oystering, most of the underwater lands which were leased to private companies were returned to the independent baymen and common use rights once again

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prevailed. The bay gradually became one the most productive hard clam producing area in the world. After a series of successful natural sets, a multimillion dollar labor intensive industry emerged. The legal framework which prevailed during the height of the oystering era was reversed with the result that this time around, legislation instead of benefiting large companies who farmed underwater lands to the detriment of independent baymen, maintained the fishery as a technologically primitive commons. Thus, while oystering was dominated by capital intensive shellfish farmers, the clamming industry is dominated by the "free bay" independent bayman. today as in the past conflicts over the enclosure of the commons between the independents and the companies sill rages on.

The Modern Suburban Baymen and the Hard Clam

Prior to the 1930's, hard clamming was a marginal activity due to the fact that most of the bay was used for oystering. Even though clams didn't fetch much of a price in the markets at the time, clam digging was still an important activity which many baymen engaged in during the off season for oysters. After the decline of oystering, bayman's fortunes rose and fell with market and environmental conditions until the 1960's, when clamming in the bay entered it's golden era. After the 1938 hurricane, there were two heavy sets of hard clams in the bay in 1941

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and 1946. In 1953, persistent blooms of small forms caused the quality of clams to decline to such an extant that they were no longer marketable in New York City markets. The threatened extinction of the Great South Bay's shellfishing industry from small forms was a major force behind the dredging to reopen Moriches Inlet in 1953. V-6 In the 1950's and early 1960's clams weren't very plentiful and many baymen left the industry or began working in the north shore waters. When the Huntington hard clam industry collapsed in 1964, many baymen returned to the Great South Bay, which by this time had experienced several good sets.

The growth of the hard clam industry of the Great South Bay coincided with the rapid development and suburbanization of the region. During the 1960's, the abundance and high market value for clams, produced a gold rush atmosphere in the bay. Many still talk about the amazing sets of clams which flourished during the boom times of the 60's and 70's. Since clam digging was a fishery activity that required little capital and skills, thousands of Long Islanders, many off them suburban newcomers, headed out into the bay. The towns of Islip and Brookhaven together issued almost 6000 shellfish permits in 1976, many to part-timers and students.

The golden years of the modern hard clam industry of the Great South Bay didn't last too long before a new form of enclosure the began to undermine the baymen .Over the

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years, the mounting pressures of a expanding population and the steady development of the shoreline has wreaked havoc with the extremely vulnerable estuarine ecosystem by destroying wetlands and habitats for a wide range of marine life. Over a million people live within the drainage basin of the bay. Shellfish and finfish that live and breed in the bay have been adversely affected by the creeping march of marine pollution and habitat loss. As pollution spreads, more and more of the bays valuable shellfish beds, are closed and placed off limits to baymen.

In areas closer to New York City, the impact of population growth of the shellfishing has been severe with many local industries going extinct. In the Great South Bay 1937, approximately 1,400 hectares were closed to shellfishing. By 1969, the area closed had risen to 2,330 hectares and in 1984 it was 4,000 hectares(Kassner 1990)

Periodic disease outbreaks associated with the ingestion of contaminated clams, and public health warnings against eating shellfish have become a common threat to the industry. At one point, the New York State public health department almost outlawed the serving of raw shellfish in public places. The media has come to play a powerful role in the shellfish industry.(More of this) With the steady closure of shellfishing areas in the western section of the bay, many baymen have migrated eastward in an attempt to

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stay one step ahead of the closures.) While eastern Long Island hasn't experienced the population pressures as the western part of the island, various bay fisheries have declined there as well. (Scallops,Striped Bass)

Modern Mariculture

While people in many parts of the world have been improving oysters by raising them in other than their native waters for at least two thousand years, raising seed was another matter. At it's peak, the Long Island oyster industry never developed sophisticated intensive culture techniques. Its decline generated an interest artificial propagation. A New York Fishery Commission report pointed out in 1921:

> There is little need to multiply the need for the decline of the oyster industry. The student of American history is already familiar with the practical extinction of many native species. The Buffalo ,wild pigeon and others are gone, and it is only by careful protection that our game is still preserved. The advance of civilization presses continually on nature and only by constructive development of propagation measures will it be possible to maintain or increase animals or plants of service to man....Only by the establishment of fish hatcheries throughout the state has it been possible, to a very large degree, to offset the inroads which a developing civilization makes upon the productiveness of the natural waters. Similar commercial methods now seem necessary in the further development of the shellfish industry. (Report no. 121)

Since they are sessile, non migratory animals that are embedded in the soil close to shore, shellfish lend

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themselves particularly well to mariculture. Besides giving higher yields to the acre than most land animals, shellfish are excellent sources of protein, fats, and carbohydrates. The oyster is probably the most thoroughly domesticated marine organisms to date. Modern scientific intensive oyster culture began in France with the government supported researches of M.De Bon and M.Coste in the 1850's. In the United States, pioneering work was done by Professor William K. Brooks of Johns Hopkins University who in 1879 raised oyster in the laboratory to larval stage. His success was limited to the laboratory. When the larval were set free into a natural estuary they were unable to survive.

The first successful attempt at large scale artificial insemination of the oyster in New York was carried out by F.Wells and H. F Prytherch, in 1921 at the Blue Points facility in West Sayville. It was back by the federal government, and the New York State Department of Conservation. Except in the laboratory, nothing came of the successful research for about 40 years.

Today, West Sayville, still plays an important role in New York's shellfishing industry. The Blue Points company is the only remaining large scale private mariculture industry left on the bay. Blue Point's waters are private property. Since it owns the baybottom which it harvest outright, it has not been effected by the anti- mariculture sentiments

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which play a role in the politics of the public waters. To this day, many baymen still question the legitimacy of the company's right to own the bay bottom. To some, such ownership is a form of "legal theft." Today as in the past, baymen boast of poaching from the companies private lots. While poaching is a criminal activity, in some baymen circles, it is deemed legitimate according to baymen custom and tradition.

Public Mariculture. Baymen distrust and resist management schemes that threaten to displace the small independent baymen in favor of large scale enterprises owned and operated by non baymen. Baymen typically view fishery management experts and bureaucrats as enemies and see them as more of a threat to their livelihoods than environmental problems. According to a resource manager,"Baymen are fatalistic about nature but distrust government. They fear the concept of "management" taking away their living more than loss of employment through declining catch. This distrust probably arises because most management schemes would require major changes in the fishery, causing loss of valued freedoms." In many cases, baymen feel that the neutral data and predictions generated by scientist and bureaucrats is preparing the way for the rationalization of the fishery and for their eventual demise.

After, many different expensive studies, (the experts)

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have come to the conclusion that to save the shellfish industry all that needs to be done is to get rid of the baymen- such a simple solution to a complex problem, and for a cost of only $1 million! In a letter to the county newspaper an angry baymen claimed that:

> " the dire predictions by the scientist are making it easier for big business in the form of shellfish farmers to come into and turn the bays which have turned so many boys into men into industrial parks. "

Another baymen remarked that shellfish closings are making it easier for private depuration companies to take over the industry and displace the independent fisherman. At a public shellfish advisory meeting, a baymen angrily remarked that the state DEC was encouraging "privatization" and "enclosure" by private companies so that they could manage the baymen better."Another baymen echoed this theme in a letter which was published in the local fisherman's network "The DEC has set up a virtual CLAM CARTEL in its shellfish transplant program."

A number of people in government are actively trying to develop programs which would help baymen make the transition from harvesting the natural commons towards small scale mariculture. While some argue that baymen are "naturals" and would make excellent small scale farmers given their skills in vessel operation and their intimate knowledge of the marine environment, others profoundly disagree.

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At a workshop conference on restoring the shellfishing industry in New York, a marine scientist argued that "It's quite clear to me that mariculture and baymen are a bad match. Mariculture involves a fundamental restructuring of the industry. It remains to be seen if baymen will be part of the process. A leader from a bayman's association remarked that:

> Most baymen aren't particularly interested in aquaculture..If we wanted to be clam farmers, we would have been...There's always been a bit of a rift between individual baymen and private aquaculturist...Threats to the baymen's livelihood are posed whenever any private individual or group interferes with baybottom traditionally used by the public."

Resource managers who are sympathetic to the baymen's plight argue that if the trend of decreasing shellfish landings continues many baymen may find it necessary to include some level of private mariculture in their activities to preserve their more traditional lifestyles. Despite the historical abuses and the potential for monopolization by mariculture development, they argue that with proper guidelines, history won't have to repeat itself.

Over the years there have been many attempts to involve baymen in assorted types of small scale mariculture which would supplement the dwindling natural harvest. A proponent maricultural "cottage industries" controlled and operated by baymen has argued that:

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> "Long Island's waters have traditionally been free and open for access to the local marine resources. Contrary to popular belief, aquaculture does not necessarily threaten the continuation of this tradition.((Malinowski 1986:111). Small scale mariculture would help to" preserve a way of life, based on Long Island's marine environment. "

Recently, a New York planning commission urged town management agencies to set aside tracts of 3 to 5 acres to be leased to bayman and turned into small clam farms arguing that it would create new jobs in the declining industry. Given the deeply entrenched anti- monopoly stance, most baymen were opposed to the plan. According to a leader in the "west end" bayman's association,"

> If you create small farms,it just matter of time before the big money comes in and sucks them up. That way you will be putting baymen out of work. And who is to decide who is to get the lease and which don't?"

Some baymen are in favor limitations on the size of leases.

> "a possible compromise would involve the government "agreeing to give us independents a two or five acre tract to lease and raise clams..then we would be interested in mariculture."

A bayman from the north shore claims that:

> "Baymen are not against progress. We realize that aquaculture is the wave of the future... He adds that (Baymen) would like to start their own seeding programs one day."[14]

While for the most part independent baymen are vehemently opposed to the leasing of underwater lands to private interest, and are reluctant to become farmers, they have

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supported public hatchery programs. Such public programs are not in conflict with the traditional, independent lifestyle of the baymen.

While most baymen are vehemently against the leasing of public underwater lands to private interest, they regard public mariculture as an environmentally "appropriate technology" that benefits the community and the natural environment. At a public hearing on a proposed mariculture project, a baymen argued that:

> "We are opposed to aquaculture in public waters. We feel it is highly questionable to turn over public resources to private interest for the rapid expansion of an uncertain and possibly dangerous activity. With aquaculture we here the death knell of commercial fishing as a free way of life-an unnecessary death caused by interest that are too eager to turn the seacoast into a factory.

While there are still troubling questions regarding mariculture our recommendations are that the state clean up the pollution of our waters, protect our estuaries and wetlands..and..assist public shellfish aquaculture." Public mariculture helps to preserve the independent lifestyle of the independent baymen at the expense of economic rationality. A proponent of private mariculture frustrated by the baymen's political clout points out that "The baymen ....can demand government intervention in the form of augmentation programs. In many areas on Long Island,....., the local government will grow shellfish in taxpayer

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supported hatcheries and throw them into the bay for the baymen to dig up and sell.." He points out that .".cultural mores, lobbying and legislation"..has turned "rugged independent individualist" "into welfare recipients. One staunch advocate of private mariculture, has argued that:

> "public hatcheries on public bottom are a "tax subsidized farce: a glorified easter egg hunt ." We use tax payers money to grow shellfish and they release them so the baymen can dig them up. We should just give them the money instead. It would be cheaper and more efficient to buy the shellfish from a grower. The whole thing is a fantasy. We are using advanced technology to enable baymen to engage in work that is utterly anachronistic. The baymen boast that they never rely on welfare. What the hell is this. Rugged individualism hell- the baymen are welfare recipients."

Many decry the fact that the " towns have begun to bow to the political pressures of the baymen's associations by curtailing or terminating existing leasing programs. While there is much to commend in the enterprising and independent spirit of the baymen, the objective of the state, country and town governments should be to preserve the shellfishing industry. Leasing provides the only sensible long term solution."

Modern baymen do not depend on nature as much as law and politics for their survival. Shellfishing tends toward the concentration of capital which increasingly limits entry and advancement unless prevented from doing so by government interference. While in the past, despite a great deal

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resistance and struggle, Great South Bay baymen weren't able to halt the enclosure of the commons by the "oyster barons," today's baymen have been successful.

Although large numbers of people take pride in the baymen's independent spirit", without a politically sanctioned "free" bay and its accompanying reduced efficiency laws, there would be no "independent" baymen. Without public efforts to preserve his "traditionalism through legislation, he would have faded away into oblivion like others who have been bypassed by the march of progress. The work of the baymen is bureaucratically modern and technologically primitive. While baymen often say that they don't like resource laws and managers telling them what to do, it is the resource management structure which has thwarted modernization and privatization of the commons. The pastoral aura and rhetoric surrounding the "independent" baymen who "follow the water" and work "close to nature" obscures the fact their natural domain is a thoroughly managed preserve which benefits them immensely.

In the age of advancing shellfish mariculture, hand harvesting the commons is totally anachronistic, nevertheless it still prevails because baymen have become symbolic icons of regional identity and of a dying way of life. According to Horton,"They fascinate us moderns in ways perhaps similar to any ..predatory animal that embodies

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wildness, and by roaming free, signifies that at least a corner of the planet remains in working, natural order." The following comments about the preservation of the Chesapeake Bay waterman could easily be applied to the baymen of Long Island.

> "The bay's oysterman have become living museum pieces, marvelous anachronisms, a subculture at once celebrated as free and independent yet underpinned by a bookfull of legislated inefficiencies and a million dollar a year state program that plants baybottom with shells and seed oysters each year (to augment natural oyster reproduction) as if it were the most managed of farms...We want more from waterman than just oysters to eat. We expect them, and their boats and their way of life, to nourish something in our souls. Because the sight of the waterman plying the waters in the ancient sailing vessels has become a potent symbol whose mere sight, or even the knowledge that it is out there- evokes a whole range of good feelings about the Chesapeake region. .....ever increasing numbers of people are willing to underwrite a host of artificial inefficiencies to maintain the illusion of Natural Man at work on our waters.

While waterman are evocative symbols that nourish the souls of the over civilized, they are a bad sign for the commons."What we would long ago found unthinkable on the land, we continue to celebrate on the waters."[15]

A century's accumulation of scientific insights, commision recommedations has been neglected to a great extent by political sensitivity to an influential but symbolically powerful minority."36 The " myth of the baymen" so manipulated in recent decades has been

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extrarodinarly influential, swinging legislative, executive, judicial, and public sentiment towards the baymen far and beyond their numbers as voting-blocs. The myth of the baymen brings large amounts of moral clout, not the power of the ballot box or campaign contributions.

The "Independent Baymen"A Way of Life?

At the present time, unlike in the past, there is a great deal of support to preserve a " free bay" and the independent baymen. Today's social, cultural, political and economic climate surrounding the marine environment is much different than it was during the oystering period. While oystering exerted a dominant economic influence in the coastal zone of the past, the hard clam industry of today is one marginal activity among many others that share the bays. As we have pointed, out while commercial fishing has declined, the marine environment still plays an important role in the regional economy, as a realm of leisure, recreation and coastal tourism. Nevertheless, while shellfishing has declined economically, it has a acquired a great deal of meaning as a symbolic resource. Despite their declining numbers and marginal economic status, the culture of the baymen has acquired the "rhetoric of tradition" and achieved a privileged position in coastal politics. As technological development transforms the modern coastal zone, and the opportunities to make a living "following the

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water decline", pastoral images of baymen and their vanishing heritage have become a powerful force in symbolic struggles over the meaning of place and local identity.

It is conventional wisdom on Long Island that "following the water "as a baymen isn't just a job - its a "way of life." While earning an income is important, much more is involved than economics.[16] In their interviews with people from the press and local television, baymen often speak of those cherished aspects of their work which enables them to keep struggling in a period of decline. In their occupational narratives, baymen often stress the importance of being independent, working close to nature, and the peace of mind that comes from working on the water. It is these cherished values that keep them fishing despite the long hours of hard,sometimes dangerous,physical labor and the diminishing economics rewards.

> A man's got to love it to do it. In terms of money-it's a no win situation."
>
> "You got to like fishing. If you don't like it You should stay away from it. Financially you don't get rich, lets put it that way.It's the other kind of richness you get. Peace of mind and a sense of freedom. Finest kind"
>
> "When a baymen goes on vacation, he goes fishing"
>
> "Know what a Fisherman does on his vacation? He fishes, or watches someone else Fish."

The notion that baymen are part of a longstanding way of life, has become a recurrent theme in assorted text and

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cultural representations about the vanishing baymen. For example, a promotional advertisement for a locally produced documentary film entitled Baymen, emphasizes that it captures " the way of life of a typical Long Island baymen, strong, tough minded, and independent. His work as a clammer allows him to lead a life of freedom, which he loves as much as the sea." A review for another documentary entitled "Baymen-Their Waters Are Dying points cut that "the Long Island Baymen are an independent lot, spending long lonely hours tonging shellfish from silty bay bottoms." The film maker mentions she first became interested in the baymen when she moved from Manhattan to the "East End" five years ago and found herself drawn "To the fact that the baymen were very much loners, working a struggling for themselves. Too few people have the courage to live that kind of life...I wanted to film them before they vanish" "It's traditional for us to clam" one baymen says in the film,"just like its traditional for us to celebrate Independence Day."

In a local newspaper article entitled Long Island's Baymen: A Desperate Fight for Survival" we read the following:

> Once, they abounded in Long Island waters. Now, a centuries -old industry is failing and may never recover. Their fathers were out there and their fathers before them. For generations, the baymen of Long Island have been making a scanty living

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> from a hostile and always unpredictable element. The work is hard,but they are a special breed, cherishing their independence and their bond with nature.....
>
> However, forces beyond their control are threatening the baymen's way of life-to an extant that they may be forced out of existence.[17]

Under a photo of a small dory pounding against the surf we read "A once proud family tradition may soon be lost." The article ends with the somber words of a baymen who claims that Lets face it, we're a dying breed"

When I asked the baymen who was quoted in the article how he felt about it he started joking about the formulaic narrative of decline which has become standard as of late.

> "Its your basic "plight of the baymen piece. Our status has been elevated because we are disappearing. We've become museum pieces. Just like the Indians."

L.I. Diggers in a Battle for Survival:

In this particular article, Bob is truly the rugged individualist, alone in his small boat, as sheets of ice drift by."

> It could have been an Arctic dawn, with numbing temperatures and muted sunlight glinting off sheets of ice on a seascape whipped by biting wind.It was 7 A.M. on the Great South Bay and Jonathan R.Mentzel was raking the bottom for clams under the appraising eyes of his yellow Labrador Digger...Somedays, aboard his boat..he makes next to nothing....
> "There's something about it-the tranquility, the freedom to think, the healthy outdoors, being on your own-that goes beyond making a living, and I'm just barely doing that..."

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His stoicism reflects something of a tilting-at -windmillls approach to life, a belief that somehow things will get better even in the face of a morning in which the wind-chill factor was below zero.[18]

The baymen's cherished values resonate with others who do not follow the water.In explaining why he feels such sympathy for the baymen, a local celebrity and champion of their plight remarked that:

> Shellfishing was part of our birthright. I decided at an early age that I didn't want to work for some stinking boss." As a result I worked one winter on an osyter boat. Everyone else I knew hated their job, hated their boss and was very unhappy with their life. Why live in a free country if you're going to be a slave to some guy who is an executive. I have the highest respect for the commercial fisherman. They're disappearing just like the American Indians...The baymen are a small group of independents, and they've paid a price for that independence." [19]

Being part of a -"a way of life"-has taken on a special significance in the politics surrounding the improvement of the commons. A recent policy report on rehabilitating the declining shellfishing industry, states ... It doesn't help matters much when the phrase "way of life" is constantly brandished in local politics." At the core of the myth of the baymen, is the phrase "vanishing way of life." It has become a symbolically charged trope, a pastoral metaphor loaded with multiple meanings that has bestowed upon baymen a privileged status.

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The steadily declining shellfish harvest over the last decade has been the impetus for several government sponsored conferences devoted to rehabilitating the resource. It was at such a conference that I began to understand the emotional power and significance of the phrase "way of life." While everyone agreed that shellfishing was in a period of drastic decline, there was a great deal of debate regarding causes and solutions. There was a great deal of discussion about the need to separate political and emotional issues from biological considerations. When a marine biologist remarked, "

> We are dealing with biological fact of possible extinction." "At some point the government will have to step in and make some hard and painful decisions."

A baymen responded:

> that whatever management decisions government decides to take they want to insure that the tradition of the single baymen working the waters in his 20-foot boat does nct give way to companies that employ more mechanized and therefore more efficient -methods to collect shellfish."

During an intense debate about mariculture's impact on employment, a baymen stood up and stridently remarked - "this isn't just a job were discussing here-its a way of life." From this point on the discussion took a different turn and acquired a different tone. Argumentation utilizing economic and biological statistics and figures, gave way to the emotionally charged rhetoric of tradition and heritage.

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From behind me, I heard someone grumble -"Here it comes- the way of life litany." Another person remarked "I'm tired of all the moaning about the baymen losing their so-called "way of life." These commercial guys are motivated by greed, by the dollar, It's that simple."A speaker on the panel, a marine biologist remarked:

> 'In recent years thousands of Long Islanders have found themselves on unemployment lines because of layoffs and business failures. Who campaigned to save these victims of a changing economy?.. At this moment the future of Grumman employees is unknown. If they are laid off, will the state and those championing the cause of a few baymen come to their aid?
> "What the hell is so special about a way of life? You can't pass legislation that will hurt the baymen because they're a "way of life." Industries come and go? When a factory lays off its workers -you don't get this talk of a "way of life." What is so special about working on the water?""

Just how to characterize what constitutes The baymen's beloved "way of life" and how it is threatened is not easy to convey. Troubled Waters, a documentary film about the baymen's vanishing way of life, which was shown at the conference and followed the debate, suggest an answer. The film which is very much in "salvage documentary" mode and exudes a pastoral feeling. As "Troubled Waters" begins, a lone baymen in a tiny tonging boat is heading slowly out into the open bay as the sun rises. As wistful country music plays we read the following:

For centuries Long Island baymen have earned their

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> living harvesting shellfish, pollution, greed, inadequate regulation, poor management,and natural factors have contributed to reduce the clam harvest by 70% since 1976.
>
> Thousands of baymen whose families have worked Long Island waters for generations have been forced to leave.

The film proceeds to focus on one day in the life of a baymen and his family.

> What is a baymen?- Whether it be potting eels, trap fishing, or digging clams baymen and the word independence have to go hand and hand.

Although the work is hard, especially on cold winter mornings when the bay freezes over, he remarks that there is nothing he would rather do than be working on the bay. Despite a declining income, and a bleak future, he perseveres.

> "My great grandfather, my grandfather and my father before me all dug clams. I'm a fourth generation bayman."[20]

The film ends with the baymen heading off slowly into the sunset, with seagulls flying around his boat and wistful country music lyrics moaning.

As the baymen and his entire family eat dinner, his grandfather and father nostalgically reminisce about the lost golden years and begin to anxiously muse about the bay's bleak future. The baymen worrys that his newborn son want have the same opportunities to work on the bay as he did.[21]

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A marine biologist not overly fond of baymen, remarked at the end of the film,"It's a damm shame-those poor guys."

The discussion which followed the film, shed some light on the "pastoral paradox " which surrounds the baymen. "The baymen are an Apple pie issue around here" ...Let's face it-mariculture is taboo." Baymen are a "hidden community."

> They have political power precisely because they exist more in people's imagination than in reality. The fact the so called community is amorphous and virtually nonexistent is the source of their cultural and political clout."

When I asked him to elaborate he remarked that:

> the so-called leaders of the baymen's associations are,"in reality a few cult figures who represent no one but themselves and speak on behalf of the so-called community. It doesn't take much for a few savvy political types to take over and abuse the political process."

Pastoral Performances

Amidst this oppositional discourse, key symbols are intensified. The Baymen's appeal to tradition is a rhetorical strategy which bestows the mantle of authenticity upon their plight. Scientific arguments and other forms of rational argumentation are only a part environmental struggles over place. Baymen in their narratives of local tradition and heritage employ a rhetorical strategy that speaks to the heart in ways than statistics and landing figures do not. In response to a environmental study which claimed that "We know what has to be done, but we're running

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up against the fiction that nature will fix it up one day."a baymen remarked:

> "Clamming is more than just an industry, it is an integral part of Long Island's history. We must preserve this part of Long Island- the baymen are living history."

In their struggles to defend their way of life from maricultural improvements, baymen have engaged in pastoral performances or what Fine (1990:30)refers to the "the dramaturgical presentation of an ideology. Their strategic use of an expressive symbolism has helped to articulate and promote an identity of resistance, that creates a sense of solidarity and invokes sympathy for their plight.

In their rhetorical narratives, baymen tap into key themes and that strike a widely felt cultural chord. According to Fine: "The rhetorical process metaphorically links disparate phenomena and places them in a narrative frame -a nexus of images, symbols, beliefs and metaphors which revolve around a key cultural them" The metaphorical process makes that which is intangible, abstract, or poorly apprehended appear more concrete. In metaphor we connect qualities of one object with a seemingly different object. Because of their metaphorical connection to nature, baymen have acquired a pastoral aura which in turn essentializes cultural ambiguity and complexity.[22]

The romanticization of rural workers such as farmers

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and fisherman has a long history and is currently very strong in the Long Island coastal zone. Such feelings are intensified when that way of life is on the verge of passing away. As possibilities to make a living following the water decline, baymen have acquired a pastoral aura as a metaphor for an authentic way of life close to nature. Baymen symbolize being close to nature at a time when nature is felt to be slipping away. As the natural environmental disappears, the struggle to preserve a "threatened way of life" close to nature, becomes in part, a struggle to hold on to a sense of stability and meaning amidst flux and upheaval.

The phrase a" way of life" conjures up all sorts of pastoral imagery and is used in many of the classic pastoral tracts. On the symbolic level it represents a sense of wholeness which stands in stark contrast to an existence felt to be excessively abstract and mechanical. It stands for being connected and rooted to natural rhythms and a sense of community. Kai Erikson(1976:80) offers a very useful approach to understanding the symbolic meanings attached to the phrase "way of life."

> "When one talks about the "way of life" or "ethos"... where people share a distinctive style of life and thought, one is talking about culture... The idea of culture was applicable when dealing with isolated distant societies-culture was something associated with simpler forms of social organization."Culture" in short seemed to

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> speak of something timeless and unchanging in the lives of men, something orderly and secure,...."

While there is a growing sensitivity to the fact that human life is frequently a thing of ambivalence and tension, of contradiction and conflict...these are the elements one hears the least about in most social science descriptions of culture.

Nevertheless, it is precisely this imaginary notion of culture which has become a symbolic force in fishery struggles. The culture of the baymen is rooted in an unchanging " way of life" which is timeless, simple and lacking the discontents of civilization. In discussing the need to preserve and protect the a commmunity resident emphasized the importance of their" way of life."

> "I do not no what motivates people to become fisherman and women in this day and age when the financial rewards must be miminal and the labor surely great. Maybe it is a spirit of individualism, of freedom, maybe it is an inescapable attachment to nature and the sea, maybe it is an indefinable something that says, "thats the way its been for as long as we can remember and that's the way it should be." Even though I do not particpate in their way of life, I take pride in their gutsy sprit and feel connected to them by being a member of the same community. The loss of their way of life affects me too."

The myth of the baymen, is a local version of pastoralism rooted in the particularities of place that speaks to some of same yearnings and functions very much like the "agrarian myth." Very much like farmers, the

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baymen's work has come to represent a form of natural authenticity.[23]

In the American cultural imagination, farmers aren't driven by economic and pecuniary gain- but by an almost mystical connection with the land. Historically, the more commercial farming became, the more it was romanticized as a way of life-a realm outside of modern economics and technological rationality. Hofstadter has argued that:

> The more commercial this society became, the more reason it found to cling in imagination to the noncommercial agrarian values. The more farming as a self sufficient way of life was abandoned for farming as a business, the more merit men found in what was being left behind, and the more rapidly the farmers son's moved into the towns, the more nostalgic the whole culture became about its rural past. The American mind was raised upon a sentimental attachment to rural living and upon a series of notions about rural people and rural life that I have chosen to designate as the agrarian myth.

The myth did not die when economist proved that the yeoman farmer did not exist. The yeoman become a symbol which could be made to bear an almost unlimited charge of meaning. The agrarian myth came to America and like so many cultural importations, it took on altogether new dimensions in a new setting.

Many who perpetuated pastoral myths were not insincere."More often than not they too were likely to have begun life in little villages or on farms, and what they had to say stirred in their own breast, as it did in the breast

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of a great many towns people ,nostalgia for their early years ,and perhaps relieved some residual feelings of guilt at having deserted parental homes and childhood attachments... Like many myths, it came to be more powerful as it became more fictional."(pg.30)[24]

Farming connotes a moral superiority or purity not associated with other lines of work.Farmers, especially family farmers, are prized as the ultimate custodians of national identity, of tradition and of the soil.To some extent farming has become a sacred object, articulating and generalizing genuine historical sentiments for a broad segment of the population. Farming has acquired symbolic value as a constant or as a touchstone in a hostile, complex increasingly urban world. Many urban residents may find the loss of family farms as particularly detrimental to the quality of life. The simplicity, independence, honesty and direct relationship between the farmer and nature stand in stark contrast to the deviousness, artificiality and complexity of modern urbanism.

Historically, the agrarian myth and the iconization of the farmer has been a powerful force in shoring up the economic and political interest of agrarian people in their conflicts with an urban economy and city politics.(Gusfield 1973:89). It many cases its rhetoric has helped to give agriculture a special status in legislation. According to

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Leo Marx,(1964:173) the pastoral romance of the farmer " is behind power of the farm block and the special economic favor shown to farming through government subsidies, and in state electoral systems that allow the rural population to retain a share of political power grossly out of proportion to its size." At the present time the glorification of the farmer is very much alive as is impulse to preserve them. Family farming by whatever definition remains a symbolic force for justifying and marshalling support for state intervention in agriculture.[25]

Fisherman are very much apart of the classic American pastoral tradition and yet there is large difference between marine hunter and gatherers and tillers of the soil. The similarities become working the land and working the water become clearer when we remember that in literary pastoral accounts farming represents "a metaphor"for a sense of natural authenticity and wholeness. The life of the farmer stands for the life of nature and natural feeling. According to Williams, farming stands for a particular kind of be-ing:active, physical unconscious:the body as opposed to the mind,inseparable from the processes of nature."[26] James Michener introduces his book The Waterman with the statement "The men who work the Chesapeake Bay are quiet heroes, echoes of that day long distant when most Americans made their living close to nature." (Pg. X)

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Conflicting Rhetorics and Rationalities

In the literature of fishery economics and management the notion that fishing is a way of life has a very different meaning. From a bio-economic perspective, there is nothing noble or romantic about being part of a way of life. Many argue that it is precisely because fishers regard their livelihood as a way of life instead of a rational choice of economic activity that they continue to work despite declining yields, dwindling stocks, and substandard incomes. According to McGoodwin because "small scale fishing is both a business enterprise and a social and cultural enterprise-a way of life..... fishers will often continue to work in a fishery even when it no longer provides them any economic return." 46 According to Van Mannen:

> Fishing has been viewed exclusively almost exclusively as a close-knit occupational community of men, boats, and families dwarfed by a massive, inhospitable sea whose secrets are forever locked beneath its surface. Reconciling good and bad luck at sea, fisherman have historically preferred and emphasized folklore, tradition, loyalty, fancied associations, ritual, ceremony, and local autonomy over that offered by science, technology, official regulation, strategic calculation, collective organization, and impersonal selection and decision-making criteria. Epitomizing the traditional perspective of fishing, a New England fisherman's remark is especially relevant in this regard."If I was going out everyday and knew I'd fill 1 my boat with fish,I wouldn't go."

The fact that fisherman don't behave as rational economic actors has frustrated many managerial schemes and is regard-

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ed as an obstacle to progress and rational resource management.

It has become conventional wisdom that the culture of the commoners and the culture of the scientific managers view environmental problems and solutions from very different perspectives. The rationality and practical experience of the bayman conflicts with the rationality and scientific perspective of the managerial expert. For many fishery managers the baymen's traditional practices and local knowledge rooted in the philosophy of the commons is a fetter to progress and the scientific management of natural resources.

To the assorted experts, interpreters, curators and cultural entrepreneurs in the growing field of heritage preservation, the baymen's local knowledge and traditionalism has acquired a different meaning. To many of these people devoted to preserving the region's rural heritage, baymen are viewed as picturesque rustics who have resisted the soulless march of instrumental reason- -a realm of folklore and myth in a disenchanted world. As we shall see, in certain folklore circles, being a fetter to progress is an esteemed mark of distinction. Many in the fishery management community decry what they regard is unrealistic, Rosseauesque view of fishing peoples.[27] A good example can be found in catalog for a maritime heritage festival which was held on the grounds of the West Sayville marine museum.

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Baymen are very much apart of the " sense of place."

> The technology of the Long Island fisherman and baymen reinterprets the scale of the environment, reducing the immensity of horizon and water to the intimacy of the tides, the currents, the birds and the winds. The technology of the fisherman is never exploitative, violent or destructive. It does not engage men in battle with their environment, but depends on natural rhythms and cycles. The calendar of the fisherman's activities helps to define the space in which he lives and works."

When I showed this to someone in the DEC he smiled and said "where does overfishing fit into this pretty picture?" Another in the environmental management sector remarked "While the baymen of Long Island have been the subject of eloquent prose their romantic image doesn't fit too well with their role as environmental predators." As we have seen, in political struggles over managing the commons, scientific facts are just part of the story and in many cases are no match for the eloquent prose that has been bestowed upon baymen by baymen themselves and their interpreters.

Conclusion

While baymen are politically savvy, their political action alone would not have preserved shellfishing as a traditional way of life if other factors didn't come into play. The baymen's appeal to tradition has been effective because in their rhetorical strategies they draw upon symbols and meanings that resonate with large numbers of

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people in the region. Baymen have been able to bolster support because their plight evokes sympathy from many who do not follow the water. They have become symbolic repositories for the angst, discontent and nostalgic longings of baymen "wanabees." In the words of a local celebrity and champion of the baymen:

> "Baymen are Living History. They are the threads in the weave of our existence and if they are going to go I think that we should fight for them."

According to Landsman,

> In our contemporary world, no well organized, highly committed interest group with major political, economic,and other goals, can survive much less prosper, without a distinctive set of images, of sufficient allure to sustain solidarity, invigorate potential supporters, beguile powerholders, captivate opinions, disarm adversaries,and stultify the masses.

If baymen engage in a form of staged authenticity, their performances take place within a particular framework of symbolic meaning. Their pastoral performances strikes a sympathetic chord, because there is a large audience starved for authenticity and tradition. As we shall see, in the contemporary Long Island coastal zone, the jargon of authencity and the rhetoric of heritage has become inscribed in the landscape. To paraphrase Goffman, although people define their situations, sometimes a particular definition is in charge of the situation. In their rhetorical strategies, baymen are tapping into a pastoral structure of

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feeling which has become part and parcel of the region's sense of place.

In the next section I will explore the changing structure of feeling which has enabled baymen to survive. This structure of feeling contains a great deal of environmental ambiguity and uncertainties.

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Notes

1.According to Mchugh "Depending upon nature to keep the industry self replenished isn't enough. With greater demands on the industry in the future, we will need better science and management to maintain and increase production."(1972)

2. Smith (1977:229) remarks that,"Fisheries exploited by a hunting and gathering or capture technique, would over the long run decline in importance because of over exploitation of the resource, because of the problem of declining fishing efficiency...Will this mean that mankind will turn from the sea? On the contrary,there will probably be a rush to control and divide up the sea's fields and pastures so the domesticated mariculture can be practiced...Suggesting that the seas should be reserved for mankind sounds noble, but in the light of the last 10,000 years of human history, it is unlikely to occur."

3. For example, there is a private company which leases public land with the stipulation that it will seed the public commons. Reciprocity between independent baymen and the private companies.The relationship between private mariculture and the public fishery is important. For example, The private firm of Flowers and Sons , a long standing tradition in the town of Oyster Bay has over the years developed a good working relationship with local baymen. Since 1981, an arrangement has been made which requires the firm to culture 600,000 seed clams for the seed planting program of the town. Additionally, the firm is required to make their vessels and crews available to the Town for a specified number of days each year for work in support of the public fishery (E.g. Predator control,shellfish surveys,preparation of public bay bottom).In return, Flower and Sons has retained their lease on approximately 2000 acres of Oyster Bay bottom and have done so with the support of local baymen who regard the seed planting program as positive benefit.

4. Donnelley 1975,11976.Alford 1975;Christy 1964;Power 1970; Quitmeyer 1955).

5. According to John Ryther, "While technological advances have been made in mariculture in the United States, sociological, legal,economic,and geographical obstacles have constrained industrial development of mariculture in this country." In a report entitled Aquaculture Development in

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New York State, "Even though New York has the resources to encourage aquaculture development...growth of the industry has been slow and future expansion considered unlikely by some....Constraints on orderly development of aquaculture tend to be political and administrative, rather than scientific and technological....."

6. (The Dolphin Pp.4 1986)

7. McHugh.1970. "Jeffersonian Democracy and the Fisheries" pg:144.

8. (Newsday 3/12/84)

9. At recent a shellfishing conference devoted to saving the declining fishery, a participant remarked that: The Dutch have a very efficient shellfish industry. They have a huge clam resource that is harvested by three boats. Each of these boats pays for a several hundred -thousand -dollar permit to the government. They pay good wages on the boats, and the resource is harvested very efficiently. They rotate their harvesting grounds, and have the most efficient harvesting technology available.... I must admit that I felt a little stupid when a Dutchman laughed when I told him that we still use handrakes. A baymen responded:"That may be a very efficient way of harvesting clams, but it is also the most efficient way of putting 400 or 500 guys out of work."(102)

10. Kellogg,in a book on the shellfish industry published in 1910 wrote that "the leases were not gained without great opposition from the wild harvest shellfisherman who claimed they had a right to rake oysters just like their fathers and grandfathers had done. They objected to the leases especially because they said it would encourage monopolies to develop. While leases were legally limited to two acres, culturist were able to obtain control over adjacent plots." Another writer of the time remarked that""It was soon found that such monopolistic holdings not only worked no injury, but proved of great benefit to everyone in the neighborhood including those who worked only on public beds, who found the rapidly extending markets and high prices obtained by the larger holder much to their liking."

11. Gabriel, Ralph 1921. pg.92.

12. Newsday 1987:19.

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13. (Newsday 1987:19)

14. Baymen are very much like other fisherman in this respect. McCay's observation that "Fishing is not merely a means to an end, but is intrinsically rewarding...Fishing is not just a livelihood, it is a way of life."applies to the waters surrounding Long Island.

15. Newsday July, 1992

16. Lifestyle section of New York Times 2/16/92

17. NF12/90

18. Folklorist Mullen remarks that one of the fisherman he interviewed indicated the importance of family in the occupation of fishing with a rhetorical device that presented his lineage as a litany:"My father was a commercial fisherman,my grandfather was a commercial fisherman,my great-grandfather was a commercial fisherman..." 167

A recent rock song about Long Island baymen employs a similar rhetorical device.

I was a baymen like my father was before
Can't make a living as a baymen anymore
There ain't much future for a man who works the sea
But there ain't no island left for islanders like me.

19. In discussing how everyday stories are performances which follow a particular narrative frame Deng (1972:28 remarks "No matter how loose the structure and how flexible the framework of these everyday stories, they follow the trend of the more established genres, they use such devices as threefold repetition, dramatized dialogues, and endings singled with a bang."

20. In Interpreting Our Heritage,Freeman Tilden remarks(:1977:30)"To the specialist, the use of metaphor is calamitous.....the lifeblood of satisfying interpretation flows from the proper and ingenious use of exactly those devices of language that take the hearer of reader beyond the observed facts to, or at least toward, a certification of spirit."I disbelieve," said Garth Wilkinson, in ringing tones that are fit to be engraved on the memory of every interpreter," in what is called the severity ,strictness, and dryness of science..we have found practically that metaphor is a sword of the spirit, and whenever a great

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truth is fixed,it is by some happy metaphor that is willing to inhabit for a time: and again that whenever a long controversy is ended,it is by one of the parties getting hand on a metaphor whose blade burns with the runes of Truth."

21.Even when we place pastoral nostalgia in a historically specific context,it is important to keep in mind its almost persistent and universal appeal.

22.It is precisely this entrepreneurial aspect of farming, which the agrarian myth negates. Weber astutely observed that in the United States a rural society does not now exist except perhaps in the thoughts of dreamers." He was aware that despite some lingering agrarian romanticism,the " The American farmer is an entrepreneur like any other.....If anything is characteristic of the rural conditions of the great wheat producing state of America,it is....the absolute economic individualism of the farmer,the quality of the farmer as a mere businessman.(Weber:1948(1918):363-364).

23. Despite the competition between agricultural values and environmental concerns, some argue for the preservation of a cultural way of life such as family farming on ecological grounds.

24. Williams 265.

25. A good example of such a perspective is Klee (1980:1) who argues that "Primitive or traditional cultures have insights regarding living with the earth that the techno-cratic world has lost."(42)

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CHAPTER SEVEN
A WAY OF LIFE CLOSE TO NATURE IN AN UNNATURAL WORLD

> He is improving the shore-his Water Front, But he shall not improve away my clams. He may dig here and fill there and build his walls but he shall leave mine untouched."[1]

> Nature is imitated but only seeminly reproduced...what is produced are "signs of nature"
>
> Lefebvre:1991

> The fact the Nature cannot survive withoug cultural intervention spells the conceptual collapse between nature and culture.
>
> Marilyn Strathern

> Humans have the tendency to assign subjective meanings to environmental stimuli, than react to these meanings as if the were a part of the environment.
>
> Rene Dubos

Environmental Ambivalence and the Plight of the Baymen

The plight of the vanishing baymen has taken on symbolic meanings which resonates many people in the wider community. The pastoral structure of feeling which surrounds the modern baymen contains emergent as well as residual cultural values and sentiments. At a time when nature is felt to be vanishing, their "naturalness" has become a symbolic resource. Paradoxically, baymen have become a metaphor for natural authenticity at a time when the distinction between culture and nature is becoming increasingly blurred. What does getting close to nature mean in an unnatural world? In a world where nature is on the

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move, the notion of "a way of life close to nature," carries a great deal of symbolic weight and it fraught with ambiguities.

From an ecological perspective, modern day baymen occupy a ambivalent position in the battle to preserve the bays. The connection between a clean and healthy marine environment and preserving the baymen is dubious one, nevertheless, the preservation of their traditional way of life has become a symbol for protecting the health of the bay at the same time that they have become symbols of plunder and greed. In the "representational arena", there is a perpetual shifting back and forth between positive and negative stereotypes of baymen. As we have seen, in some instances, a negative trait can take on a positive meaning, while in other circumstances, a positive trait can become a negative.

The aims of preserving the fish, the baymen, and maximizing profit are mutually conflictive. The distinction between preserving the shellfish industry, the resource, or the baymen's independent lifestyle has become increasingly blurred in marine policy debates. Such ambiguity has benefitted baymen given the fact that at the present time, shellfish policy preserves baymen and their livelihood, at the expense of economic rationality (and though it is isputed) conservation of the resource. Baymen have become"proxy" environmentalist because of their position

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onthe "front lines" in the battle against marine pollutionand declining water quality. In a letter to a localnewspaper, a baymen remarks that:

> "The people of Long Island are fnally starting toheed the warnings from the baymen because nowtheproblems are effecting everyone-it was only a matter of time. The baymen are your firstlineof defense. We are finally opening oureyes to see the abuses we have done."

"The baymen are the canary in the coal mine" remarks a local politician." We must help to preserve them for future generations." Restoring the shellfish industry has taken on symbolic value as a measure of success of estuarine preservation and restoration programs. Thus, preserving the shellfish industry remains a priority even though its economic importance has declined. According to Sagoff, (1993:133) while there isn't much of a market for shellfish, there seems to a good marked for shellfish research because people care about the welfare of the fishing communities which depend upon the ecological functioning of the estuary as well as the health, integrity and well-being of the estuary itself.

> Brown tide is no mystery. Our bays and harbors have been severely depleted by poor or uncontrolled management. Consider why one-quarter of the nation's bay scallops were harvested from the Peconic Bay Estuary. Why was such a demand filled from such a small area. How is it that we overlooked the fact that shellfish are natural filters for our bays. Overfish the clam and oyster beds of the East End while pumping in ample supplies of nitrogen-rich land and road runoff,and watch what you get. The same thing you get if you unplug the filter in your home aquarium-major

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> algae blooms....Our local baymen have been robbed of their livelihoods because commercial interest were allowed to come and have their way with us. They will not stop there. We must present a unified front against these interlopers. [2]

Baymen as an Endangered Species

In the eyes of many, baymen are becoming an endangered species. In their rhetorical strategies, baymen and their supporters have appropriated the language of natural resource preservation, which they regard as threatening, and used it to their advantage. By a rhetorical move, baymen have gone from being a threat to being threatened. Like other vanishing natural resources and wild life, baymen have become and an "endangered species" on the verge of extinction. In recent years, it is not uncommon to see fisherman and baymen wearing tee-shirts with the slogan say "Save the Fisherman-An Endangered Species." According to a local politician:

> "When a species is threatened with extinction ,the federal endangered species Act requires that it be protected. The baymen are in many respects an endangered species, and, like natural species ,their survival is threatened by habitat loss, the inadequacy of existing regulatory mechanisms and the natural and man-made conditions in the bay that are preventing the successful reproduction of hard clams. There is often direct intervention to protect wildlife and so,too, should we take direct action to protect the remaining baymen...The baymen are an integral part of the Great South Bay and our local heritage. They also represent an important and unique lifestyle. We must act now, before its too late." John LaMura Supervisor of the Town of Brookhaven (7/31/93)

The comparison to loggers in the Northwest is useful.

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As Rabin has observed,(1993:45), loggers in northwest see themselves as an endangered species. With the decline of the timber industry, timberman icons carved from wood began appearing more and more in the depressed logging communities.

> They owed a lot to the carved totemic ravens and thunderbirds with which the local Indians tribes announced their special status. They made the assertion that timber-industry workers, like the Indians ,had in one of the hardest-worked American phrases of the late twentieth century, a unique and historic 'culture'. Deny me my job, and you deny me my culture, my past, my ethnic identity. So the logging communities were busy manufacturing craft objects that gave them a tribal history and the right to be regeared as yet another beleaguered minority threatened with extinction."[3]

A curator from the East Hampton Marine museum, a cultural institution which is dedicated to preserving the baymen's heritage and way of life spoke of some of the representational problems associated with utilizing a heritage discourse in their exhibits of baymen."School children don't want to see images of hunting and killing animals and wildlife. Although we are dedicated to showing the links between the baymen and the natural environment, I feel that sometimes we give the wrong message. Sometimes their heritage, and traditional practices such as gunning and fishing doesn't sit to well with people who feel we are devoted to preserving nature.

In the newly created East End Seaport Museum, a recent exhibit entitled the" Disappearing Fisheries" utilized a

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particular narrative framework which cast the baymen in an ambivalent light. A brochure for the exhibit stated that " The intent of this exhibit is to not only teach about the history of a local industry but to demonstrate the impact this industry has had on the environment. It is hoped that this exhibit will spark a dialogue between the fisherman and the community so that together we may find the solutions."

Originally the curator of the exhibit wanted to call the exhibit the "Dead Fisheries" but changed it, after local fisherman and baymen protested. "Some of the baymen thought I was being too negative about them and were upset that I was treating them as if they were totally extinct."

The exhibit focused on overfishing, habitat loss, and some of historical precedents that led to the present period of decline. It shifted back and forth between the rhetoric of progress and the rhetoric of heritage. It elevated mariculture as a technological savior to the "dead sea," by contrasting it with the anachronistic and destructive traditional methods of fishing, which help to spur on the decline. It eulogized the fisherman's traditional heritage only after safely condemning and burying it. It dropped a nostalgic veil over the vanished baymen at the same time that it elevated the march of mariculture.

Fisherman along both U.S. coast have begun to employ a heritage discourse in their struggles with environmentalist. Florida inshore fisherman, very much like the baymen of Long

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Island, compare themselves and identify with the historical demise of Native Americans in that regard being denied the right to fish as a loss of their culture. As two fishers explained:

> "It is part of our culture, part of our heritage:fishing stories, net mending, and building your own boat. The new politics of the nineties are destroying our culture. You,know, it is like not letting an Indian hunt a panther(even though there are) religious reasons (for this practice) But I realize that we're the Indians here and we are standing in the way of progress. They are going to move us out, one way or another whether we prepared or not.

According to a baymen, it is becoming increasingly important to appear to be environmentally friendly and to create the impression that saving the bay and saving the baymen are the same thing."[4] Calling themselves an endangered species is a rhetorical strategy which disarms "tree huggers" and "birders" who regard baymen as potentially harmful. In response to a remark about the baymen's disregard for nature, a baymen remarked that" We are also part of nature and have our place in the natural order of things." Another claimed that if preservationist want our (the baymen's) support they should be willing to allow us to go hunting,fishing and walking on these lands as we have for the last 500 years. Preservationist are buying up all the land we have and we can't do anything on it anymore."

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Shifting Ambiguities: Managing the Marine Commons under Conditions of Uncertainty

The modern day cultural perception of the baymen is bound up with shifting attitudes towards the marine environment and how it should be managed. While government sponsored scientific management of the marine fisheries has a long history, in recent years, it's managerial philosophy has undergone a paradigm shift - from a conservationist to an ecological perspective.[5] While fishery management is primarily concerned with maximizing the biological and economic yield of a fishery, in recent years a third and more elusive goal has become important-managing for optimum sustainable yield.(OSY)

Sustained yield was the dominant approach to fishery management until it until it came under criticism in the 1960's. The objective of sustained yield conservation is to achieve some sort of ecosystem balance. A stock of fish or shellfish is a renewable resource. It sustains itself by breeding or recruiting enough new adults to balance its losses to predators and other causes from year to year. A fishing industry is simply another predator added to the environment. The amount of fish that any given level of harvesting effort will yield over the long term is a function of both the intensity of fishing and the capacity of the stock to reproduce.At some maximum sustained yield (MSY),fishers take exactly as many fish as the stock

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recruits in a season and so do not impair the resource's long term productivity. The goal of fishery management is to calculate each stocks MSY and to limit the harvesting to that point. While sustained yield management has become sophisticated with increased scientific knowledge about marine habitats, it has been practiced since colonial times. Fishery management authorities have always regulated work activity by closing areas and establishing times of fishing, placing restrictions on the types of gear that can be used, setting limits on the amount and size of fish, and allocating the catches to various sectors of the industry, as a way to protect the resource from being depleted.

The sustained yield model was attractive to biologist because it's objective and scientific language was devoid of the complications associated with the human factors of a fishery. Since the MSY was determined by objective logic and scientific criterion, it was felt to be an advance over management policies contaminated by subjective political pressures. As a theoretical objective, the model avoided the myriad problems now labelled "social, political and economic." While it was theoretically appealing, in the real world of fish and fisherman the model was problematic for several reasons. First of all, calculating the MSY of a resource is a complicated matter sense most fisheries, do not behave as neatly as the model suggest. Like other biological resources, fish and shellfish live in a complex

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and constantly changing environment.[6] Changes in climate, currents, in the abundance of a species predators or fodder, along with a array of other naturally occurring ecological changes can influence drastically the productivity of a fishery. Human activity can also alter the productivity of fisheries in ways other than by harvesting them. All fish occupy a position in a food chain, so that a human impact on a stock's prey, it's competitors for food and space can increase or decrease its potential yield. Some such impacts, moreover, stem from human activities only remotely related to the fisheries themselves. Any economic activity that uses water-which includes most of them-or that alters the character of the seabeds,tidal areas, or rivers in which fish live will have some impact on the ecology, hence on the productivity of a resource.

More importantly for our story, managing the fisheries involves much more than biology. A fishery is a human phenomenon-there is no fishery without a human fishing effort. Fishery management is about people managing people. Because commercial fishing is primarily an economic activity, the aloofness of the abstract biological model was a liability and gradually managerial theory began to consider non biological, especially economic criterion for commercial fisheries management. According to Gordon,"..The sustained yield theory posited an abstract mathematical model of the resource, in isolation from its environment."

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The ecosystem of the fisheries biologist",Gordon observed was one in which"... man is regarded as an exogenous factor, and not as a variable element,along with the fish in a system of mutual interdependence."[7]

According to Bennett, "ecosystems as socionatural systems." "If human activities are to be inserted into ecosystems,the system itself has to be reconceptualized:it is not a matter of a "natural system being invaded by humans, but a complex whole system involving an interaction between the physical resources, animal species, and the human activities." The most important human factor in ecosystems is not some exotic force or process embodied in biological theory, but represents the purposes and actions of humans in real social context. Ultimately, the meaning of a total ecosystem is to be found in ourselves, not in Nature. If we are to insert ourselves into Nature in some sophisticated and constructive way, we must study ourselves as much as we study Nature. Establishing the MSY of a fishery resource has always been a heavily politicized process. With the awareness that managing the fisheries involves more than biology and economics, the concept of MSY has been replaced by the more elusive concept of optimum sustained yield. The notion of optimum sustained yield, consist of a deliberate melding of biological, economic, social, and political values designed to produce the maximum benefit to society form a given stock of fish. Managing the

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OSY of a fishery resource is essentially a matter of political philosophy. Politics, which has always played a role in the fisheries, usually confounds both biological and economic models. The question is not so much how to harvest fish stocks biologically, or how to promote economic return, but rather how best to proceed in the face of current social circumstances. While this is quite vague and ambiguous, many consider it an advance over models based on maximizing bio-economic efficiency.

Even though social analysis is mandated by law, there is a great deal of confusion on the part of both fisherman and fishery managers about how to define and operationalize the OSY of a fishery. Waugh (1984:113) calls optimum sustainable yield "an omnibus objective, meaning all things to all men." In his view, the composite function becomes so vague that it loses any operational significance.:(pg.111) According to VanMannen (1983) "the calculation of OSY is based on a most obscure, mysterious, and apparently complex process." [8] For example, how can the value of a recreational fishery compare with the values of the commercial sector, since most recreational fishers see value in the activity and not just the catch." Such a view supports the OSY concept-that fishing for fun or a livelihood involves values that cannot be evaluated by an economic logic.

There is a great deal of confusion regarding what type

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of data to include in the definition. The concept of sustainablity has always been ambiguous since it is often not clear whether it refers to the economic product derived from the physical resources or the resources themselves. According to McEvoy, while the OSY standard lacks the tidy objectivity of its predecessors..it reflect a new awareness that natural resources are more than passive inputs to economic production." Throughout it's evolution, fishery management has focused exclusively on fishing. One consequence of OSY is the rising importance placed on intrinsic value of the fish species themselves analogous to the way we value songbirds and wildflowers. As one fishery manager put it,"the conclusion that arises from such ecological considerations is that the benefit to the nation occurs by leaving fish in the ocean." To scientist of an earlier era, who maintained that"resources must not be permitted to lie in a state of unproductive idleness," such a notion would have seemed absurd.

Taking into account human and social considerations has open up a Pandora's box of value conflicts. The incorporation of cultural considerations in natural resource management has not reduced ambiguity -on the contrary it has intensified it. The" new resource"laws, in their attempt to strike an uneasy balance between fairness and ecological rationality, address the inherent value conflicts, attached to managing the marine commons. Managing for the OYS of a

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fishery resource acknowledges uncertainty and ambivalence on many levels. It acknowledges the inherent incommensurability of values attached to the marine commons. The multiple meanings attached to the marine commons are constantly being contested and negotiated.

This is especially the case with the institutionalization of the environmental impact process. Key terms in natural resource management discourse are always being debated in public hearings and meetings. A fishery biologist in the New York State Department of Environmental conservation (DEC) who worked on environmental quality issues and environmental impact statement procedures pointed out that the language used is ".. very vague and open to multiple interpretations." When I asked another official in the DEC who works on environmental impact process if he could explain how to measure and determine the "significance" of cultural, historic and aesthetic impacts he remarked "what the hell do I know about aesthetics-what does that have to do with biology? ..Lets face it beauty is in the eye of the beholder." At a public meeting which addressed the complexity of the laws relating to the leasing underwater lands and the social impact of mariculture, a DEC official, remarked that "the meaning of " significant social impact is a problem of conflicting interpretations ." He sarcastically remarked that,

> " whatever a 'significant impact' means, there is one thing we can be sure of -it will create a lot

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of jobs for attorney's."

In a similar vein, an editorial in a local East End paper entitled "vernacular of the obscure "[9] points out that the difficulties in trying to interpret the language of the environmental impact procedures SEQRA can be daunting.

It's All Politics. Even though cultural consideration are inherently political, a constant lament of people involved in fishery management is that "its all politics." [10] The complexity of the language which operates on the fuzzy border between culture and nature, is often ridiculed by both baymen and fishery biologist in the fishery management process because it mixes politics with biology and scientific considerations. The irony is that if a purely biological discourse prevailed, discussions about preserving a "traditional way of life," and a"vanishing heritage" wouldn't take place at all. Such concerns involve cultural values that have little to do with a bio- economic logic yet they have become important given the goal of managing a fishery in accordance with it's OSY.[11] According to Kahn,(1994:24) resource economist who has explored the importance of cultural considerations in the Long Island fishing industry," Generally, commercial fishing is a much less valuable application than recreational fishing ,unless you attribute societal benefits from people participating in that lifestyle. Those intangible lifestyle the ambiance of stately trawlers and bustling fish markets, the preservation

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of a centuries -old way of life-are the last real justification, for the special efforts to prop up Long Island's commercial fishing industry.

The Emergence of Ecology

The history of natural resource management in the United States has been filled with perennial conflicts between extractive conservationist and aesthetic preservationist perspective. According to Glacken, this conflict stems from a longstanding dualism inherent in the environmental tradition of western civilization which has always displayed an ambivalent regard for nature as both useful and beautiful. The contemporary ecological framework is roughly speaking, a synthesis of these two views. The modern ecological world view expressed by people like Rachel Carson and Aldo Leopold added a scientific aspect to the aesthetic and moral dimensions of preservation. They used science to critique the limitations of the conservationist stance which was based on the efficient, scientific and economic development of nature. According to Sirey,(1984:9)

> "An ecological approach to conservation reconciles the inherent ambiguities of use and aesthetic appreciation by treating these aspects of resource manipulation as interdependent. Ecology provides an explanation of a particular resource's role in nature, how that role is sustained, and what conditions the resource imposes on adjacent natural resources.

The conservation ethics close association with science proved to be its undoing."From an ecological perspective, nature is more than a collection of externally -related

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useful, useless, and noxious species arranged upon an elemental landscape of soils and waters. Rather, it is a vast, intricately organized and tightly integrated system of complex processes. As Leopold expressed it," Ecology is a new fusion point for all the sciences..the emergence of ecology has placed the economic biologist in a peculiar dilemma :with one hand he points out the accumulated findings of his search for utility, or lack of utility, in this or that species; with the other he lifts the veil from a biota so complex, so-conditioned by interwoven cooperations and competitions, that no man can say where utility begins or ends.[12] According to Leo Marx,"The current environmental crisis has in a sense put a literal,factual, often quantifiable base unders this poetic idea (i.e. the need for human harmony with nature)."[13] The fusion of aesthetic and ecological perspectives rationales for managing nature, paved the way for the new preservationist philosophy which began to emerge in the 1960's and 1970's .[14]

Modern cultural and legal attitudes regarding the management of coastal wetlands reflects this new preservationist stance. With a transformation of values, the status of wetlands changed from that of wastelands to be improved to that of resources to be protected. In the cultural imagination, representations of wetlands have shifted from being portrayed as worthless lands to areas of

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potentially productive agricultural lands through reclamation. More recently, they have become represented as having environmental value because of their biodiversity and aesthetic appeal. Such a shift shows the complex interplay between economic and cultural factors in shifting attitudes toward the natural environment.[15] The National Estuary Protection Act of 1968 committed the country to plan for the protection of ecologically sensitive coastal wetlands or unsurpassed natural value and to balance their preservation against the needs of recreation and urban or commercial development. Thus, from an ecological perspective, preserving a coastal wetlands does more than satisfy an aesthetic sensibility-it's good economics. For example, while the Teals eloquently described the aesthetic wonders of the salt marsh, they argued that they are "necessary to the preservation of fisheries and thus contribute to the gross national product."Although the outwelling hypothesis has been debunked, the goal of protecting wetlands is so deeply ingrained in the national psyche, that few bother to question the economic rationale behind it.

As Thompson has shown (1979)[16] things once regarded as rubbish and eyesores can become important aspects of a cherished heritage. The gentrification of inner cities provides the most obvious urban analogy to the aesthetic rehabilitation of wetlands. Because of shifting cultural values, people began to restore and preserve areas that were

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previously seen as ugly and shunned. Likewise, wetlands were previously viewed as ugly swamps to be improved and filled in. Thus, in relatively short span of time, changing cultural values and symbolic meanings attached to a particular realm of nature, transformed "ugly fens" into a valued and cherished "natural heritage." These swamps which once were improved and reclaimed are now left in their natural state. Richard Walkers points to the irony in the fact that wetlands have traditionally been drained for many of the same reasons that they are now being preserved:public health, flood control, aesthetics and productivity...Is this so much a product of changing knowledge as it is of changing values? It is clearly both, since the various ways of knowing and seeing, the assorted knowledges and practices are culturally constituted. The discussion of the changing cultural perception of wetlands illustrates how selective perception on the part of social groups determine whether nature will become a landscape, resource, a taboo, or remain unseen.(Burch:1971)[17] Baymen are very much like wetlands in that the cultural and symbolic status has undergone a shift in recent years.

Nature vs Culture

Technological change in the marine commons is as much a philosophical affair as it is a political and technical one. The goal of "civilizing nature" through mariculture is fraught with ambiguities and uncertainties on many levels.

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As we have seen, historically, the legitimacy of mariculture has rested upon the fact that it wasn't replacing or interfering with the natural productivity of the marine commons. Baymen have always objected to anyone having exclusive rights to sections of bay bottom which are naturally productive. The sentiment expressed by angry baymen during Great South Bay "oyster wars" of the last century, that"... the oyster barons had no legal or moral right to lease beds where oysters grew naturally", strikes a sympathetic chord with many contemporary baymen. A baymen remarks:

> "Traditional harvesting methods have stood the test of time with fishing effort controlled by the use of inefficient hand tools. The shellfish grounds from which baymen harvest hard clams are far from barren and depleted; they are primary producing areas which set year after year. Baymen are not prepared to yield productive underwater land so that "aquaculturist" can gain exclusive access to public resources,and in fact harvest those resources in a manner which is inconsistent with the public fishery."
> For that attitude to change, the present reality must change. Would be mariculturist must focus on techniques that do not require large tracts of underwater land and which do not utilize natural stocks or harvesting methods which are inconsistent with existing public fisheries."

While potential culturist would like to see areas that are unproductive in the wild set aside for mariculture, baymen object and claim that such areas might be potentially productive in the future. In a recent court battle, baymen challenged the lease of a private shellfish company arguing that the oyster company can farm only what it plants and

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cultivates, but "nothing natural."

Although, the dual property rights structure of the shellfishing resource of Long Island is a cultural artifact, over the years it has acquired the status of a "natural fact" that seemingly stems from the "laws of nature." Historically fisherman have justified poaching and water piracy claiming that they aren't breaking the laws of nature. 1889, Harpers Weekly reported that most oysterman have no respect for the law, for they look upon the oyster as the blessing of Nature not amenable to the statutes of a mere Legislature"

The meaning of a free and "natural" bay has always been a controversial and politicized issue which has never been resolved. What exactly is the meaning of a natural bed given the long history of human intervention and exploitation of the marine commons and its resources? Increasingly, as shellfish management programs intervene in natural processes, there is a blurring of the boundary between cultured and natural shellfish. McCay (1983:25)has shown how a 1858, New Jersey legislature held that oysters found on natural beds are "wild" whether planted there or not, while those found on unnatural beds are "tame" and hence subject to exclusive property claims. Common use rights are tied to nature whereas private ones are tied to culture.

While it would seem that the drastic decline in the natural productivity of the bays in recent years would be a

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boost for mariculture, there is still a great deal of uncertainty and ambivalence regarding the improvement of" mother nature." The question of whether the decline in shellfishing is due to natural causes, human influences, or a combination of both is constantly debated. Uncertainties abound.

At a recent conference on saving the shellfish industry, a prominent oyster cultivator argued that "the only thing that is going to save the hard clam shellfishing business in the Great South Bay is the artificial raising we do." An official with the DEC disagreed, and pointed out that " the oysters decline was caused in large part by diseases that do not affect clams. While I support mariculture, a few years of good natural reproduction would provide for more shellfish than man made efforts. There is also disagreement regarding the claim that transplanted seed were responsible for rescuing the declining oystering industry.While some argue that a natural set was responsible for the resurgence of the resource others disagree. "time will tell whether hatcheries are the answer to the problems of the industry."[18]

While there are many conflicting historical accounts of shellfishing in Long Island waters, it is clear that there has been a great deal of human intervention in the processes of nature, problematizing the very notion of nature itself. In the marine commons, the social natural world is dynamic

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and constantly changing-the influences of man and the influences of nature are interconnected in complex ways which are little understood. According to Callon(1985:201) a fishery "depends upon a complex web of interrelations in which Society and Nature are intertwined." In discussing dynamics involved in the experimentation and implementation of an intensive scallop mariculture system in France, Callon argues that in process of interacting with the marine environment,"Nature and Society are put into place and transformed in the same movement."(pg.220) Thus, in the process of managing and cultivating scallops "social structures comprising both social and natural entities are shaped and consolidated.(pg.211)[19]

When it comes to managing the natural resources such as fisheries, a general philosophical schism separates those who believe that nature can be improved by technological intervention from those who treasure and seek to preserve the biological and ecological status quo.[20] The longstanding debate over intervening in nature or leaving it alone has become intensified with continuous developments in marine biotechnology and genetic engineering. Many fear that the rush to produce technologically enhanced, "designer fish", threatens "nature as we know it."A local biologist has argued that there are some problems with technological improvement.

> "At the very bottom of all this is a value question. Are we intent in overpowering mother

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> nature, bending all of nature to our purposes? At stake is the whole idea of wildness and wilderness. If we succeed in modifying everything in nature, we will be on top of nature, not a part of nature..And if we get to that point we will really be alone."

"I don't believe we should be doing this to wild fish...It's an aesthetic thing. I believe in keeping natural systems natural."

A critic of the growing "hatchery fetish" among applied fishery scientist argues that,"We have taken an enormous gamble with our children's heritage...Will their world be one of high technology, with genetic-engineered fish returning to computer controlled hatcheries, or will we maintain and improve our wild streams?" Wild fish are our heritage and we must,in turn, pass this heritage on to our descendants." Such statements are laden with a great deal of "environmental ambivalence." According to Rene Dubos,

> "On the one hand, we extol the virtues of wilderness and want to preserve it intact for its own sake.... On the other hand, we resent any change in our environmental heritage, even though it was created out of the wilderness by human activities...In brief, we want to save both the wilderness and the environments that have been created by destroying the wilderness."

The most paradoxical aspect of environmental ambivalence is that many feel it is necessary to manage not only humanized environments but also the wilderness itself. While many scorn the notion that people can engineer and improve upon nature, Dubos argues that "manipulating nature is an inevitable part of the human experience. Many of the

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threatened ecosystems which preservationist want to save are "cultured landscapes" of recent origin. Objecting to the destruction or alteration of these artificial ecosystems merely because of opposition to any change is an example of environmental ambivalence."[21]

The notion of preserving "nature" becomes theoretically and rhetorically difficult given the long history of human intervention in the natural world. Complex boundary issues between culture and nature which have always played a role in natural resource struggles have intensified in recent years and are continually debated. Questions regarding natural authenticity take on complex meanings and are fraught with ambiguities. The notion of a thoroughly humanized environment is highly politicized. Is a cultured clam natural? Are independent baymen who hunt and gather "wild" shellfish "closer to nature" than shellfish farmers who cultivate artificial fish and shellfish?
Does cultured shellfish mean giving up on nature? Recent battles in the Scottish Highlands over mariculture development exemplifies environmental ambivalence. While the recent boom in salmon mariculture has been an economic boost for people in the region, the industry's rapid growth has been a cause of alarm for preservationist who fear that it threatens not only the environment, but also the very character of the Highlands as a refuge for natural beauty. While the battle over mariculture is a classic one between

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those in favor of development and those who want to preserve the natural environment, ambiguities abound. Beginning in the late 18th century, the large landowners of the Highlands, who frequently lived in Edinburgh or London, decided that their holdings would be more profitable if populated by sheep instead of inefficient tenant farmers. So for most of next century, a policy known as the highland clearances utterly transformed the area bringing about forced evictions, burnings and starvation that cleared much of the region of people and trees to make more grazing land for sheep whose meat and wool fetched high prices in England. The natural environment that the conservationist want to preserve is a cultured landscape, the product of an economic transformation that ended more than a century ago. Highlanders bitterly called sheep the lairds "four footed clansmen." The natural beauty and picturesque scenery of the Highlands today, are partly the result of the clearances. In 1775 Samuel Johnson remarked about the highlands that "where formerly there was an insurrection, there is now a wilderness." Another legacy from the past was a emigration from the region. Despite some growth over the last decade, spurred by tourism and mariculture, the region's population of approximately 350,000 is well below the levels of a century ago.

The Highland Clearances, were period of ruthless and brutal exploitation in which the region was treated as a

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colony to be plundered by outsiders. The anti enclosure and improvement sentiment still lingers in the minds of contemporary Highlanders. At the present time, some of the most fervent preservationist are outsiders from England or Edinburgh with summer homes or tourist guest houses in the Highlands whom the locals call "white settlers."

Progress, the Death of Nature and Environmental Ambivalence

The artificial propagation of fish and shellfish has always generated a great deal of environmental ambivalence. The recent interest and enthusiasm in fish and shellfish hatcheries mariculture isn't new. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, with the steady decline in the productivity of the sea's resources, governmental agencies increased their involvement in the fisheries and tried to manage them on a more rational and scientific basis. In 1868, New York, whose inland and coastal fisheries suffered from overfishing, pollution, and watershed reclamation, established one of the first state fish commissions, whose aim was to protect the resources and make them more productive. By 1880, some thirty states in all sections of the country followed suit and established commissions.

sought ways to technological improve upon the limits of a ravished nature. Fish culture was a major priority of the New York State fish commission. An early report states,

> The purpose of the fish commission is to utilize these waters, make them productive, if possible, and ,through them, interest the public in that new ,practical and valuable science, fish culture; to

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> convert them at once into schools of instruction as well as sources of such additional enjoyment, and, perhaps,even of some actual profit.(Second Report 1870. p. 9.)

At the Federal level, the congress established the United States Fishery Commission in 1871. This was one of the first acknowledgments at the federal level that the North American frontier was not, after all, boundless.

The USFC was a professional and science based research organization which supported the work of university trained experts, in the expectation that their investigations would yield results with a practical application to economically significant fisheries problems. In seeking explanations for the decline of the commercially valued fish stocks on the Atlantic coast, the agency focused the study of marine biology on the problems of the fisheries and investigated - the taxonomy and distribution of fishes and related marine animals, their reproduction and movements, the ecology of sea-bottom communities, the parasites and diseases of fish.. The declining harvest oyster fishery, the nation's most valuable fishery, was a priority. The work of the USFC was the first comprehensive federal survey of a natural resource. The agencies approach to the scientific management of the fisheries foreshadowed the ideas of the progressive era conservation movement which was inspired by Roosevelt and led by a group of federal scientist and engineers in his administration who stressed the need to replace inefficient and wasteful natural resource exploitation with a more

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enlightened rational and efficient form of exploitation. Economic exploitation wasn't proscribed, it was simply rationalized. Prosperity, could never be secure if society continued to waste it's natural wealth in the traditional frontier style of grab, gut, and git. It required instead a program of long range, careful management that would put natural resource development on a thoroughly rational and efficient basis. An early fish commission report states that."While we are aiming to prevent the depletion of the great resources with which this country has been blessed,it follows logically that these resources must not be permitted to live in a state of unproductive idleness...the real problem of resource conservation then is plainly a problem of efficient development and utilization."

From its inception the USFC was a enthusiastic supporter of fish culture and felt that science and technology could artificially replenish the natural resources which the march of industrial civilization had destroyed. Fish culture offered a painless, technological solution to environmental decline. It was felt that artificial propagation could restore and even increase the productivity of a ravaged environment without requiring any fundamental changes in the way people used it. Early proponents of mariculture as a technological solutions to resource depletion took for granted the "inevitable death of nature" as a necessary cost of progress. "Whenever the white

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man plants his foot and the so-called civilization of a country is begun", wrote Baird in 1878, "the inhabitants of the air, the land and the water begin to disappear." The triumph of science and industrial technology was viewed as a process of "creative destruction", both the source as well as the solution to the widely accepted "inevitable" destruction of natural resources.

> No animal upon earth, large enough to be valuable as human food can long survive the attacks of an enemy who brings against it the resources ,the destructive weapons and intelligence of civilized man. Fortunately, the resources which render man the most irresistible of enemies, also enable him to become a producers as well as destroyer; and while the fear of him and the dread of him is upon the earth and upon all the fishes of the sea, while they are all delivered into his hands and are powerless to resist him, he alone of all animals,is able to make good his ravages, by agriculture,and by domestication, by the selection and improvement of animals and plants, and by artificial propagation."(118)

While stringent regulations might have been imposed to protect the depleted fisheries, stocking, a productive as opposed to a restrictive force held greater public appeal." According to McEvoy,"Although the USFC paid homage to the need to control harvesting and environmental degradation, promising to sustain the economy's supply of fish without interrupting existing patterns of use yielded far greater political rewards." 11 According to Goode "The policy of the U.S. fish Commissioner has been to carry out the

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idea that it is better to expend a small amount of public money in making fish so abundant that they can be caught without restriction and serve as cheap food for the people at large, rather than to expend a much larger amount in preventing the people from catching the few that still remain after generations of improvidence."

The seeds of the "progressive conservation movement were planted in the 1870's and 1880's by the "fish culture movement" the very first environmental crusade to capture a significant percentage of the American public. Pollution, resource depletion, habitat destruction, and public health were all addressed by the "movement." "There are few enterprises undertaken by the United States Government ,"wrote a USFC official ,"That are more popula, meet with more general and generous support, and have contributed more to the prosperity and happiness to a larger number of people that the federal fish-culture work." The fish culture movement was successful for a number of reasons. For the sportsmen, it meant the restoration of angling opportunities,for farmers and ranchers it meant a profitable sideline, for the UFSC repeatedly claimed that carp could be raised more cheaply than hogs and

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with equal or better economic returns, for fisherman it meant never ending profits despite the systematic exploitation of the resource;and for the nation as a whole, it mean cheap food for the masses.In 1875, Forest and Stream, the American Fish Culturist official journal, proclaimed optimistically that "our depleted and heretofore barren waters will soon team with unnumbered millions of edible fish, providing a greater blessing to the masses than any other discovery of the last quarter of a century." (Pisani 118) Baird viewed artificial propagation as a humanitarian endeavor since shad and salmon could provide an abundance of cheap nourishing food for the "common man."As Baird noted in 1876"..It is not considered exaggeration to say that the water can be made to yield a larger percentage of nutriment, acre for acre, than the land." Several years latter in 1919, New York conservation commission used similar arguments to bolster support for the artificial propagation of oysters. " Whereas oysters were once plentiful ,and were food for the common people, the present conditions are forcing them gradually to become classed as luxuries. With a further depletion of the natural growing areas,

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> the food will be further removed from the people, and oysters will become a delicacy.1919
>
> The attempts to improve upon nature did not always have positive results. By the end of the century, it was clear to many that fish culture was not quite the bonanza it was first thought to be. The fish culture movement exaggerated man's power over the marine world and its inhabitants. The "hatchery fetish" was a technological fix that disregarded the complexities and ecological dynamics of aquatic environments. In the rush to replenish nature artificially, many culturist failed to understand that when one species declined in numbers another often increased. More importantly, they failed to appreciate the profound influence of year to year fluctuations in weather, tide patterns and habitats that were beyond human control.

Problems associated with the transplanting of fish throughout the United States put a damper on the enthusiasm for hatcheries. The transplanting of German carp which destroyed native species by ruining their habitat, proved to be one of the great disasters of nineteenth century fishery science. Many failed to realize that many marine ecosystems could only support a certain amount of fish, regardless of how it was stocked.

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With the realization that the artificial propagation of fish still required a clean marine environment, and that juveniles released in waters heavily damaged by domestic sewage and industrial waste didn't have a good chance of surviving to maturity, the USFC redefined the resource depletion problem and began to emphasis habitat destruction instead of overfishing. Concomitantly, the agency shifted its emphasis from controlling the propagation through artificial means, to understanding the impacts of "commercial progress" and "civilization" on aquatic life.In 1920 one USFC official claimed that,"The problem of fish culture is not one of propagation, either natural or artificial, but the maintenance of a suitable habitat." mariculture-appropriate technology?

History seems to be repeating itself at the present time in the U. S. fisheries. Despite continuous expansion in mariculture research and development, many of the ecological problems and troubling uncertainties associated with the first wave of mariculture in the 19th century still remain. As mariculture presses forward, there is still a great deal of environmental ambivalence surrounding the technological improvement of the natural commons.[22] Today like in the past, the rhetoric of the inevitable destruction of nature as a necessary cost of economic progress, is still contentious.

Many baymen feel the emphasis on mariculture is a form

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of fatalism. While mariculture can enhance the supply of clams artificially, many baymen view it as a technological fix that doesn't address the real cause of resource depletion- environmental decline. The emphasis on mariculture lends itself to a attitude that takes for granted the deterioration of the natural environment and treats it as a painful but necessary cost of progress. At a "save the bay" meeting a bayman argued that "mariculture spells a green light for pollution... Those who are pushing it are sending out a message which says "It doesn't matter if you screw up mother nature because we have some gadgets that can fix her up." The same sentiments prevail with regards to depuration programs and the transplanting of shellfish from uncertified polluted waters to cleaner waters. At a public hearing shellfish management alternatives, a baymen leader remarked "A purification process for those clams removed from uncertified waters in not an appropriate move at this time since it implies the acceptance of increasing levels of pollution. We would rather see steps towards pollution abatement..." Despite these reservations, baymen are for the most part favorably disposed towards management policies that use scientific research to protect and enhance the marine environment so that fish and shellfish could spawn naturally instead of policies that focus on ways to enhance it artificially through science and technology. [23]

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Preserving or Refashioning Nature?

Proponents of mariculture argue that it is an ecologically" appropriate" technology because it transforms "plunderers of the sea into planters and thus helps to preserve the natural environment. Many argue that the hunting and gathering of seafood is not suited to industrialized society. Industrialized hunting and gathering is a self contradiction that is reaching its outer limits. It is environmentally destructive, given its increased reliance on sophisticated technology applied to capturing a natural resource that is becoming scarcer and scarcer, not only because of ruthless overfishing but also because of industrial pollution and interference with natural breeding grounds. The contrast between robbers of nature and cultivators has a long history. Edward Kendell, whose travel diaries in the northern United States were published in 1809, contrasted lumberman, fur traders, and fisherman with farmers who cultivated the earth. Unlike the farmer who worked today for fruits to be reaped tomorrow, the lumberers, fisherman and fur traders preyed on the future. ".... As the hunter and the fisherman neglect the tillage of the earth to pursue their game; as the wild herdsman moves from place to place, content to pasture his cattle on the herb that he has been at no toil to raise; so the lumberer wanders through the forest, making spoil in his turn of the wealth of nature...What nature has planted he

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enjoys, but he plants nothing for himself."(Quoted in Merchant 223) In 1873. U.S. fish commission report on fish culture-

> Fisheries have often been called the agriculture of the waters as if the sea, lakes, and rivers were inexhaustible store-houses of food, where, without fear of ever impoverishing them, man might continue to take and destroy forever, bounded only by his wants, and desires,...A fishery is not the agriculture of the waters; it is only the harvesting, The waters are a source of production extremely powerful, but by no means infinite,; and that the harvest may be always certain and abundant,it should be prepared by regular sowing, if it is true, according to the expression of M de Auatrefages, that fish may be multiplied by sowing in the same manner as grain. Jules Haine Appendix D Fish Culture 1873

Some argue that mariculture will help to preserve the natural environment, not replace it. Mariculture, by substituting artificial for natural means of production, allows us to become less and less economically dependent on the natural functioning of ecosystems. According to a shellfish consultant from New Jersey " Mariculture has helped to preserve the natural beds by taking harvesting pressure off the "wild lands."Recently, a reputable marine biologist has claimed that in she only eats farm raised fish instead of fish from the wild, not only because it might be unsafe but because she wants to help to preserve the natural environment.

Promise or Threat?

According to Harlod Weber, research and development in mariculture is preparing the way for "large scale vertically integrated, high technology, centrally controlled,

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mariculture food production systems." 116 Mariculture is an example of what George Ritzer, of the "McDonaldization of society." Another critic has argued that the mariculture hatchery fetish is furthering the Disneyfication of the natural world.[24]

While mariculture is often promoted as a solution to world hunger, there is a great deal of attention focused on producing assorted types of upscale "designer" fish and shellfish which are both aesthetically pleasing and lucrative. While the rhetoric of progress surrounding mariculture extols it's potential to "feed the world", research and development seems to be focused on developing new strains of marine plants and animals for the upscale niche market which grow faster, according to desired shapes and sizes for easier packing and distribution. Marketing opportunities could become seemingly boundless if mariculture technology could produce "natural products which are more natural than nature's own."

Marketing strategies play a role in public perception of mariculture products. Mariculture fish area a consumers dream, a clean industry raised by workers with advanced degrees. While some argue that in terms of taste, cultured fish can't compete with "fish from the wild", others claim that wild fish is "dirty" while farmed raised fish is "clean"-nature minus the impurities. In some situations wild food is a positive in others it's a negative. Farmed

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raised cultured mussels are more valuable than those harvested from the wild. In some situations, a cultured exotic species is mark of distinction and quality, in others it is a sign of natural impurity. Many hope that as hard clam mariculture matures, people will begin to make distinctions between the various crops like they do with oysters.

The development of technologically produced fish and shellfish has made the notion of environmental planning and "designing with nature" complex and confusing. In a world where nature is constantly constructed, redefined and refashioned there is a great deal of symbolic meaning attached to "natural products." Much "natural" food is highly processed. Increasingly, as the food we consume has become more processed, it has been presented as more "natural" by the food industry. In recent decades, the increased demand for wholesome "natural" foods and the concern with health and environmentalism has not meant a return to traditional products and processes -although the image of tradition is successfully marketed, few would advocate a return to the real thing with its infected water supplies, low yield and the like -but it has even accelerated ,and will continue to accelerate ,the improvement, the enculturalization of nature drawing on tradition as a resource to be selectively improved.

Free Floating Metaphors in the Marine Commons When

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it comes to modern mariculture and other emerging marine biotechnologies, metaphors of "nature" and the "natural" serve important rhetorical functions.(Burch 68) Such metaphors can become both very real material forces as well as emotionally charged symbolic ones.[25] This is clearly the case when it comes to introducing and transplanting "alien " or "exotic" species in local waters. What happens when these technologically produced "strangers", "aliens"and "foreign invaders" mix with "natives?" Continuous movements and ecological migrations in the borderless marine commons has intensified environmental ambiguity and blurred the distinction between nature and culture. Marine plants and animals resemble people in that many "natives" are immigrants that have been in a country long enough to become members and citizens of a biotic community. It is important not to absolutize the native/exotic dichotomy by writing as if there were some "original time" when the flora of the earth was made up only of natives plants.151 Rodman ask what does it mean to be an exotic, as distinct from a native, and why is it important? In the rush to produce a new breed of faster growing fish and shellfish many worry that the ecological balance will be disrupted. "The habitat is changing greatly in front of our eyes." remarked a local biologist." We might not be able to manage effectively in the purist way we would like to think."

The greatest of the ecological explosions involves

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ourselves. Accrding Mumford:(1939;325)

> "When man upsets the natural balance by introducing a new creature, as the jack rabbit was introduced into Australia, when he plows up the grassland in semi-arid areas,in order to make an evanescent profit out of farming wheat,or when he removes the forest over wholesale,he sets of a whole train of consequences that disrupt the complicated fabric upon which permanent human settlement is based: soil erosion, floods, insects, pest, blights of various kinds, may follow such upsets
>
> One creature man cannot help introducing-himself....
>
> As the cultural heritage increases, a larger part of the environment becomes useful and meaningful:the natural conditions of a region, so far from being nullified by the increase of culture and technical skill, are actually magnified. The hunter knows the forest only as a home for game, but for modern man the forest is also a source of lumber,a protection against soil erosion. a recreation area, and a field for scientific observation.

The Semiotics of Seafood and the Rhetorical Uses of Nature

At times, some question the preservation of a natural resource when natural processes have caused it to decline. At a recent conference on saving the oyster industry, a biologist on the panel asked" Why preserve the oyster resource if natural processes are destroying it?" . Should we intervene in nature? If so,how should we proceed? As the discussion proceeded to unfold, anthropomorphism, the dreaded enemy of many biologist, began to creep into the discourse. In discussing the introduction of a particular strain of oyster which thrives in Japan, some feared that the invasion of "Mutant Ninja oysters" would mix with the natives and destroy the purity of the local population. When the idea of releasing laboratory produced diseases resistant

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shellfish into the wild was mentioned, a waterman remarked, leave the Frankenstein shellfish in the lab." A local resource manager who was vehemently opposed to the introduction of foreign species, argued "It's too risky- just look what happen with the zebra mussel?" Gradually phrase like 'Frankenstein fish',Disney fish, Sea clones began to fill the room. One biologist mentioned that opponents to the culturing of foreign oysters in Austrailian waters, organized a campaign to stop the flow of " marine rabbits."[26]

As we have seen the symbolic well of meaning surrounding the words Nature and Culture is seemingly boundless. Symbolic meanings attached to the distinction between nature in the wild and domesticated nature are very much a part of the debates surrounding mariculture. For some, cultured shellfish implies the improvement of nature, for others it represents,"improvement for unimproved ends". The distinction between the wild and the cultivated, has always generated a great deal of metaphorical speculation. Many thinkers have used it as a symbolic springboard from which to critique aspects of society. "Gardening is civil and social Thoreau has said "but it wants the vigor and freedom of the outlaw. There may be an excess of cultivation as well as anything else, until cultivation becomes pathetic." On another occasion,in his essay "Wild Apples", Thoreau identified with the escaped apple trees, which could

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never be confined within walls or reduced to geometric patterns in fields. "These wild apples belong to children as wild as themselves...to the wild-eyed woman of the fields,..who gleans after all the world, and moreover to us walkers." "Eco Feminist" Carolyn Merchant in discussing the essay, remarks:"Wild apples restored the lost oneness between mind and body,sense and intellect, humans and nature. Their qualities permeated the body ,reviving it with their inner wisdom and zest for life. The native North American crab apple, aboriginal like the Indians, with its glorious rose-colored flowers, was even wilder, with a stronger pucker to the taste."(259) In a similar vein, the preservationist John Muir, used the wild/tame distinction to critique society. "The domestic sheep in a general way ,is expressionless,like a dull bundle of something only half alive, while the wild is as elegant and graceful as a deer, every movement manifest admirable strength and character. The tame is timid, the wild is bold. The tame is always more or less ruffled and dirty, while the wild is as smooth and clean as the flowers of his mountain pastures. 99 ...."A little pure wildness is the one great present want both of men and of sheep."190." Bookchin has remarked that "In its own way ,our loss of community has been a form of domestication-a condition that lacks meaning and direction-as surely as is the wild animal's loss of it's niche. Like our cattle, poultry, pets, and even crops, we too have lost

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our wildness in a pacified world that is overly administered and highly rationalized. 279

Mariculture and the Sense of Place

The political struggles over mariculture and other "improvements" in fishing work is bound up with struggles over the meaning of place and regional identity. If nature is transplanted and produced what is the meaning of local color, local food, sense of place? What is the meaning of a sense of a place close to nature when the natural environment is constantly being altered, reconstructed and produced?

Following Dubos, it is clear that many humanized environments appear more natural than others because of a harmonious relationship between technology, economy and place. On the other hand, places where production has been completely liberated from nature and geography seem unnatural.[27] According to a planner from the East End,"Workboats and fishing piers, and crab shanties have as much to do with a sense of place as they do with the seafood business. 3

There is a great deal of rhetorical maneuvering in the politics of maricultural development. While in one context, the rhetoric of heritage and tradition was used to discredit maricultural improvement, in another context the very same rhetoric was used to promote it. Social imagery and public perceptions attached to mariculture play a large role in the

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politics of place. For example in the Town of East Hampton, debates about mariculture centered on the issue of whether the new technology would sever the connection between economy and place or facilitate it? Was mariculture an appropriate technology"? Would it help to preserve the social and natural environment of the area?

After a great deal of struggle and controversy, baymen and others began to support public mariculture, claiming that it would help to preserve the traditional way of life on the "East End" and it's precious "sense of place." While private large scale mariculture was tainted as a potential technological nightmare, many argued that public mariculture " can be cheap, unobtrusive ,and can work quite well in harmony with nature." While baymen claimed that"any privatization of bottom land would short change the public" they felt that putting public money towards a hatchery would benefit the public as opposed to private interest. In discussing the issue of efficiency vs equity, the baymen claimed that,

> Many experts draw false conclusions from statistics which show that leased oyster grounds are more productive than public grounds."The leased grounds are more productive because the private companies have money to spend on cultivating and seeding the bottom of the waters they lease from the state... The individual baymen who work the public grounds do not have such capital.
>
> Now, the reason the reason oyster beds of the Chesapeake are in poor condition today is because in the 1870's private companies form the North were dredging 17 million bushels of oysters every year form the Chesapeake. This is actually double the total U.S consumption of oysters today.The

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> beds have never recovered the plunder by private enterprise. Perhaps it would have been fair if the private companies that destroyed the Chesapeake beds had put a little money back into building up the public grounds.....
>
> .... When it comes to leasing on naturally productive waters things are different. Our town waters are too small to allow for private leasing and there are too many of us dependent upon these waters for at least part of our income to allow a few individuals to monopolize any portion of our public resources." (1/19/78)

At the opening ceremony of the town hatchery, a local town official very sympathetic to the concerns of the local baymen claimed that "The public hatchery would maintain the natural environment and preserve the sense of place on the "east end." The director of the hatchery, a marine biologist boasted that " Public efforts to restock shellfish with the hatchery will help to preserve our common natural heritage of the bays. It is an important part of the stewardship trust. John Aldred)(8/5/93-11-3)

> While it is never going to look like it did when the Indians were here with oysters from shore to shore, we are increasing a depleted population enough so that the local residents can collect and make their living off shellfish, a traditional way of life out here that makes up a large percentage of the population." [28]

There is a great deal of public relations work involved in mariculture development. As we shall see, public mariculture facilities on Long Island, besides growing fish and shellfish serve as tourist attractions. They are an important component of the burgeoning marine environmental theme park

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industry.

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NOTES

1.The Clammer The full quote is
"As an occupation for leisure hours, I recommend the pursuit of the clam. Your true clammer is of another age, born after his time. He values not at all the improvements of this age. He reads by candle light or goes to bed at dark. He loves the wandering along the bare shores hoe in hand, the wading through shallows ,the mud pies he may make in incidental pursuit of his prey, and the sights he sees for the capture of the clams is less than the search for them ,even as the sport ot the true fisherman lies as much in fishing as in catching fish."5-6

Now,the particular piece of flat, to which incline alike my heart on my feet,is my own. I bought the few feet of shore to which the clam beds are attached because I loved it and feared lest, otherwise the march of progress should take it from me.

2.East Hampton Star. May 6,93 11S

3.These workers are part of the "counter preservationist movement".In a similar vein Patricia Weeks has shown how texas ranchers use a "heritage discourse" to combat ecologist and preservationist.

4.At a NESSA meeting, during a session of how to combat negative media publicity aimed at fish and shellfish, a representative from the Northwest Oyster Growers industry spoke of how the industry, through a strategic public relations campaign turned a negative image into a positive one. "We stressed that at a healthy oyster industry means a healthy and clean bay. People in the community had an interest in safe oysters because they became a indicator of a clean water quality ."It should be kept in mind the oystering on the west coast consist of several large scale,high technology mariculturist. There is no equivalent of independent baymen or waterman. Such industries have the captial and resources to engage in publicity campaigns.

5.There is a rich symbolism and set of symbolic meanings that are part of the organizational culture of the U.S fishery management profession. The symbols of the profession and the symbols s meanings have change over time, refelecting changing self-images and changing defintions of appropriate relationships with others and with the natural environment.(Greider 1994:13)

6.A USFC report entitled the"Oyster and the Oyster Culture" emphasized the complexity of biological communities. "Every oyster-bed is thus to a certain degree,a community of living

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beings,.a collection of species and an amassing of individuals..It requires suitable soil,sufficient food,the requisite percentage of salt,and a temperature favorable to their development."

7. The incorporation of economic concerns carried an important corollary: economics theory can only be applied when property rights exist. The sustained yield theory he wrote,"overlooked essential elements of the problem by neglecting the powerful incentives to overfish that operated in a common property regime." Gordon,Scott H,"The Economic Theory of a Common-Property Resource:the Fishery,"Journal of Political Economy,62(1954): 124-142,p,136

8.The phrase works on at least three different levels, First ,it complements the government's own rhetoric surrounding Optimum Yield calculations and suggest the calculation relies heavily on esoteric technical and scientific methods of measurement and estimation. Second ,the phrase works because no matter how sophisticated or scientifically rational the OSY calculation may appear,there has not been any explanation as to how social considerations (mandated by law) have entered into the process. Third ,both local and national politics explicitly play a part in OSY decisions and ,like similar policy decisions,some of this political work, goes on out of sight.

9.(10/19/87

10.This is the title of a recent publication which shows how cultural considerations become politicized. How could they not be? Modern natural resource management and public policy addresses the need to weigh social, cultural and historic considerations along with biological considerations. Conflicts abound and are inevitable. Many of the terms that natural resource managers and environmental professionals use such as" sustainable development" mask the inherent ambiguity and conflict in resource decisions.(see NYT article on debates about sustainability + "Discordant Harmonies"-

11.According to a local fishery ecologist who works for the Audubon Society "The irony is that by trying to protect jobs at every step of the way were losing jobs at a faster rate than ever. We're losing entire fishing communities. I don't see it as conservation vs jobs--I see it as conservation preserves jobs."

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12.Conservation is a state of harmony between men and land.By land is meant all of the things on,over,or in the earth.Harmony with land is like harmony with a friend;you cannot cherish his right hand and chop off his left. That is to say,you cannot love game and hate predator,you cannot conserve the waters and waste the ranges,you cannot build the forest and mine the farm. The land is one organism. Its parts, like our own parts,compete with each other. The competitions are as much a part of the inner workings as the co-operations. You can regulate them-cautiously,but not abolish them.Aldo Leopold pg 6 Cheaseapeak Bay Progress Report.

Science 1970:945-52)

14.Koppes 1988:247 106-107 Burch has argued that the fusion of the ecological science and it's poetic counterpart in the transcendentalist has created a paradigm. Hays links the shift from "conservation to environment" to wider social,economic and cultural changes in society.He places great emphasis on the fact that modern environmental institutions are bound up with processes of consumption. The concern with assorted quality of life issues(of which caring for the environment is just one) and amenity values is bound up with consumer driven capitalism.(Lash and Urry)40-41

15.Williams, M. 1991. "The Human use of Wetlands". Progress in Human Geography pg.15,1-22.

16.In Rubbish Theory,(1979) Michael Thompson discusses the social and cultural process by which seemingly insignificant and worthless material and symbolic objects become enshrined and transformed into "heritage phenomenon." Rubbish theory, can help shed light on the elusive and expandable nature of "heritage.

17.Fine has shown how a group of mushroom collectors transform mushrooms from unseen objects to meaningful ones.(1992:161) Increasingly, conflicts regarding the symbolic meaning of fishery resources are coming to playing a role in the politics of fishery management. Some fishery social scientist have pointed to the emerging spotted owl syndrome within the fisheries.

18. McHugh. 1986.pg.590

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19.Callon focuses on the construction -deconstruction of Nature and Society in a particular site.

20.Acording to Rabinow"either one adopts a sort of veneration before the immensity of "that which is" or one accepts the possibility of manipulation. The term manipulation carries with it the appropriate ambiguities implying both an urge to dominate and discipline as well as an imperative to improve on the organic. Confronting this complexity constitutes the challenge of artificality and enlightenment. 250

"Nature will be known and remade through technique and will finally become artificial, just as culture becomes natural. Were such a project to be brought to fruition ,it would stand as the basis for the overcoming of the nature/culture split.242

21.According to Hiss,"Working countryside;working landscape;managed landscape;humanized landscape; historic landscape; ancient landscape;cultural landscape;heritage landscape:these are all terms that have coined over the years by botanist,landscape historian,sociologist,historical ecologist,and other specialist who have studied both the history and the future of the countryside in order to distinguish two different kinds of terrain-natural land-scapes,those parts of the countryside which human beings haven't altered or interfered with,and landscapes whose function and look,or character or feel,have been shape over time by sequential,ongoing human activities as much as by natural processes. Such distinctions are becoming increasingly problematic given the blurring of the boundaries between natural and cultural heritage.

22.According to Short the enclosures were the imposition of a new commercial order ,an order in which traditional obligations to villagers and the local community were broken. Land was privatized and the landscape was transformed into a commercial space of regular,hegedwooded fields. The so called 'typical English scene ,of a patchwork of green fields,is in origin the spatial imprint of an eighteenth century commercial enterprise. Through the enclosures ,the landowners obtained more land and strengthened their power while those of the middling walk of life' also gained. For those at the bottom,the enclosures meant a loss of traditional rights...It is ironic that the typical English countryside ,the supercharge image of English environmental ideology ,which can still conjure up notions of community ,unchanging values,and national sentiments, is in reality the imprint of a profit based

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exercise which destroyed the English peasantry and replaced a moral economy of traditional rights and obligations with the cash nexus of commercial capitalism.(Short 67

23.According Aldo Leopold"Many conservation treatments are obviously superficial.
Flood-control dams have no relation to the cause of floods. Check dams and terraces do not touch the cause of erosion.Refuges and hatcheries to maintain the supply of game and fish do not explain why the supply fails to maintain itself."195

24. Market conditions may compel the fisherman ,as they have the farmer, to adopt technologies which undermine his independence and autonomy.tie him to his suppliers,computers,,and machines, and force him to sell out or to expand and specialize his operation.The history of agribusiness, may repeat itself in "mariculture.

25. Haraway points out that as a tool-weapon for stalking cancer ,the bioengineered mouse is simultaneously a metaphor and a technology...This is the normal state of the entities in techno science cultures ,including ourselves.As nancy Stepan has argued, in science as the study of 19th century studies of sex and race,a metaphor may become a research program.

26.In the discussing some of the problems associated with the introduction of foreign species, Rodman has argued that ecological restoration is not so much about natives and exotics as it is about restoring balance in a disturbed world, a restoring our place in the balance of the world.153

27. According to Sagoff "To relate an economy to the conditions of a particular place is to define a niche, which involves both adapting to and making changes in the natural environment. Those who thus enter practical harmonies with places come to value them, to care for and to appreciate them, often by having to respond to a diversity of unique conditions. To do this is to sink roots into an environment and to become native to that place. These roots prevent the place from eroding into McWorld-from becoming lost in the abstract space of global markets."369

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28.(NYT9/22/91)While there are a few baymen who view leasing of underwater lands in a favorable light, they are considered to be outsiders by the traditional members of the baymen community. At a recent, local waterfront revitalization committee whose objective is to adapt the general objectives of a Federal coastal management plan to local needs, the issue of whether town bottom should be opened up to private businesses was raised. Tom Knobel ,a baymen and town trustee felt that "private interest ,cooperating with the town under tight supervision, would produce more shellfish and make more bottom land productive".
According to Knobel "

"The harbors will produce more if every aspect of production and harvest is controlled. Unfortunately, the concept of control conflicts with our precious East Hampton tradition of independent harvesting by individual baymen. We must try to reconcile the difference and aim the hatchery's production to satisfy definite goals determined through an open policy-making process.(EHS 8/2/93)

Such remarks have made him very unpopular with most of the baymen.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

CONSUMING THE COAST, COMMERCIAL FISHING AND THE HERITAGE INDUSTRY

A truly rooted community may have shrines and monuments but it is unlikely to have museums and societies for the preservation of the past."Yi-Fu Tuan

"They'll be no fishing out here in a few years,.It'll all be tourism. We're losing our whole heritage."

East Hampton Baymen

They preserve old buildings don't they- why can't they preserve the baymen

East Hampton resident

Waterman are an evocative symbol who will not quietly fade away... perhaps jaded urbanites will decide it is worthwhile to memorialize the waterman in a sort of Colonial Williamsburg on the bay- Waterman's world we would call it...it could be replete with glassed in, underwater lounges from which to view in action the techniques of authentic oyster tongers, who would go out and put their catch back on the beds after dark, to grapple them up again the next day for throngs of tourist, which seem to grow larger every year."

Tom Horton

As the past begins to loom above the present and darkens paths to the future, one word in particular suggest an image around which other ideas of the past cluster: the heritage."

Robert Hewison

The channels that once led to Fulton Fish Market now led to Wall Street. The uses of the waters that come with the new passion for yachts and racing diverged considerably from the earlier bayside life which sustained fisherman, squatters,and clamdiggers.

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The Tourist Gaze, the Heritage Industry and the Invention of the Seacoast

The myth of the baymen is both a symbolic and material force which has become inscribed in the landscape and become part and parcel of the sense of place. It has influenced the rhetoric of local politicians and become part of the discourse of environmental planning and policy. The romance of the baymen and the rhetoric of heritage which surrounds their "way of life" is clearly evident in the promotional literature generated by the constantly expanding tourism and coastal zone leisure economy.

Increasingly, processes of consumption rather than processes of production are becoming the link to nature in the modern coastal zone. Despite a steady decline in the economic value of commercial fishing and marine commerce, the sea still plays an important economic role as a "consumption artifact." (Harvey:1985) The increased aesthetic appreciation of the seacoast and commodification of visual consumption have gone hand in hand.[1] Increasingly, marine nature has become a realm of leisure and pleasure-tourism-spectacular entertainment, visual refreshment; it occupies a space physical as much as metaphorical.

The gentrification of the seacoast and the proliferation of service based economic activities associated with tourism and leisure has displaced and marginalized commercial fisherman and their traditional style of work. Despite their

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declining numbers, fisherman and their occupational culture exert a powerful cultural aura which has come to play a large role in coastal heritage tourism.

Tourism has become one of the most important ways in which the relation between humans and nature are now organized. There is hardly a town on Long Island which does not have the promotion of tourism as one of its key objectives. Increasingly environments, places and people are being regularly made and remade as tourist objects, a process which often involves active participation by state and local governmental agencies.[2] Historically, practices associated with tourism have played a large role in the social construction of the coast. The tourist gaze is a socially organized and systematized way of viewing and enframing places in accordance with some preconceived idea or image of what a place should look like. Gazing is a social process which confers a particular framework of symbolic meaning on the environment.

The tourist gaze has much in common with the word landscape. Gazing and landscaping are a form of mental picture making, a way of enframing the environment. Both are good examples of how practices and ways of seeing associated with the painterly tradition have become aborted by the wider society. When it was first introduced by the Dutch in the 16th century, the word landscape referred to a picture of a view, an artist interpretation of the view as opposed to the view

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itself. It was a pictorial representation of the countryside. Over time, the word came to mean a piece of the countryside considered as a visual phenomenon, as if it were a picture. Then in the mid-eighteenth century it simply came to mean terrain, so that what originated as a pictorial representation came also to mean a literal visual apprehension.

Socially constructed landscapes became objects of "conspicuous aesthetic consumption."(1976:128)[3] According to Newboy, when the countryside refused to conform or become a "pleasing prospect" or a pretty as a picture, it was rearranged until it exuded a "natural effect" by landscape architects and landscape gardeners who were hired precisely for this purpose. The natural environment had a picturesque framework imposed on it and fields, hedgrows, trees, and even complete villages, were cleared in order to provide the eighteenth century landowner with a "pleasing prospect" from his window or terrace. [4]

The appearance of the word seascape in English somewhere toward the eighteenth century marks an important event in the evolving history of the coast. As far back as the 18th century, tourist carrying mental images of seascapes began to enframe the sea-shore in a "Claude glass mythology." As Raban (1994:39) has remarked,

> "As the Grand Tourist had used to view harbors from a scenic overlook through a Claude Glass, and so turn them into living paintings, now, nearly a hundred years latter, the sea itself had become a legitimate object of mental picture making. Seascapes-both as canvases and as views from the

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> terrace-were all the rage- and the pursuit of seascape, even before the word was coined, had begun to drive fisherman, boatbuilders, and other traditional shore- dwellers from their old quarters, as the leisure industries seized hold of the best beaches.

Gazing is a form of mental picture making that detaches the viewer from the object, as spectators toward a spectacle. The tourist attempt to get back to nature required a great deal of cultural equipment. The selective perception on the part of tourist is culturally encoded. It took a very socialized and well trained eye to read the book of nature according to the rules of the picturesque. Seekers of the coastal picturesque were required to make distinctions and exercise a great deal of aesthetic judgement. According to Corban(1994:142)

> The picturesque view became the focus of a complex network of sensations, memories,and knowledge. Distinguishing the picturesque element within a natural scene was based on notions of composition and effect and makes use of viewing skills that travellers had long applied to gardens. Sometimes it even requires the use of instruments such as Claude's mirror, which facilitated the assessment of a picture's quality."

The code of the picturesque:

> ".. dictated the choice of viewpoint, favoring the one which most easily frames the natural spectacle in a picture."

Thus, gazing was a visual performance and those who undertook the picturesque journey with its prescribed mode of appreciation, projected artistic memories and images on to the spectacle of nature.[5]

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The changing cultural significance of the bayman is bound up with economic, social, and cultural changes associated with the expansion of the postmodern service economy. The social process by which the work of the baymen has acquired cultural significance as a vanishing heritage is part and parcel of the new flexible mode of consumerism characterized by an endless expansion of goods and services. In Post Modernism Or,The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism"(1984:48), Jameson argues that "there has been a prodigious expansion of culture throughout the social realm, to the point at which everything in our social life-from economic values and state power to practices and to the very structure of the psyche itself -can be said to have become "cultural" in some original and yet untheorized sense." In a similar vein Stuart Hall remarks that the distinction between the cultural and economic realm has become quite useless."Culture has ceased to be if it ever was a decorative addendum to the "hard world" of production and things, the icing on the cake of the material world. The word is now as "material" as the world."(1991:62)

The expansion and marketing of heritage through tourism is a good example of this cultural logic run wild. When it comes to the marketing and commodification of cultural and symbolic goods and services, there is no limit to the possibilities of recycling styles, images and signs. The social construction of heritage through tourism is an elastic

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phenomena that seems to have a life of it's own. According to Lowenthal:

> "Whether it is celebrated or rejected, attended to or ignored, the past is everywhere. The modern American Landscape" seems saturated with 'creeping heritage.'Once confined to a handful of museums, and antique shops, the trappings of history now festoon the whole country...Long uprooted and newly unsure of the future, Americans en masses find comfort in looking back (xv)

The landscape of nostalgia, is a vast and seemingly boundless resource, just waiting to be tapped by the march of the heritage industry. While heritage is an allusive term meaning different things to different people, in recent years, the number of things accorded some form of heritage recognition and protection has increased dramatically. Heritage preservation advocates recognize an increasing variety of resources as potentially significant. These includes traditional and cultural "intangible "values" ..and other rural and or urban folklife traditions and oral history. With the spread of heritage preservationism, things which were previously demolished are reconstituted at great expense an pressed in the service of what Lefebvre refers to as "cultural consumption."

> Where destruction has not been complete ..renovation becomes the order of the day, or imitation, or replication, or neo-this or neo-that.In any case, what had been annihilated in the earlier frenzy of growth now becomes an object of adoration. And former objects of utility now pass for rare and precious works of art."[6]

Many have argued that there is an affinity between the cultural logic of postmodernism and the heritage industry.

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Hewison argues that they are linked ".. in that they both conspire to create a shallow screen that intervenes between our present lives and our history. We have no understanding of history in depth but instead are offered a contemporary creation, more costume drama than critical discourse." It is not so much tradition as the appearance of tradition which is being sold by the heritage industry. Heritage tourism depends on the commodification of "pastness."

. We are ,as Jameson writes, condemned to seek history by way of pop images and simulacra of that history, which itself remains for ever out of reach" (Hewison:1987,135) Because the heritage industry is in the business of mass communication, the boundary between reality and fantasy, education and entertainment, conservation and restoration ,culture and commerce is becoming increasingly blurred, increasingly indistinct. According to Jameson (1984:67) given the"insensible colonization of the present by the nostalgic mode "a true sense of history and a concern with our cultural roots has given way to a form of history characterized by a vast collection of images, a multitudinous photographic simulacrum." There are tourist possibilities to be found everywhere and in everything-there is no limit to what you will find. Modern tourism mimics and promotes the postmodern de-differentiation of the cultural economy (Lash 1994) The expansion and "universalizing of the tourist gaze is dissolving the boundaries between shopping, sport, culture,

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architecture and education ((Urry:1990:51) The triumph of the tourist gaze, and the spread of heritage industry go hand in hand. With the marked broadening of the objects which are deemed worthy of preservation it seems like the whole of life is becoming a vast heritage museum.'Museum'therefore, is a word acquiring new significance as the twenty first century gets nearer..."pg.2 Not the museum in the narrow sense of a particular building or institution, but as a potent social metaphor and as a means whereby societies represent their relationship to their own history." We are becoming a museum society. A lot more museums will emerge in the next few years although whether we should still refer to them 'museums'is increasingly doubtful."(Urry, 1990:134)" The museum instead of being circumscribed in a geometrical location is now everywhere like a dimension of life itself" (Baudrillard:1983:15)

The manufacturing and marketing of culture and history as style isn't new.[7] The production and marketing of scenic environments containing a manufactured culture was already established by the middle of the 19th century. Historically the conservation of nature went hand in hand with the preservation of antiquities. In nineteenth century Britain, Wordsworth, Ruskin, and Morris were concerned with preserving both nature and the past. In the United States, George Perkins Marsh pioneer the conservation of nature as well as the preservation of the artifacts of everyday life rather than the

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great monuments of antiquity. His concern with preservation of everyday domestic and industrial artifacts such as agricultural and mechanical tools, furniture, utensils and ordinaary impelments of prefigures the recent aesthetization of everyday life and populist bent in understanding, celebrating, and commemorating vernacular heritage. Wright speaks of aesthetization of ordinary objects of bygone everyday life. The preference to aestheticize the ordinary objects of peoples lives stems from genuine populist concerns a for a grass roots "people's history" as well as elitist ones. Henry Ford ridiculed for asserting that "History is more or less bunk"' determined to build a museum that's going to show industrial history, "..and it won't be bunk..that's the only history that is worth observing..By looking at things people used and that show the way we lived, a better impression can be gained than could be had in a month of reading."[8]

In terms of symbolic capital accumulation, images and signs of nature and tradition are a boundless resource given that they are non-material and infinitely elastic. From a marketing point of view, the fact that heritage is a intangible and amorphous category is not a problem. When it comes to the commodification of images, ideas, experiences and other cultural intangibles the possibilities are boundless. Heritage, like many other forms of symbolic capital in our post Fordist image economy, has become an immensely expandable

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"image without a bottom". As Ewen (1988:25) has remarked," Freed from the encumbrances of matter, the look of the visible world can now be easily, and inexpensively, reproduced ...matter as a visible object is of no great use any longer, except as the mould on which form is shaped." In the words of a planner involved with an economic revitalization plan for the "East End" of Long Island, "It's time that we start to realize that beauty, heritage and environmental quality are marketable values which are good for business." Heritage tourism and the museumiation of traditional occupations has become an important policy took dedicated to the fostering growth and the restructuring of place in the wake of de-industrialization and economic decline. A heritage museum, in addition to being objects of consumption are also units of production. A new museum is not only one of the convenient ways of re-using a redundant mill or factory. It is treated as a form of investment that will regenerate the local economy that has decayed as a result of the closure of that mill or factory. Instead of manufacturing goods, we are manufacturing heritage, remarks Hewison (Hewison,1991:167) ,"a commodity which nobody seems able to define, but which everyone is eager to sell."

The heritage industry is fundamentally altering the environments and economies of places. It helps to reinforce and maintain a particular social tone and a distinctive regional identity. At the core of tourism is the production of

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images, and myths about place and their translation into value. Increasingly places are acquiring a themed character. The proliferation of "sense of place" and local color literature generated by the constantly expanding tourism and heritage industries exemplifies how, metaphoric and figurative ways of speaking about a place can become transformed into a set of attitudes and practices taken toward a place and its inhabitants-how "texts"can become a part of the place.[9] In such contexts, the very term place takes on an entirely new set of meanings as fiction and reality, location and imagination, history and invention become blurred. The nostalgic veil which hangs over the modern coastal zone has helped to spark an interest in maritime heritag tourism. The preservation and marketing of maritime heritage is widespread and takes different forms in different places. Throughout the North American coastal zone, many seacoast towns began to discover the accidental advantage of having been poor and ordinary for generations. In a government pamphlet on "Revitalization through Conserving Heritage Resources we read the following:

> The small seaports along the northeast and mid-Atlantic coast are special places, rich with history and traditions of the sea..... Bypassed by growth and progress, these small towns have retained -often ironically, precisely because of neglect-distinctive structures and townscapes....In few other places do the natural amenities of water and coast combine so congenially with history, recreation and commerce.

In terms of tourism, seaports and fishing town contain a

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cast of "colorful characters" such as:

> fisherman, harbor workers, fish cutters, tough-talking barmaids. For the many who flock to the coast for a summer's day or longer, the seaport town represents a welcome change of scenery and pace from urban and suburban live and surroundings."10

Increasingly, the residents of small seaports are developing an awareness of the need to protect their heritage resources. Their colorful heritage- distinctive architecture, maritime culture, raditional crafts, and industries, picturesque natural settings- before "...is capital for small port communities, Their vitality and, in some cases, their very survival, depends on conserving and strengthening their 'heritage assets'." With the gentrification of the coast, and shift from the technical to the expressive use of coastal areas, seaside communities and harbors are increasingly "dressing themselves up" in order to creating an "authentic maritime look".

Public attitudes about isolated people in general have shifted with the recent trend toward the celebration of distinctiveness, difference and the preservation of the past. People are attracted to heritage sites by the by the therapeutic promise of people who exist before industry, before progress, simple people, simple folk. With the

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imposition of the tourist gaze, isolated fishing communities are regarded as quaint instead of just backward- places to escape the perils on urban life. With the march of the maritime heritage industry, and the museumization of tradition, baymen have gone from being treated as "eyesores" that ruined waterfront views to picturesque objects of local color?

Sometimes, entire waterfront communities can become heritage theme parks or "museum communities." These "professional peripheries" are an attempt to fight the homogenization of places and culture by preserving areas of cultural, physical or historic difference."Traditional "fishing villages offer a safe adventure among preindustrial others. Like many modern "themed" places, the more primitive and technologically backward, the greater the chance that discontented moderns will find it aesthetically pleasing. McKay uses the term "maritimicity" to describes the process of symbolically appropriating and embellishing the maritime character of a fishing port for the tourist gaze. Maritimicity is "a peculiar rhetoric of lobster pots, grizzled fisherman, wharves and schooners," which is both a material and a moral force -both a resource to be appropriated and a

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powerful idiom shaping local interpretations of maritime history and landscape. In such heritage sites, work relations, history and nature are being severed from their traditional roots, artificially preserved and transformed into cultural productions and experiences. The growing interest in marine leisure and tourism, has generated an interest in the artifacts of traditional, obsolete marine working culture. Increasingly, contemporary harbors are becoming embellished with quaint motifs and traditional artifacts from the working past. In discussing the occupational culture of fishing and logging in Alaska, Gatewood has pointed out that they:

> exude just the sort of unreflexive uncomplicated genuine qualities that urban tourist find appealing, Thus, fishing and logging are not only productive in their own right, but by contributing to the distinctive cultural ambiance of Southeast Alaska-it's authenticity'they help attract tourist to the region. As colorful forms of production, they along with the region's natural beauty and indigenous peoples, contribute to the growing tourist industry. Both Fisherman and loggers are aware of this ,at least subliminally."92..Fisherman are primary producers whose occupational cultures are also marketable. Fish, timber,and the 'authentic' cultures that produce them are Southeast Alaska's major commodities."

In a similar vein, in discussing the postmodernization of Hawaii and the "quaintification" of a "traditional" a fishing village Friedman(1991:345-347) points out that:

> There is a small fishing village on the west coast of Hawaii often referred to by both outsiders and insiders as the last village on the island and the last fishing village in the state. It has become

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> one of many "scenic views". The atmosphere is one of isolation and serenity, disturbed only by occasional tourist and invading film studios...The idyllic fishing village is a symbol of all that has been lost for urban artifact...The discourse of identity is one of tradition against modernity and villagers are just as versed in it as are landless urban Hawaiians."

Throughout the Atlantic coastal zone people who once were involved in fishing have turned toward local crafts like duck carving to sell to tourist. By the turn of the century "antiqueers" began to descend upon the coast in search of old maritime memorabilia. By 1920, perhaps earlier, local residents of seaside tourist destinations began to manufacture antiques sometimes exposing newly made artifacts to the elements or sinking them for a few months in the harbor so they acquire a salty look. According to Stilgoe, by the 1960's antique dealers in quaint coastal towns began to order local items in bulk from distant shores. For example, in a gift shop of the Sag Harbor Whaling museum, one can purchase the following products from Down East Crafts:

> Ebb Tide Treasures
> Actually cut from old nets after long use by fisherman of the New England Coast. Ideal to include in arrangements designed to lend a "salty"atmosphere
>
> Authentic Fisherman's Net
> This net was cut from a large seine used by dragger fisherman in the North Atlantic. A seine often 80-100 feet) is held up by corks along one edge .The term dragger describes a fishing vessel which drops the seine through the sea to catch fish.Now retired from sea duty this authentic net is packaged with other mementos of the sea to be used in creating your own nautical decor."

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Eco-tourism and the Long Island Seacoast

In the more rural coastal areas of Long Island the economy and the environment are inextricably linked. In recent years there has been a new attitude towards economic growth. In environmental planning circles buzzwords such as "balanced growth,"sensible growth", "sustainable growth", "smart growth", have brought environmental and economic interest together. With a growing consensus that environmental quality is the backbone of the local economy and a necessary cost of doing business, there is a strong push on the part of public and private agencies to promote multiple forms of" eco-tourism." Eco-tourism is the process of travelling to relatively undisturbed or uncontaminated natural areas with the specific objective of studying, admiring, and enjoying the scenery and its wild plants and animals as well as any existing cultural manifestations. Proponents of eco-tourism argue that is form of green consumerism which is environmentally friendly and "sustainable" since it relies heavily on the visual appropriation of nature. Sustainable tourism development can be thought of as meeting the needs of present tourist and host regions while protecting and enhancing the opportunity for the future. Sustainable tourism development is envisaged as leading to management of all resources in such a way that fulfills economic, social and aesthetic needs while maintaining cultural integrity,

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essential processes,biological diversity and life support systems. Eco-tourism is an outgrowth of the universalization of the tourist gaze and the de-differentiation of the postmodern cultural economy which thrives on visual consumption. Modern Eco-tourism is segmented, flexible and customized. It reflects peoples desire for a sense of authentic belonging ,a connection to place, environment and local traditions. Marc Miller has argued that:

> ...The advent of ecotourism and its variants-nature and ethnic tourism,cultural tourism,heritage tourism ,science tourism(in which tourist participate in field research),photo and surf safaris, diving and wildlife exhibitions, whale watching, specialized cruises, and so forth demonstrates that many tourism consumers want to express their moral commitments to a wide range of green and egalitarian themes.(E.g. Biodiversity,habitat protection, ecosystem integrity, conservation.... in the ways they travel. Increasingly tourist demand authenticity and appropriateness of scale in tourism and resort development. The tourism industry has sensed a segmented market and begun to plan destinations and services to attract this business.

Environmental quality and the embellishment of place, tradition and nature are at the core of ecotourism. In the words of a planner who works on the "East End" of Long Island, "the environment is the economy. Just a few years ago no one spoke of eco-tourism. Today, the viability of eco-tourism is no longer questioned -it is given on Long Island" With more and more people viewing the island's environmental quality as marketable commodity and preservation as a source of economic growth, there is an growing emphasis on identifying,

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interpreting, and enhancing the areas natural and cultural resources. Looking for what is distinctive and different is at the core of tourism. A preliminary report from a recent East End Environmental and Economic Task Force (EETF) stresses the need to focus on the area's unique geographical and cultural assets. "Our unique sense of place is our major cultural commodity.....It is after all the heritage, culture and natural beauty of a community or a region that attracts tourist." The report points out that even though most business on the East End of the Long Island coastal zone are related to tourism, it is important to remember that,

"Tourism is not an automatic growth industry for Long Island; it must be carefully nurtured to produce acceptable growth rates."92

The visual consumption of place is at the core of eco-tourism. It is becoming increasingly important to "identify all those places, both natural and man-made, that give the community its special character and identity." As Urry (1992:7) has pointed out,

> Places are increasingly trying to forge a distinctive image in an attempt to create an atmosphere of environment, place and tradition that will prove attractive to capital..and to visitors....indeed ,the heightened interest in the environment, both physical and built, partly stems from the fact that people,...are concerned both to make places seem different from each other, and to make them consistent with contemporary images of environment and place, particularly those of nature."

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A recent planning report cites urban planner Andreas Duany who argues that "Authentic urban experience has become such a rarity that many places have become tourist attractions simply by virtue of being real towns." Tradition, history, and community ave become key terms in the promotional rhetoric of tourism. One recent planning document stresses the economic potential of designating history months" as a way to attract tourist to more county and science fairs and festivals.t stresses the economic benefits of cultivating and enhancing the historic character of areas by making " every effort to preserve the authentic aspects of local culture including handicrafts, art, music, language, dress, architecture, traditions and history." The truth is, the more a community does to enhance its unique set of assets, whether natural, architectural or cultural, the more tourist it will attract." 90

There is an institutional dimension underlying the social construction of place identity and tradition in the Long Island coastal zone.[2] Coastal tourism and natural resource management have developed hand in hand. Because of the public nature of natural resources, and the official policy of multiple use, the government has played a large role in marine and coastal tourism from co-developer to coastal planner and policy maker. Assorted environmental planning and cultural resource management programs have become an important part of

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the infrastructure of coastal tourism.

In 1985 the National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) began a program to fund state and local planning in coastal communities to devise waterfront revitalization programs. In New York State, implementation of the Local Waterfront Revitalization Plan(LWRP) has become important part of the process in the negotiation of place identity. The revitalization of urban and suburban waterfronts is a seemingly ubiquitous process in North America. Waterfront revitalization is an attempt develop and enhance the waterfront areas of a town in ways which are both supportive of local character and tradition as well as environmentally and economically sustainable. The planning process acknowledges the importance of designing and cultivating a particular waterfront look or theme which will promote leisure, retailing and tourism. Enhancing opportunities for visual consumption of coastal nature and tradition is key. In the postmodern coastal zone, waterfront revitalization and "spectacle-isation of place" are one and the same.(Urry:1990:156)

The rhetorical image of the baymen has come to play a large role in the frenzy to preserve the rural character and sense of place of Long Island's "East End". For many city weary tourist, baymen have come to symbolize the very essence of the place that they have escaped to. The image of the baymen forms part of the cultural theme that adds value and

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enhances the special character of the place for potential tourist. Baymen are an important part of the tourism product because of their symbolic appeal to harried urbanites seeking the solace of nature and country values. Baymen, help to remind urban refuges that they have left the city and arrived in the country, where they can get in touch with their rural roots and cultivate their fondness for nature. A recent planning document points out that, "The attraction of the fishing boats pulling into the harbor of seacoast towns adds charm to the area and appeals to tourist." In a similar vein, a recently published "Save the Bays" pamphlet describes how commercial fishing which is the very heart of the areas "identity and sense of place," is aesthetically appealing to potential tourist.

> The unique character of the Peconic Estuary gives the area its special identity and natural maritime heritage..The Peconic estuary is the backbone of the fishing /tourist economy and the East End Quality of life." While the once booming East End maritime economy has declined, the maritime character today gives the area its sense of place.

The homes and cottages of sea captains, fisherman and baymen filled with artifacts of their seafaring life have become tourist attractions and form part of:

> today's historic districts in the estuary's seaport towns....From the hamlets and villages on both the North and South Forks, baymen plied the inland waters, hauling their catch with practiced skill, gathering also wisdom as their daily fare; rich in contentment, breathing freedoms air. Today, the large sailing vessels are all but gone and the baymen's way of life is endangered.

According to a fishery expert involved with natural resource

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management and heritage preservation:

> "The baymen have value as an image-they have come to represent what it means to live in the country. Their lifestyle appeals to people who feel trapped. To some guy from 'Up Island' who commutes to a job in Brooklyn which he hates, the baymen represent an ideal. When they see them thumbing their nose at the rat race, and doing what they love, they envy them and feel better about their second home in the country. The baymen are free spirits whose lifestyle helps to sustain the idea that this place is still the country... People like to fish, they like the sea, and they like to fancy themselves baymen."

Interpreting the coastal heritage. While the romance and hardships of commercial fisherman and baymen have been recorded by regional poets, writers, and painters, and film makers, in recent years professional "interpreters" are having a go at it.[3] Interpretation is the art of explaining the significance of a place to the people who visit it. Interpretation is a way of tutoring people to see a particular representation of place.(Hughes:1991) Interpretation is a form of popular education for people visiting parks, museums, historical sites, and other places of leisure. First used in the context of natural history education, professional interpretation has become an important ingredient in the infrastructure of heritage and eco-tourism.

> "Interpretation is explaining and designing information about local resources for visitors in an entertaining and educational way. Historic, natural, cultural, artistic, recreational, and industrial resources and attractions can all be effectively interpreted. Interpretation can be accomplished through the use of signs, exhibits,publications,staff members,(i.e. interpreters),tape recordings,and audio-visual presentations...

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It is important for communities to develop and interpretive program for communities heavily dependent on tourism because:

> Once visitors arrive in an area they often find it difficult to learn more about local attractions and resources. Through interpretive techniques, communities and regions can provide information about local attractions and resources to visitors and residents."

Interpretation isn't new. Romantic tourist, writers and publishers,in search of local color and the picturesque have always played a role in the invention of exotic and unusual places such ports, harbors and fishing villages. While there has always been interpretation without interpreters, in recent years, it has undergone institutionalization and become a specialized profession. Whole new bodies of expertise have developed which are concerned with interpretation. (see for example the journal of Heritage Interpretation)

The history of nature interpretation is fully implicated in consumer driven image economy and parallels that of modern marketing and communications, much as tourism has. The practice of nature interpretation combines elements of planning, education, tourism, and marketing research. Interpretive activities help to develop the theme of a place by utilizing techniques of visual resource management. A recent planning report which deals with economic revitalization strategies for the Long Island coastal zone, calls for the construction of interpretation centers around park areas to introduce visitors to the culture, history,

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geology, ecology and economics of the region as well as to its scenic attractions. Planners hope that such interpretation centers "will help to foster regional identity, encourage tourism and appropriate economic development, and increase understanding of the importance of protecting the areas great natural resources."

As more and more planners and politicians on Long Island have come to accept the notion that preservation of cultural and natural resources makes good economic sense, the meaning of preservation is becoming confusing. While eco-tourism emphasizes the marketing of nature and natural experiences - sometimes the natural environment needs a little sprucing up. As we have seen, when it comes to mariculture and the marketing of designer fish, "nature by itself isn't always productive", so too with ecotourism-in many cases, nature by itself isn't "natural" enough. Sometimes a heritage site needs a little "image enhancement."According to Hiss, "space doctors" now have an abundance of tools for cultivating and enhancing these complex composite experiences. "We can simulate them; we can previsualize them; we can redesign them;we can manage them; we can add new awareness. We're finally in a position to get on with the job of making sure that all places are worth experiencing."100 As more and more natural attractions produced and manufactured,"getting back to nature" through ecotourism a has become a technological endeavor.

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In many cases, preservation is a form of constructing and inventing. While tourism has always thrived on the past, when it comes to heritage tourism, manipulating history to support and create popular place myths and symbols of the past has become routine given the intense competition for customers. There is a lot of talk of marketing the Long Islands valuable sense of history and maritime heritage by constructing "authentic replicas" in waterfront areas. One economic plan which emphasizes the importance of enhancing the tourist package, suggest transforming one or more of Long Island's harbors into a seaport of the colonial period akin to Mystic Seaport in Connecticut. With the growing emphasis on niche marketing and product differentiation, "designer history" is becoming both fashionable and profitable.

Waterfront revitalization plans which attempt to enhance the local character and tradition of places can lead to multiple version of history and tradition. At times the resistance to the tourist transformation of place on the part of locals, can strengthen the entrepreneurial resolve on the part of investors and planners who want to market it to outsiders. The fact that there is resistance means that there is a sense of place which tourist would want to experience. Game writes of a developer of a seaside resort area who incorporated the rhetoric of belonging and attachment to place on the part of locals arguing that "If a tourist facility appeals to the locals it is more likely to attract tourist.

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When your overseas you immediately say"where do the locals go." Thus, a sense of place was to be constructed, not for those who live there, but for those who travel through seeking local color.(Game:1991 pg.183) In a similar vein, Herzfeld (1992:47) points out that "the tourist determination not to be a tourist plays right into the hands of local entrepreneurs, who supply variegated package tours which promise a slice of real life ,"local style".

As Erik Cohen summarized(1988:71) "Contrived cultural products are increasingly staged for tourist and decorated as to look authentic. Above all, tourist, who are apparently permitted to penetrate beyond the front areas unto it's back are in fact cheated. Such back regions are inauthentic "false backs.", insidiously staged for tourist consumption. Thus, for example localities may be staged as being remote or "non-tourist" in order to induce tourist to discover them and native inhabitants of exotic places are taught to "play the native" in order to appear "authentic" to tourist." In short tourism, thrives on difference and conflict over place identity. As Enzsenberger has remarked, "The critique of tourism ...belongs in truth to tourism itself."

The politics of interpretation. According to Machlis, the sociology of interpretation in the postmodern era must consider the increased importance of media technologies and globalization. Modern interpretation with its emphasis on "info-tainment and visual education is part and parcel of the

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postmodern di-differentiation of the cultural economy.[4] Both processes make interpretation highly contested and point to the inevitability of multiple and contested meanings of nature and resources. The process of selecting interpreting and evaluating potential areas and artifacts to be preserved is inherently conflictual and politicized. The very resources that interpreters interpret are often cultural symbols of great potency with multiple meanings attached to them. Interpreted sites are inevitably contested domains. As Harvey points out,"struggles over symbolic representation are as fundamental to the activities of place construction as bricks and mortar."(Harvey 1993:23) According to Silverstone, "The work of observation and interpretation is necessarily grounded in the multiple subjectivities of observer and observed, and the task of the interpreter is to produce...an account of a piece of the world which is descriptively and analytically adequate, though inevitably what counts as adequate will always remain to some extent a problem and will always and necessarily remain contested."[5]

Interpretations are not simply passive accounts of place. A heritage resource isn't "just there" waiting to be discovered- it first has to be interpreted and deemed significant. In telling spatial narratives and stories, professional interpreters both uncover as well as add another layer of meaning to the sense of place.[6] In recent years, after being "read" and interpreted by folklorist and historic

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preservation experts, a group of baymen shacks have begun to yield some heritage potential.[7]

> The marshlands of Long Island's south shore are dotted with an ever dwindelling collection of unique, weatherbeaten bay houses that generations of baymen have used as base camps for clamming ,fishing and hunting. These"shacks" are living artifacts, enduring reminders of the region' maritime history....The bay houses continue our relationship with our surrounding environment and reinforce our sense of history on Long Island."

While these makeshift shacks are regarded as culturally and architecturally unique by folklorist and historic preservationist, the town of Hempstead wanted to dismantle them because they sit upon fragile and ecological sensitive wetlands. On The Bay", a photographic "coffee table "heritage text, recently published by the "Friends of Long Island heritage", was in large part of an attempt to win support for the preservation of the bay houses.

> There has been a lack of awareness among planners about the importance of waterfront traditions. These traditions are not the sort of thinngs you see as an outsider unless you know this has been part of the community.
>
> A tradition is a practice, custom or accumulated knowledge reflective of community aesthetics, values and knowledge that is passed down by word of mouth and example from one generation to another....For example, before there were trained architects, people learned through experience how to build houses sutiable for the environment. The baymen's houses dotting the marshlands of the south shore are cultural artifacts of Long Island's unique geography and maritime history.
>
> There is still joy on the bay, but there is also loss: Loss of a way of life,learned from parents and grandparents. Loss of a tradition of independence. Loss of a way of relating to nature, When we lose these people we lose part of our

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identity and our tie to the past."(10/8/91)

It would be misleading to say that this project was undertaken purely for educational purposes. The main catalyst for the project was a 1965 Town of Heamstead Law that said that the houses would be removed in 1993....As a folklorist, I felt that through education, I could persuade the Town of Hempstead to preserve the bay houses. Tenants of the cottages had mixed feelings. Some felt that added publicity could create more adversaries. However,I felt only through education would Long Islanders, appreciate this unique cultural resource. Through this publication, I hope the Town will reconsider its position and preserve the houses for future generations.

Speaking to an overflow audience at a town board meeting, the town supervisor noted that "..the houses are an important part of Long Island's maritime heritage and culture, one that needs to be protected to that future generations can enjoy these historical remnants." The victory to preserve the bay houses from demolition struck a responsive chord throughout the Great South Bay area. Increasing numbers of people in similar circumstances began to wonder if a little folklore and heritage publicity would help to preserve their beach houses. Captree, a small island in The Great South Bay, contains some baymen shacks similar to the ones in the town of Hempstead which the town plans to destroy in the year 1999. After reading about Nancy's victory in the newspaper, a group

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representing the islanders who lease the property from the Town of Islip recently hired her to see if their houses had any heritage potential. After some preliminary research she decided the houses needed to be saved." These houses have been passed down through many generations of fisherman and baymen, despite the hardships that come with living on the bay." In a recent interview for a local Sea Grant publication devoted to Coastal affairs Solomon remarked:

> Many planning documents don't talk about cultural traditions-that history, the rich sense of attachment people have to the waterfront. People would feel a great sense of loss not to have that visual experience, as well as access to tread for clams, learn to swim or catch crabs.

After a workshop on conduct oral history interviews, the lease holders are busy collecting information on their family's bay houses, photographing the remaining houses, and documenting experiences that are unique to the bay houses.

As I spoke with Jim Hackel, an ex-fisherman who now owns a fishing station on the mainland about the preservation project he remarked, that "There's a lot of history over there. We plan to make a video and have a baymen heritage festival on the island." He asked me about my academic background. When I told him I was doing sociological research, he asked if my expertise could help them uncover some heritage."Sociology huh. I'm not sure what it is but we need all the help we can get. Do you want a job? Are you good at finding history?

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From Harvesting Fish to Harvesting Heritage

The work process is becoming the object of the tourist gaze. Nostalgia over industrial worlds we have lost has helped to spur on new forms of heritage tourism. Increasingly, a wide variety of traditional forms of work are acquiring a economic and cultural significance as consumer artifacts. Forms of work which have become anachronistic in the realm of production, have acquired symbolic and cultural significance in the realm of consumption. The aestheticization of the everyday life of the working past has become an important feature of the maritime heritage industries. According to MacCannell "the removal of work from the present:the romanticization and fetishization of the worker;its naturalization; taking work out of history by consigning it to the 'Historical..' represent postmodern phenomenon.(194) He points out that the musemization of work and "work displays" are becoming marketable "cultural productions" 36." Modern man is losing his attachments to the work bench, the neighborhood, the town, the family, which he once called 'his own, but at the same time, he is developing an interest in the real life of others."91 Since traditional fishing lends itself easily to the tourist gaze, providing opportunities for tourist to experience the working past is becoming a well defined

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enterprise in many coastal areas.[8]

Like all forms of consumption dedicated to the packaging of experience, the possibilities are almost boundless. Potentially, the entire division of labor in society can be transformed into a tourist attraction. With the spread of "living history" museums, and assorted "working non-working industries", watching other people work and sometimes participating in the work experiences itself, has become important economic activity. With the spread occupational themeparkism ,and backward looking open air museums, watching others perform "real work" has become part of redevelopment schemes for depressed localities. Increasingly, in many areas, occupational and industrial heritage tourism is being touted as a path to development in the age of de-industrialization. The replacement of a manufacturing or extractive industry by a service industry can gear a whole locality to tourist consumption.

> " 'Heritage parks' require and initiate a shift in symbolic meaning. They transform areas of industrial decline into 'cradles of American industrial heritage' with tourism potential and a revitalized community spirit, both of which can attract new investment."[9]

Heritage sites speak about lost objects of everyday life that are inherently meaningful and unalienated. They offer an experience of unalienated rationality. While they are fully implicated in the rhetoric of the image, they tap into the

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longing for use values beyond the realm of image. In discussing the symbolic meaning of "real work" in a mass consumer service economy, Bronner points out that:

> "American's work predominately in service and information fields. Although these fields do not result in the production of goods, by encouraging consumption they feed into the most materialist of attitudes and the further mythologizing of folk culture and its tactile things.... For a mass society ready to serve, folkmaterial culture gives tangible reminders of involvement. It involves us with fundamental parables. The question is, what moral will we draw from them?". [10]

With the imposition and expansion of the tourist gaze, one person's work can become another's spectacle. The more anachronistic the work, the greater the chance that it can become a cultural artifact, an object for the "tourist gaze." Modern baymen are engaged in a special form of "staged authenticity." The cultural and economic logic of tourism is transforming the declining productive activity of fishing into a new form of cultural capital. Paradoxically, it is the aura of tradition attached to the independent baymen, the so called obstacle to progress, which has become a major source of symbolic power. In a modern service economy starved for tradition, the baymen's picturesque folk art is a important "natural "resource, a"consumption artifact". According to a marine resource manager for the town of Brookhaven," commercial fishing is a dying industry around here but maritime heritage and local history is booming." In the words of a curator at one of

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the marine museum on the East End," tourism and related service jobs are the driving force of our economy. Maritime heritage is our life blood." Although commercial fishing is an economic activity, harvesting natural resources plays a minor role compared to the harvesting aura-images of authenticity and tradition. Increasingly, fisherman aren't harvesting seafood as much as images of the natural, the authentic, and the traditional. They have become another vanishing species ,an object of visual consumption for the tourist gaze. Traditional fisherman have gone from being treated as "eyesores" that ruined waterfront views to picturesque objects of local color and regional pride. By becoming living history in an environment saturated by "creeping heritage", baymen are performing a important service. At a period when "history is experienced as nostalgia and nature as regret", the harvesting of images of tradition and cultural authenticity has become a valuable resource. Going native for tourist has become big business in the coastal zone.

Occupational tourism is a kind of parasitic feeding off sectors of the economy which have become superfluous. In the Long Island coastal zone, these two culture industries which are developing in tandem, are inextricably intertwined in complex ways. The development of mariculture has helped to symbolically elevate the

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traditional work of the baymen and endow it with a pastoral aura. As mariculture technology "civilizes nature" and makes traditional harvesting methods obsolete and anachronistic, the latter acquires symbolic power as a heritage artifact and "nostalgic technology." These two industries which on the surface seem to be worlds apart, are very similar. Both are involved in the manufacture and marketing of culture. While one cultivates "cultured "shellfish, the other cultivates the culture of work and it's aura of "pastness". Both are cultivating a new breed of cultural or symbolic capital. High tech designer fish and aesthetically pleasing and stylized heritage are both "products" in the postmodern service society. Both products are in strange new ways "environmentally friendly" and close to "nature".

The Bayman Experience. As traditional fishing ports go upscale and become "historic districts", some fisherman fade into history, while others embrace it and become "living history". In many coastal towns, commercial fisherman profit from tourism by getting more money for fresh fish and working as guides for well to do tourist. Most coastal tourist towns have their "old salts" who hang around the waterfront with the hopes of taking people out in their boats to show them how it was in the "good old days." The tourist interest in the aesthetics of everyday life has stimulated fisherman to

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become more articulate about their unique sense of place, lore and history. Some fisherman have become local celebrities, fisherman-raconteurs who have become skilled at narrating and embellishing stories about their work. The success of whale watching and other forms of environmental entertainment has generated a great deal of interest on the part of fisherman. I have spoken with several people who are trying to market "real working baymen" experiences to "city slickers". Eco-tourist enthusiast like such economic uses of the coastal waters because compared to many of the harvesting methods, it is environmentally friendly. While fish and shellfish are scarce resources, cultural experiences are boundless.

Artie Reader, a baymen from Islip tried his hand at the real work business one summer and began to market the complete baymen experience.

> I was having a beer with Biily Dean and he metioned that his brother-in law- a successful lawyer would like to spend a day on the bay- like a baymen. I laughed and said sure why not. Okay he said, I'll tell him to give you a call.
> Hell! I thought we were just fooling around, joking but the next day this guy Tom really calls me. He said that he and some of his friends were interested in doing a little crabbing, fishing and clamming with me and that they would make it worth my while. Give us a full day on the bay, he said and show us a good time, and we'll pay you what you make in a week. Name the price."
> I agreed and really planned the event.I put a lot of effort into it.I put several types of gear on the boat, loaded some coolers with plenty of beer and food, and borrowed some oil-skins for the guys. We went out at dawn and came back after dark. I told them what to do and they did all the work. We did everything. We pulled a few pots and did

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> some gillnetting for blues and stripers. I just sat there and watched as a sipped on some cold ones. I worked the shit out them and they loved it. We cooked the fish we caught over at East Island, and then drove back across the bay. All four of them said that they had the time of their lives. I felt the same way. The next day he called me up and said he was stiff all over -How about next week? "

In a wide variety places, anachronistic cargo and fishing boats are being renovated for assorted forms of coastal tourism.[11] Sport Oystering is good example of the burgeoning of "Real Work Experience" business. In many coastal areas, oysterman are outfitting their boats for the tourism and or environmental education because it is more profitable than harvesting oysters. At a recent oyster revitalization conference, a natural resource economist stressed suggested "Waterman should start to make money from tourist rather than depending solely on harvesting." [12] While some waterman are becoming involved with some form of small scale mariculture ,others are getting into the " rent a tong "touring business. A foundation in Baltimore offers free repairs in the hopes of keeping the boats afloat if only for festivals. One captain told a told of his experience with a couple who asked if they could sail on his "skipjack" and help the crew with the grinding task of culling ousters. "They wanted to pay me $100 to let em work".

Lobster tourism is another "real work" business which is becoming a popular economic activity in many coastal areas. People pay to experience first hand the work of the lobsterman by engaging in lobster haulin According to Harold Prins,

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"Romantic city dwellers go to Maine to find true wilderness, to find the true lobsterman, to find the true whatever."Some lobsterman have begun to respond to marketed images of themselves and tourist expectations by marketing lobster work performances and taking along passengers while they check on their traps.[13] g. In many cases, lobsterman place lobsters in their traps so their customers won't be disappointed. "There is nothing like going out whale watching and not seeing a whale. The same with lobstering. We have to keep the customers happy."

Fishing work tourism is a maritime version of agri-tourism. Over the last few years, selling the farm experience has become a growth crop in New York. New York state tourism promoters are encouraging farmers to think as product marketers and become involved in "Agri-tourism" which is defined as a business conducted by a farm for the enjoyment and education of the public."[14] The skillful marketing and selling the of "farm lifestyle" could provide an economic boost to the "East End".

> "You are a romance and a fantasy to people who live in the cities and we all need that fantasy fulfilled. When people think of farms ,they think of cows .. apples, tractors, and white picket fences, You can spiff up your farm, charm it up, bring in tourist by the bus loads, and generate a lot of business." Visitors are coming out here for "the complete East End experience."

"Visitors come to the East End for fishing, beaches and boating. We need to build a real sense of community and

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excitement over agriculture here." Agri-tourism has become is being promoted as a way to preserve farmland. Since farmland provides a buffer against urban sprawl and maintains the traditional rural character of Eastern Suffolk. Agriculture is important to tourism as it provides the landscape and destination tourist seek....Agriculture helps provide the scenic vistas desired by our visitors."

A cultural entrepreneur who created a business called "Farm Hands", expressed an interest in expanding into the fishing sector. Fishing tours would be a version of charter boat fishing. It would be a kind of pick your on experience on the water. We could hire fisherman as interpreters for people who want to experience the life of the fisherman firsthand.[15]

Variations on a Maritime Themepark.

When it comes to maritime heritage in the New York seacoast, there are many variations on a themepark. There are numerous themed waterfronts, museumized fishing villages and heritage trails. Multiple jargons of authenticity flourish in the promotional discourse of the burgeoning maritime heritage industry. The production of "pastness" is paradoxical. The distinction between preservation, restoration, and reconstruction has become blurred. "Authentic replicas" of artifacts deemed important and significant are scattered throughout the grounds of heritage sites. Ordinary objects take on an arua of industrial strangeness when they are scattered along "heritage trails". The residual, the

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contemporary and the futuristic are juxtaposed in a strange Borgesian curatorial logic. Smells, sounds, images, ebb and flow in the various excursions into "living history."

South Street Seaport. South Street Seaport on the south side of Manhattan was a decaying downtown waterfront district before it became restored and made into a historic zone. Next to Mystic Connecticut, it is the largest maritime themepark museums in the region. An entire spatial zone has become musemized and themed. In 1981, a New York Times editorial has some disparaging things to say about South Street.

> It is time to admit that while this type of development may be good business, it should not be called good preservation. It is a mistake to represent a sophisticated twentieth century commercial complex as compatible with the area's historic nineteenth century market, as the Seaport Museum has done, The present concept is more dependent on the spirit of modern retailing than on any older spirit of time or place.

John Hightower, the then president of the Seaport replied that:

> To suggest that food and specialty shops, restaurants, pedestrian spaces, canopies, and large numbers of people are incompatible with the preservation of the South Street Seaport is to misinterpret origins. All of these are elements of the old Seaport. South Street during its heyday was the most intensely commercial corner of New York City. It would surely be less appropriate to embalm the historic district in esthetic and economic formaldehyde, with period costumes and impeccably restored, untouched rooms."

The present president of the museum, a self-described " cultural entrepreneur " would surely agree with his

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predecessors remarks. He has placed buying and selling in a historical context as past and present merge in this museum without walls. He remarks that "People criticize us for mixing culture and commerce but buying and selling is a vital part of history of the area we are trying to preserve...The fact is that shopping is the chief cultural activity in the United States."(NYT C6.5/1/92) While artifacts are used as metaphors to explain a way of life, it is hard to tell the difference between the objects on display and the ones being sold in the museum shops. As one walks along pier of South Street there is a blurring of the boundaries between the museum experience and the shopping experience. The museum has a strong commercial component while some of the places in the mall where people shop has a "cultural" look. Given the intense competition in the leisure industry, The greater the success of malls and themeparks, the greater the pressure on museums. Museum staff are increasingly divided between scholars and salesman. After having a hands on historical experience with assorted artifacts and curiosities from " Bygone Days", museum goers can purchase "authentic replicas in the heritage shop.

On several occasions, travelling exhibitions of Long Island Baymen have been on display in some of the seaport galleries. In 1990 the Water Street Gallery had an exhibit called Men's Lives.

> "Through striking black and while photographs, and artifacts like a sled, nets and oyster cans, Men's Lives tells the story of a small, embattled fishing community on Long Island's East End. On view at the

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> Water Street Gallery through Jan 1990.
>
> "The photos are complimented by artifacts from the collections of the South Street Seaport Museum and the Suffolk Marine Museum-including fish spears,eel combs,scallop rakes,and fyke nets,that illustrate the labor involved in getting fish form bay to market...Above all the visitors to Men's Lives" is acutely aware that the exhibit portrays not only men,but an entire community where men, women, and children work side by side.(Seaport Magazine

There were a lot of artifacts West Sayville dealing with the oystering industry of the Great South Bay.

West Sayville. There is nothing particularly distinctive about downtown Sayville. While it's just a dot on the map that would be easy to pass through, a large billboard lets one know that one has arrived in town:

Welcome
Discover Sayville
Quality Tradition
Progress

An advertising section In the local paper encourages people to "Shop Historical Sayville." In the stores along Main Street, nautical themes and antiquities abound. There is a seafood shop called "Bayman's Katch." In one of the local deli's there is a "clam diggers delight" and "oysterman's special " on the menu. While these names have a local flavor, they are slightly deceptive. The oysters from the bay are long gone and much of the fish sold over the counter comes from distant waters. There is still a lingering Dutch influence in the area. One sees the word Dutch and Dutchman quite often in the shops along Main Street. Given the economic shifts stemming from the steady "malling" of the island, most of the

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downtowns scattered along "Old Montauk Highway "have become de facto "historic" districts."

The West Sayville waterfront is a good place to get a sense of the history of shellfishing in Great South Bay. Blue Point, the largest private shellfish mariculture in the region as well as several smaller seafood wholesale operations and boat yards are located in the vicinity of the Atlantic Avenue dock. Blue Points is technologically advanced mariculture firm with a long standing reputation in national and international markets. It's workers are educated in marine biology and fishery science. They raise high quality shellfish in artificial hatcheries and plant hard clam seed in their privately owned bay bottom. They use mechanical dredges to harvest the shellfish from the bay bottom." According to Craig, a manager who has been with the company for several years," This is nothing. We are involved in shrimp mariculture in Ecuador.Welcome to shellfishing in the global economy."

The commercially zoned waterfront is an enclave surrounded by expensive real estate. While there are a few protected wetland areas that remain "natural", most of the shore has been developed and altered. Condominiums and marinas filled with pleasure craft are scattered along the coastline. In the "Dutchman's Cove" boat yard sleek fiberglass sail boats and assorted pleasure cruisers outnumber the commercial fishing boats by fifty to one. When I asked Paul the owner of a seafood shop and clam bar which overlooks the bay why his

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beers were so expensive-he smiled and pointed to the Great South Bay and Fire Island on the southern horizon-"the view stupid."

On an early Wednesday morning in June, I drove down to the Atlantic Avenue dock to find a half a dozen "old timers", retired "Dutchman", sitting in their cars and staring out into the bay. The wind blowing out of the east has produced a slight chop on the bay. "How's it look? Not Bad. A bit choppy - a good day to work." Since, baymen who rake for hard clams from garveys and sharpies depend on wind power to propel their boats, such a breeze would be a welcome sign. The problem, says a white haired baymen in his mid eighties, "There aren't enough clams out there to make a bowl of chowder." With the exception of a lone baymen working in the distance, the only ones taking advantage of the breeze are a several sailors in their sleek fiberglass vessels. "It's the new breed" says one of the Dutchman. "Look at all those boats. It looks like a damm regatta " From the back someone remarks:" It's Wednesday- the doctors are off".

Ferries travel back and forth between the barrier beach named Fire Island known as the "beach and the "mainland". "There goes Glen remarks one of the baymen." Glen is a part time baymen who supplements his fishing income by hauling food and supplies from the mainland to the beach for "summer people" "It beats clamming and pays a hell of a lot more." When I asked him how long it took to get across the bay he

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said "about a six pack". While I wonder how the baymen is doing he disappears behind a sail.

While Ade hasn't worked in several years he still can quote the going price of a "count" of clams. He remembers a different bay and talks about the days when the clams were so thick that they were almost worthless." Those days are history." remarks another baymen."Speaking of history, I think we better head over to the museum."

Beginning in 1980, a group of about 20 baymen began meeting with a folklorist who started recording and documenting their memories and experiences of working on the Great South Bay. Meeting topics which range from stories and lore of oystering, clamming, pound fishing and the various sailing craft, are recorded and kept in the museum library and research center. The preservation of their knowledge and is an important aspects of the museums aims and goals. Over the years the oral history group expanded and began to include other members of the community such as yachtsman, Coast Guardsmen, ferryboat captains and crews, a New York pilot, local historians, old-time rum runners, and other men and women who love the bay.

The museum sits on several acres on bayfront property is dedicated to preserving the heritage of the baymen and their families. A museum brochure claims that it is " a place to step back in time and appreciate the maritime activities of Long Island while enjoying a panoramic view of the Great South

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Bay." Founded in 1966, the original plan for the museum to be a miniature Mystic Seaport. In an attempt to broaden its image and attract more visitors, the museum recently changed its name to from the Suffolk County marine museum to the Long Island Maritime Museum. "People thought we were a natural history museum full of fish instead fisherman. Now that maritme heritage museums are building aquariums, we felt we had differentiate ourselves. Every now and we still get people asking where the fish are."

The museum contains several authentic replicas of historic buildings, a restored oyster shanty, an authentic baymen's cottage which enables visitors to see how the bayman's family lived at the turn-of -the -century, as well as several restored, pre-engine working oyster sloops powered by sail, and other historic vessels.

Several retired baymen from the community who attend the oral history meetings act as interpreters. A multi image sound show, "The Life and Times of the Bluepoint Oyster" serves as a prelude to tours conducted by retired baymen through the restored Rudolf Oyster House which contains assorted tools and artifacts from the oystering era. As they guide visitors through the oyster house, the baymen share their remembrances and answer questions regarding the Great South Bay's once thriving oyster industry or today's declining commercial clamming methods. An interpreter writes

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in the museum's monthly newsletter:

> "As an actor or actress, we enter a "time machine" and transport visitors back in time. We become the West Sayville people of Dutch ancestry who made their living on the Great South Bay 100 years ago. What a beautiful place to visit. Sometimes the gray skies, the dark waters and the winter landscape all blend together and we can visualize the oyster boats vanishing in the fog..In the spring ,summer and fall the Great South Bay sparkles and a seacoast town seems to be the best place in the whole world.Pg 3

There is a great deal of community involvement in museum affairs and events. Some of the museum's artifacts are donated by members of the community. Many of the workers and volunteers are rooted in the local community and have ancestors who followed the water as baymen. A recent librarian, whose grandfather played a large part in the maritime history displayed in the museum mentioned that "It is so very important to me that someday I will be able to instill in my children a sense of pride in our heritage and to teach them to sail the Bay I learned on, and the same one my Great Grandfather once sailed."(The Dolphin.12/15/91)

In the Frank.F. Penny boat shop, a "quainitified" structure built to look old and historic, volunteers from the community can learn the skills and knowledge necessary for wooden boat restoration and repair. With the growing interest in preserving "our coastal wooden heritage", such skills are in demand. There is a sign for upcoming maritime heritage festival. There is going to be a wooden boat contest with prizes for the "most historic vessel." Authentic replica's and

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old boats are scattered throughout the museum grounds. It hard to tell which of the work boats is older, the real dredge boats or the "authentic replicas" and restored oyster sloops- both look ancient.

This Old Boat:From Rubbish to Heritage. In disucssing his anger at the way some waterfront residents treat the local baymen, John Eilersten, a folklorist involved with maritime heritage preservation, has pointed that,

> "You hear tales about people who build $2million estates on the beach and then call the police to complain about the local fisherman and baymen working in fornt of their houses spoiling the view..I always thought baymen were part of that view, that's the shame. Part of the problem is that people have become so removed from the source of their food. Kids and adults don't understand where produce comes from they don't asscociate commerical fisherman with food supply.

George King, a baymen from Islip tells a story, some say a tall tale, about how his old bay boat became one of the prized "historic vessels" in the local marine museum. George was a "bay rat" who lived in an old tonging boat- which he docked at the town dock. He never paid for dockage and when the town said he had to move he simply moored his boat in the middle of the canal claiming that it was common property and that nobody owned the water. While George asserted his historic rights to "follow the water" in his own particular way, local waterfront residents, many who paid hefty real estate taxes and knew George personally, felt otherwise.

Dave Shaper, owner of a local fish market, claimed that

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"..George's antics are getting out of hand. Historic rights and heritage my ass-Geroge and his old piece of junk has got to go. It's looks disgusting and is hurting business."

At dusk, in the fall of 1983, while Geroge was taking his morning bicicle ride, the town "goon squad" siezed his home and towed it to the "marine compound" where contrand vessles were kept. That same night, while the "goon sqaud" was celebrating its victory, George retrived his boat, and under the cover of misty night,"poled" it back "where it belonged." Geroge's stubborn refusal to submit infuriated both Town officials and waterfront property owners. Gerge recalls how the next day, the town lauched a "full scale invasion." " With the help of fifteen armed men, three boats and a crane they appropriated his old boat and towed it away where it eventually became an exhibit in the town marine meseum. "They said my boat was an eyesore and an affront to their sensibility. Now many of those same people claim it as part of their maritime heritage. What do you think of that Mr. history? By the way, since I was an amateur historian myself, being that I was always defending the rights of baymen in court, the boat was filled with thousands of historic documents about the area. They were all destroyed by the town sponsered invasion. What a pity. You can thank the town officals for making your heritage project more difficult."

After a monthly oral history meeting, Ade, a retired baymen and particpant, showed the members of the group his old

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wooden oyster tonging boat which was on display in front of a restored bayman shanty."They take a lot of pictures of that old boat. A few years ago I couldn't even give it away.

"Soon, that old boat is going to be very valuable, remarked Bill Fox, a wooden boat buff who has started attending the oral history meetings." With a little work it could become a valuable touring boat. Fix it up and take "city folk" out for a day to tong clams -charge them a couple of hundred bucks to experience history. This is white collar country. Some people have never engaged in physical labor before. Let them experience tonging for a day. Clamming is history."

A recent college graduate with a degree in history and philosophy, Bill was restoring an old wooden sailing vessel with the hopes of using it for "historic bay excursions." He spoke of perfecting it's historical image for a promotional video entitled "Sailing into History." Bill has been documenting and writing articles on his old boat. Jack, the folklorist who leads the oral history group was skeptical of the boats authenticity. Jack is interested in documenting local craft and vernacular design of small craft."This design isn't indigenous the area. Why would a skipjack designed for the Cheasapeak be made on Long island? It's not authentic-it's a some king of hybrid".

Jack's words didn't upset Bill too much."It looks old and floats. It will give people a sense of history. That's what counts."

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Town officials are in the process of renovating of the 19th century home of Jacob Oakers, the "Oyster King" of Long Island in the hope that the house will be a cornerpiece for a thematic historic preservation district focusing on the shellfishing industry. Along with preserving mansions of historic value, the district will salvage several baymen's cottages, clam shacks, and marinas that served the industry." "This is what defined the history of Islip," said Tom Isles, town planning commissioner." The historic district will compliment the marine museum."

East Hampton. A large part of the economic value of the commercial fisheries in East Hampton Town is bound up with tourism. In terms of visual consumption, the baymen's traditional work style is a valuable economic resource.

> "Another value of the commercial fisheries within the town is its draw and appeal to tourism. Commercial fishing is a part of the heritage and way of life in East Hampton and adds to the flavor of the town in its appeal to tourist. The high visibility of the fisheries also contributes to the desirability of those restaurants and retail establishments in the Town that advertise and promote fresh local seafood. (On the Water,20 Jan 1990)

Very much like in West Sayville, the East Hampton marine museu is much more than a place where the maritime heritage of the pst is preserved and put on display. Along with it's educaional functions, the museum is an active community center for pople invloved in marine and fishery affairs.

The the displays and activities are done by volunteers from he community. Aside from running a museum shop and making

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thing for it, they also, among other things, raise funds, organize events, paint displays, label and letter displays, make models and do photography.

There are diaramas depciting fishing scenes,boats,tools, equipment and explanations of the baymen's ongoing struggle with man and nature. An exhibit of haul-seining illustrates the difficulties of this type of fishing. Other exhibits describe shellfishing, mariculture, harpooning, and the rise and decline of the "East End"whaling industry. The juxtaposition of the archiac work of the baymen with that of modern mariculture, intensifies the baymen's primitive aura.[16] The grounds behind the museum are a public park and outdoor display area. There are several fishing vessels, including a Great South Bay cat boat as well as a series of displays devoted to hunting and "gunnin" in the Hamptons.

A reading room is available which has periodicals, books, and government publications of commercial and sports fishing, boating, boat building, gunning, conservation, and other marine subjects. The museum plays a large role in baymen politics. The baymen hold their monthly baymen association meetings there as well as sponsor parties, festivals and other fundraising events.

In the late 1980's, the director of the East Hampton historical society asked baymen if they would like to work for the marine heritage museum by becoming "real life" authentic interpreters for visitors." I asked several baymen if they

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would like to dress in fisherman costumes and "go baymen" for visitors to the museum. Most wanted nothing to do with it. I'm well aware that some of them might find such work degrading and patronizing but let's face it, economically speaking "following the water" doesn't pay. performing "living history" at least keeps them involved with the sea and the work they love. Not all baymen are against performing tradition. For the last several years, a folklorist involved with the museum has hired some of the more colorful and articulate baymen to discuss their cultural heritage and traditional way of life for public educational projects and folklife festivals." It's not that much money but it helps" remarked the folklorist. Telling stories and spinning a few yarns can supplement their income during the lean times."

While many of the marine heritage museums on Long Island reflect the sense of place of a particular area, there is a great deal of similarities in their curatorial style. East Hampton, like West Sayville has a great deal of hands on heritage activities. In a museum brochure we read:

> At the East Hampton Marine Museum which is "situated in a unique Nature Conservancy double sand dune area, where sea birds and working trawlers can be viewed. Children can dress up like a baymen,..learn to tie knots and handle a harpoon, a lobster trap, an eel spear, and a haul seine net, work a trawler rig, prepare to harpoon a "whale on a whale boat expedition at the Boat Shop.

The East Hampton Historical Society also has a summer camp program where it is possible to:

"Get involved with hands on history, perform

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> traditional chores, and dress up like a baymen.. Treat your child a variety of unique experiences including fun hands-on activities, historic games, arts and crafts projects, music, role playing, traditional "chores" and behind -the scenes- museum tours.

Like West Sayville, East Hampton also has a boat shop.

> Located on Three Mile Harbor ,your child will observe fishing vessels berthed along the dock and meet commercial fisherman as they prepare their gear.Learn how to make and sail a boat, rig, hoist, and pack a sail, cast a net,help restore a wooden boat,re-enact an historic whaleboat voyage, make a take-home fishing dory, use a bilge pump, (Parents are encourage to share this day at the Boat Shot with their children.

The local nature conservancy offers special eco-tourism with a maritime heritage twist.

> "While it's still warm enough, nature-lovers can explore local flora and fauna by foot, bike, and canoe this weekend...Back by popular demand, Brad Loewen, an East Hampton bayman.... will lead a flotilla of canoes out to a Northwest Harbor fish trap site ....Rowers will examine the catch and learn how the trap works before paddling up Alewife Brook into Cedar Point Country Park.[17]

The North Fork. This is not your typical stylized, re-done nautical town Greenport is the real thing.

As Susan Stewart has shown, gentrification has made much of Long Island's North Fork a "new Land for yuppies" from the city. "They have built country dream houses in the nostalgic image of a remembered feeling of childhood. A picturesque square overlooking the bay has been pieced together with a collection of 18th and 19th century schoolhouses, inns, and white steepled churches that have been moved to the location

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from nearby sites or form their primitivist origin-New England itself. The are museums open to the public and each has a formal historical society sign in front that narrates some fragment of its history...During the summer the square is the exhilarating scene for "18th -century days" when townspeople dress in 18th-century replica costumes and collectively enact"a day in the marketplace'.(in the morning) and a "battle with muskets"(in the afternoon.

The demolition of one of Greenport's finest historic captains houses by the local bank in 1976 against vocal opposition started the historic preservation movement and our project. It's a local product-a homegrown thing. It's local awareness that started the project. Its local people who are volunteering the time to come up with new zoning, They are rethinking Greenport. What is so interesting here is that it is all here as it existed 100 years ago,. The trick was to come up with zoning to preserve what we have."

A director for the East End Seaport and Marine foundation argues that "a museum serves as a focal point to attract tourist to the Village, bringing more business and more jobs. The museum will be a destination for summer tourist by the busload. It help to give our local economy a boost." After a trip to the local Vinyards, the visitors will lunch at Claudio's, then have a walking tour of Greenport's ships ,shops,and museums,"including the Regina Maria, Preston's the East End Marine museum, and the Railroad museum."

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In speaking of his goals for the East End Seaport Maritime Museum, the director remarked that I want the community to take pride in the Museum and to see it as a reflection of the local heritage. It should be a vital part of the social fabric of the community, utilized by the people who live here." The museum is thinking of installing a video theater which show locally produced videos about the East End maritime activities, such as the life of the baymen.

For 1994, the museum plans to feature an aquarium exhibit and a replica of the first ship built in Greenport, the Eastern Star. For the sea life exhibit, a 720 gallon tank will house finfish, and two to-gallon tanks will contain various species of shellfish.

The Performance of Tradition and Harvest Festivals. The commodification of the seaside both informs and reflects, new social identities and alliances among the producers and consumers of the coast. Quaint traditional festivals of all kinds, typically held on heritage sites have proliferated with the explicit intention of encouraging tourism in the coastal realm. On Long Island, during the height of the tourist season, the coastal heritage trail becomes one continuous festival. In discussing tourist attitudes towards commercial fishing McGoodwin(1990:7) points out that:

> Many people think of fishing only during a reverie-a reminiscence, perhaps, of a picturesque fishing fleet seen while on a summer vacation. Actually, touring urbanites seldom pay

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> much attention to the local fishers, who inhabit their playgrounds- unless, perhaps,the fishers paint their boats in vivid colors or hold quaint traditional festivals."

In many communities dependent on tourism, folklore spectacles and assorted invented traditions have become a means of asserting a local identity [18] The annual blessing of the fleet is a re-invented local tradition which functions both as a means of maintaining an sense community identity as well as a tourist attraction which appeals to outsiders.

Harvest festivals, which incorporate local foodways and practices, are an important "tradition" and source of regional identity in the Long Island coastal realm. The baymen's catch, which is both a natural and a symbolic resource, plays a large role in the public perception of the baymen. There is close connection between baymen, their "natural products" , and the sense of place. This link to the natural marine environment contributes to the baymen's symbolic appeal and helps to extend the boundaries of their imaginary community.

> Long Island inshore fisherman and baymen have fished the bays and the Atlantic Ocean for over 300 years. The availability of fresh, local seafood in Long Island fish markets and restaurants is an important component of the region's tourist -based economy. During the past five years, these fisheries have suffered negative impacts from brown tide and contaminated waters. This is another reason why many Long Islander point to environmental preservation as a primary concern for the economy.

Clam bakes, chowder fest, shucking clams at harvest festivals, and other local practices have helped to make baymen a symbol of regional pride.

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Rarely do people eat raw shellfish alone. Eating raw clams on the half shell is social act associated with outdoor picnics, parties, festive occasions and holidays. Even though the actual meat is quite expensive, it is not necessarily a luxury food. Raw clams on the half shell has always been considered a "working man's" appetizer, typically eaten in bars.[19]

For many urban residents, clambakes and other foodways connected to the past symbolically have became a kind of trope which represents an experience of genuine community and participation in nature. According to folklorist Neustadt1992, as the clambake receded in physical form, its symbolic imagery also underwent a discernable transformation. The intensely felt yearning for the past associated with the clambake reformed itself into a kind of a glorified revival of a seemingly timeless practice"65 The clambake has become a "symbolic resource"In the context of "tourist art", the clambake is a cultural display that represents, as folklorist Regina Bendix(1984:164) has stated,"a search on the part of natives for what they perceive to be authentic manifestations of their own culture."

Seafood fairs, harvest festivals and folklife festivals have come play an important role in the politics of preserving the baymen's heritage. Besides selling their catch and generating some money for their group, these maritime festivals have become a chance for baymen to lobby and win

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sympathy for their struggles against polluters, sporties and excessive regulation. Baymen typically argue that the outlawing of their traditional harvesting practices would disrupt the link between locally harvested seafood and the sense of community. "If we aren't allowed to catch fish, then your food will be coming distant waters. It will be hard to know your on Long Island if your food is imported from all over the world."

It is important to distinguish between festivals and traditions which are invented or imagined from above and local level initiatives. Some of the maritime heritage festivals on the island have baymen themes and images but no baymen. The 1992 Long Island Seafood fair which was held on the West Sayville museum grounds was a local level project which tried to market and promote local culture and locally harvested seafood to outsiders such as tourist, in an attempt to support the local fishing industry. The festival attempted to recapture the spirit and energy of the traditional Sayville oyster fair which was held in the past.[20] While the original oyster festival was very much a baymen affair, baymen were conspicuously absent from the more recent incarnation. Even though every type of clam recipe imaginable was served, and a clam shucking contest was held, hardly a clammer could be found.[21]

The annual Fisherman's Fair which is held in the Springs area of East Hampton is another festive occasion which

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utilizes fisherman themes and traditional imagery but has nothing to do with fisherman. While it is a very popular celebration which draws a large crowd of both locals and tourist, baymen seldom attend."According to baymen Brad Lewis, in the past baymen were involved, but not now. Its all fun and games for the upstreeters."(Williams Folk museums aren't about people that is why they call them folk.

While festivals can be part of a longstanding tradition, in many cases they are spontaneous re-inventions. The Long Island Oysterfest is a good example of a recently invented "traditional" festival. The annual oysterfest, which has become one of the largest tourist events on the Island was originated by local 10 years ago. According to the chairman of the organizing committee, the town was having an image problem and some thought that a festival would help to revive the aging waterfront and local economy. In an attempt to attract people to this hard to get to place and we decided to create an event. We came up with the theme of oysters for Oyster Bay- It seemed so natural since they are native to the area, oysters and seafood became our theme.

While some feared that the festival atmosphere would change the harbor from a sleepy place ,proud of its tradition, to a "gentrified" waterfront, with expensive chocolate shops,souvenir stores, and fancy fish restaurant with fake anchors on the doors, most were in favor o the event and felt it would help the town.

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> " We formed a committee and decided upon a street for the festival so that people would walk right next to shops and boutiques. We aimed for a wide appeal and staged it in such a way that there would be something for everyone. For people who don't like oysters, we have lots of other foods. There was the 5k running race for people interested in running. We wanted to create a unique festival not just another food fair. Everything is fresh and has a regional flavor. The food is native to the area. There is no repetition of food and it all has to be made from scratch-it can't be mass produced or pre packaged.
>
> We allowed the towns 31 non profit organizations to get involved so they could raise money for their organizations.-each organization specialized in a particular oyster or seafood recipe such as oyster stew, fritters and clam and seafood chowder. The Flower's company was involved from the beginning and donates all the oysters.

The Disneyfication of Nature and the Aquarium Craze

Hardly visible thirty years ago, themeparks, waterslides, aquariums, camp grounds, heritage parks and museums now clutter the Long Island coastal realm. Fish and shellfish hatcheries besides producing fish, serve as tourist attractions. Greg Johnson, a Sea Grant marine biologist with an expertise in mariculture, is the director of the Southhold nature and interpretive center. The center, a multifaceted mini-environmental theme park which blends art, science, nature, into a form of info-tainment, has acquired a reputation on the local eco-tourism circuit. A promotional brochure claims that it is a good place to

> " Experience the sight, sound and feel of Long Island's valuable marine environment and heritage!! At the center it is possible to observe or take a guided tour of several local marine species of fishes and shellfish in our many aquariums and touch tank.

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The center has a working shellfish hatchery and integrated hydroponics and fish culture system. There are also displays on commercial and recreational fishing techniques, water quality, marine debris,and wildlife ecology. The annual "celebrate the bays festival," an event which mixes fun with environmental awareness, is held at the site. On several occasions baymen associations have participated in the festival.

Greg is very much interested in the marketing aspect of mariculture. "It's not enough to grow the animals, we have to market them properly. Look at the farms out here- This isn't potato country anymore, it's the land of designer greens. The farmers out here grow ornamental plants and "exotics" for yuppies- just look at the stuff their selling in the roadside "farm stands" Before you raise fish in this area you had better have a market for them.

Greg has also raised designer fish for the exotic pet market. On one occasion he experimented with a combined hydroponic system which tried to raise fish and arugala simultaneously. "The arugala was fine but fish were too small. I salvaged the experiment by selling the fish as exotic pets which turned out to be much more profitable than the seafood market.

There is a lot of talk about "pick and pay" schemes in mariculture circles. Greg has been toying with the idea of a "pick-your own oyster farm" geared for the tourist trade on

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the "East End"." " People pick their own strawberries and pumpkins, they chop down their own christmas trees the old fashioned way ,why not dig your own shellfish. Just imagine will be a picturesque setting with a nice view. We'll give the customers a pair of oilskins and some hand rakes so they can harvest their own oysters which they will savor at a seaside wine bar."

When I mentioned that I was impressed with his ideas about mariculture and the exhibits at the nature center he smiled and said," you haven't seen anything yet-Disney is coming north."

As we have seen, heritage resource aren't self evident, sometimes they need to be defined or "interpreted" into existence. In the late 1970's, when it was becoming clear that shellfishing was in serious decline, Michael La Grande, a commissioner of planning from the Town of Islip, started musing on the potential economic and cultural benefits of the bay's maritime heritage.

> Oysters from the Great South By once graced tables around the globe and until recently the bay was the largest hardshell clam-producing area in the world. The clamming industry is part of the spirit of our community. Historically, the early settlers of our town(1659) lived off the bay. Today, over 300 years later, the bay is still looked on as a source of survival. In recent years this appreciation has grown quite strong. In fact, somewhere in Islip's heritage is the formula for its future. It has not been isolated or identified -but all agree that it is there."
>
> While its taken a few years, Islip's maritime heritage potential has finally been identified. At

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> the present the town is planning to develop a multi-million dollar marine aquarium complex and themepark that would reflect and build upon the village's rich maritime heritage." Planners are hoping that the Aquarium will transform towns decaying waterfront downtown reas in a "Festival Market Place Environment."

The town's reliance on the marine environment hasn't diminished. Instead of harvesting natural seafood, tourist will be able to visually harvest images of nature from a simulated multimedia, marine environment. The Aquarium will compliment the natural marine environment and give tourist a wider choice For some, aquarium gazing is a natural compliment to off-shore whale watching business which has proliferated in recent years. Both stress the visual consumption of nature. While one caters to those interested in the gazing on the "real thing" in the wild, the other caters to those who seek spectacular visual entertainment and the hyperreal.

Just as natural history museums proliferated in the late

Victorian era aquariums are booming at the end of this century. Appealing to the universal fascination with marine environment and the creatures that inhabit them, aquariums have become a viable and effective tool for communities hoping to rejuvenate decaying downtown and lure tourist dollars. According to a planner,

> the aquarium is what Long Island needs in filling in the gaps in what we need to be a viable tourist

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> attraction....With the defense industry cooling down, Long Island is in a transition period. People are beginning to understand how important tourism can be for Long Island."

The recent "aquarium craze" which is an outgrowth of the eco-tourism trend is viewed as a way to foster environmental conservation and economic revitalization. It is a high-tech form of sustainable development. The aquarium will make it possible for visitors from all over to observe and study the culture and biology of Long Island's vast aquatic system.

"The objectives of the Long Island Aquarium combines business, education, research and fun" According to a planner from Islip involved with the project, "Aquariums are a natural for Long Island. We are an island. There is plenty of marine life. they have universal appeal. ....Disneyland has taught us that cultural enlightenment and family fun need not be mutually exclusive. Modern museums can learn a lot from Mickey Mouse."

The aquarium will consist of constructed and simulated environments which will display marine species which are indigenous to the region, their habitats, and species such as sea birds that interact with them. The focal point of the Aquarium will be the "wet Exhibit"-a large circular tank symbolizing the open northwest Atlantic Ocean where visitors can learn about Long Island's waters, get a close-up understanding of the important fisheries-trawling, eeling, oystering, crabbing and clamming."

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There is talk of hiring local folklorist to develop a living history exhibit which will portray the lives of baymen and fisherman of the area. "If the project works we may be able to hire displaced baymen as interpreters and story tellers." The exhibits will display aquatic tools and artifacts, models, marine and sea life paintings, historic and contemporary photography.

An important adjunct to the Aquarium will be the placement of an interactive center on the Great South Bay. This center will included a building to house marine artifacts and docking for a research vessel as well as transient slips for boating visitors. The vessel will provide educational and recreational excursions on a regular schedule, to locations on the Great South Bay and off-shore int he Atlantic Ocean. Boats which are a part of the Long Island maritime heritage will also be exhibited in a manner complementary to the Long Island Maritime museum at West Sayville.

You'll delight at the simulated outdoor habitat for sea lions, seals and penguins.IMAX THEATER This giant wrap around will bring the aquatic environs of Long Island in a breakthrough wrap around motion picture projection and sound system that places viewers right in the scene."

Islip isn't alone in viewing an aquarium themepark and its potential tourist revenue as a economic panacea. Beginning in 1991, several towns on Long Island began to explore this new form of marine tourism. The aquarium craze isn't new. In

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the 1880's Coney Island had an aquarium as well as a "Museum of Living Wonders" and a "Sea-Side Museum." The Disneyfication of the natural world is most recent version of very old form of spectacular visual consumption. One of the lessons of Disney is that "imagineering" technology can give us more reality than nature can and that " a faked nature corresponds more to our daydream demands."(Eco 1986:44)

For some the technologically sophisticated aquarium represents a form of dominating nature.In speaking of the Monteray Bay aquarium, Norkunas argues that it"... captures nature, much as fisherman did of yesteryear, but now the fish are displayed rather than canned. Nature has been packaged and transformed into a consumable leisure experience." For Eco, marine theme parks with their live displays represent the dark side of the triumph of the "hyperreal".

In the humanization of animals is concealed one of the most clever resources of the 'Absolute Fake Industry', and for this reason the Marinelands must be compared to the wax museum that reconstruct the last days of Marie Antoinette. In the latter all is sign but aspires to seem reality. In the marinelands all is reality but appears to be sign....The marinelands are more disturbing than other amusement places because here Nature has almost been regained, and yet is erased by artifice precisely so that it can be presented as uncontaminated nature."

Disney style marine themeparks which mix scientific

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information and pleasure represent according to Zukin "..the vision of a new kind of economy." The sponsorship of marine culture at Disney World represents the tying of the knot between production and consumption... This is a service economy that integrates production of primary products and consumption of visual symbols." [22]

Sporties vs Commercial Fisherman

> A man has no right to play with what is another man's work for gain." Robert Frost
>
> What's the difference between a sportie and a commercial fisherman? One takes a picture of his fish before he sells it.

As the culture of leisure gains ground, those who followed the water in traditional ways are now faced with harbors and ports which cater to the "new breed" of fisherman. The economic strain between the culture of work and the culture of play is now characteristic of the modern world of in-shore commercial fisherman. ."

The growth in recreational or what baymen refer to as "sporty" fishing is having an impact on commercial fishing in several ways. Fishing for fun and sport is big business on Long Island. Economically speaking, charter boat recreational fishing and assorted forms of "sporty" fishing dwarfs that of commercial fishing. Just in terms of direct cost such as the tackle, the bait, and the boat ride, saltwater anglers on the island spend more than a billion dollars a year. When these tackle dealers and boatyard operators and others pass on the angler's dollars, the total effect on the economy reaches

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about 2.5 billion. Recreational fishing is a very large boost to the economy. If you lose the recreational fishery, you lose a lot of income, and in these tough economic times, who can afford that? (EHS May 6 93) According to a recent study, recreational fishing means a great deal to the Island's quality of life. Quality-of life issues can be extremely important from a lot of perspectives, especially when you have to compare it with the cost of living on the island."

With the rise in marine tourism and sporty fishing, baymen find themselves engaged in great deal of "boundary work." While there is a lot of animosity between sporties and baymen, the two types have much in common. The boundaries between play and work are complex and blurred. There are definitional problems that make it difficult to distinguish precisely between recreational and commercial fishers. The distinction between commercial, recreational and subsistence fishing is at times hard to maintain given the fact that there are many situations where two or more of these activities occur simultaneously. On many occasions, recreational fishers sell their catch ,conversely, commercial fishers sometimes fish for recreation or charter their boats to people who fish strictly for leisure and recreational purposes. In some places, large numbers of non-commercial fisherman catch fish to feed their families and talk about fishing as a way to supplement to their income. [23] The complexities associated with the economics of recreational fishing raises issues about

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the meaning of work. (Smith:1979:Pp.11) What does work mean when "sporties" sell their fish caught while on a leisure trip for big money? While in the world of fishing, one persons work is another's leisure, the leisure industry has become a source of work for increasing numbers of people. Since they have always been at the mercy of a constantly shifting environment and economy, baymen have always been occupational pluralist. In the 1860, as the railway advanced eastward and city visitors began to flock to the southern shores, many baymen began to respond to the needs of seaside vacationers. According to Gabriel, as vacationers began to flock to the coast,"The ancient villages of fisherman and farmers underwent a change seldom found outside the Arabian Nights."Gabriel 177) Some enterprising baymen and farmers took in boarders during the summer months. In the Great South Bay, leisure cruising is a longstanding tradition which has always been a sideline for many baymen to supplement their income earned from oystering, clamming or fishing. As tourism grew, many baymen began to modify their traditional bay boats so that they could by used for both fishing as well as pleasure cruising. In the summer months, many baymen turned entertainer by taking out summer people and city folk for fishing or pleasure cruises. Baymen also began to respond to needs of vacationers by trapping bait fish for the increasing numbers of recreational fisherman. Some baymen used their bay shacks as bait stations for the growing number of sport fisherman. With the growth of party

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boat recreational fishing, catching bait became a full time commercial fishing activity for many baymen. It remains so at the present time.

On the East End, the simultaneous arrival of the railroad and the summer colonies in the 1890's generated all sorts of new opportunities for baymen. As more and more wealthy "cottagers" began to flock to the coast, the multiple skilled independently employed baymen began to supplement their fishing with service work. To, this day, many baymen supplement their fishing income by working in landscaping and construction business. Frank Slade works the waters of the Great South Bay to catch bait so that people on "party boats" can catch fish for fun. While he hates the "sporties", he makes a living catching live eels to be used as bait for "hook and liners" or "pinhookers." The live bait business has enabled him to survive as a baymen, and to continue working on the water." If you can't beat them join them." Many of Franks customers are baymen who own small bait and tackle shops. Many "sporties" who sell their catch are part time fisherman or clam diggers.

Very much like the work of the baymen, the play of the sportie is quite primitive and wild. Baymen and sporties have similar attitudes about experiencing nature and being in the out of doors. Both speak of intrinsic rewards of fishing which cannot be calculated in economic terms. The expense of engaging in recreational fishing are enormous. Most sporties

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would save a fortune if they stayed off the water and bought their food in a seafood market. Nevertheless it is a powerful source of satisfaction which both baymen and sporties look forward to engaging in. While many baymen have "regular jobs" to pay the bills, working on the bay on a part-time basis serves their soul. Most of the baymen gave up following the water because it was becoming too difficult to make a living, still According to Don Eames, a baymen who gave up working on the water for a steady job as a school custodian," I still go out on the bay every now and then-it's therapy for men."Most of the baymen in the area who gave up following the water still engage in recreational fishing and shellfishing. "According to an ex-baymen whose days of following the water are now limited to occasional weekends,"being able to go out and catch a mess-o clams every now and then is part of our watery heritage."According to Rattray "A mess, on Long Island, is a unit of infinite capacity-that is, enough to feed one's family, however large or small, at a meal."Unlike the commercial baymen who have to harvest a certain amount, recreational harvesters find pleasure in catching just a few." Even though the bay has decline,the ability to catch something, provides a sense of satisfaction. With the drastic decline in shellfish populations on the island, many argue that the days of the commercial baymen are gone. "The commercial harvesting of shellfish should be restricted to private mariculture companies. If people want to fish like a

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baymen they should do it in their leisure time. We should license them like hunters. Their anachronistic and inefficient mode of fishing is play not work."

Summary: The Invention of the Seascape as a Self-Fulfilling Prophecy.

Landscapes are the result of human intervention in the natural world. Landscape/seascape is not a natural feature of the environment out their waiting to be discovered, but a socially constructed realm of symbolic meaning. According to Greiger,(1994:1)" Landscapes are the symbolic environments created by human acts of conferring meaning to nature and the environment, of giving the environment definition and form from a particular angle of vision and through a special filter of values and beliefs."It is a man-made system of spaces superimposed on the face of the land. As Jackson has shown, "A landscape is thus a space deliberately created to speed up or slow down the process of nature."

The ability to impose a particular definition of the landscape/seascape, plays a large role in struggles over natural resources. The processes of creating, sustaining, negotiating and imposing a particular definition of the landscapes or seascape involves conflict over meaning. In the context of landscapes, power is the capacity to impose a specific definition of the physical environment, one that reflects the symbols and meanings of a particular group of people. Power helps to translate words into deeds and can lead

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to the sedimentation of meaning into structure. (Fine:1993,Busch:1982) As Merton has pointed out,"In the cognitive domain as in others, there is competition among groups or collectivities to capture what Heidegger called the 'public interpretation of reality'.With varying degrees of intent, groups in conflict want to make their interpretation the prevailing one of how things were and are and will be." (1973.110-111) "In a similar vein, Bourdieu has remarked that "..professionals of symbolic production engage in struggles where what is at stake is the imposition of legitimate principles of vision and division the natural world and the social world.(Bourdieu:1990:)

The tourist gaze is a form of visual consumption which exerts a powerful influence on the environment and sense of place.(Zukin:1992) [31]

In many cases, images and cultural representations about places generated by the tourist gaze can become a real material force and alter the reality of a place. When places are landscaped and made to appear as pretty as a picture, the famous Thomas Theorem holds,"If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences,(Merton 1968:475) This is because people act on their beliefs and translate words and images into deeds with the result that geographies of the mind are transformed into real material places. Beliefs about a landscape or seascape, act as self-fulfilling prophecies with important implications for social behavior and the natural

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environment.(Fine:1992, Bell:1994, Gusfield 1992, and Berger:1981) As Merton (1968:476) reminds us,"Men respond not only to the objective features of a situations, but also, and at times primarily, to the meaning this situation has for them. And once they have assigned some meaning to the situation, their consequent behavior and some of the consequences of that behavior are determined by the ascribed meaning."

De Certeau's notion "that consumption is a kind of production" is evident in some of the new social and economic practices which are emerging in the coastal zone. In this chapter we have explored the social process by which the anachronistic work activity and cultural practices of the baymen have become "traditionalized" and taken on an aura of "heritage." In the Long Island coastal zone, the cultural and economic logic of tourism has transformed the declining productive activity of commercial fishing into a new form of symbolic capital for the heritage industry. Given the importance of visual consumption for coastal heritage tourism, being as pretty as a picture has become a survival tactic for seaside communities. The image of the baymen helps coastal communities maintain an aura of quaintness and tradition. Baymen aren't harvesting natural resources as much as images of nature and tradition. Increasingly following the water, has become a performance, a "work display" for tourist in search of tradition.

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Since the mid 1800's, and especially with the extension of the railroad, the baymen of Long Island have been implicated in the leisure economy. The growing emphasis on leisure and tourism has both destroyed and created opportunities for baymen. As occupational pluralist, baymen have always had to adapt to a constantly changing social natural environment.

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ENDNOTES

1. As Donald Lowe has noted, an emphasis on vision in orientation to the environment, always presupposes a distance between the viewer and the viewed."(Lowe 1982:101)

2. The infrastructure of tourism is made up of travel agents, tour operators and guides, hotels and resorts, transportation networks and information and communication systems, mass media marketing, tourist regions and attractions,travel gear and souvenirs, travel literature and films educational institutions that train and foster scholarly research on tourism,regulatory and policy-making bodies, government agencies,professional associations and international travel organizations and clubs. (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett: 1989)

3.In discussing the production of the "natural effect" Williams (1973:128) points out that ""It is significant and understandable that in the course of a century of reclamation, drainage and clearing there should have developed, as a by-product, a feeling for unaltered nature, for wild land:the feeling that was then known as the picturesque....But we are bound to remember that most, though not all, of these tours to wild places were undertaken by people who were able to travel because 'nature' had not be left in their own lands in an elemental wild state. The picturesque journeys-and the topographical poems, journals paintings and engravings which promoted and commemorated them, came from the profits of an improving agriculture and from trade. ..Like the landscape parks, where every device was employed to produce a natural effect, the wild regions of mountain and forest were for the most part objects of conspicuous aesthetic consumption:to have been to the named places, to exchange and compare the travelling and gazing experiences, was a form of fashionable society."

In a Similar vein, Tilden, (1962:87) points out in discussing the produced "natural effect" of Long Island's Jones Beach Park," What the visitor now sees is a long stretch of gently sloping white sand beach that looks precisely as though the Atlantic Ocean had washed it up it a leisurely manner. It looks that way, but it is not. The entire beach , as well as most of the surrounding parking lots, facilities for healthful recreation, and even a few natural-looking fines anchored by vegetation, is manmade." Thus for the many baymen who work the waters near the beach, "working close to nature" is in large part the result of very unnatural processes.

4.As Emerson remarked while touring England,"England's artificial construction has utterly transformed the landscape so that even its geography is factitious" Regarding the widespread tenedency to remake nature over in accordance with an preconceived design, William's has pointed out that in many

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cases,"the genius of the place was the making of a place." "An order was being imposed:social and economic but also physical." "The mathematical grids of the enclosure awards, with their straight hedges and straight roads, are contemporary with natural curves and scatterings of the park scenery. And yet they are related parts of the same process, superficially imposed in taste but only because in the one case the land is being organized for production, where tenants and laborers will work, while in the other case it is being organized for consumption-the view, the ordered proprietary repose, the prospect." (125) For Williams there is a dark side to the imposition of the landscape which mystified the relationship between people and nature by created pleasing views of a rural landscape emptied of rural labour and labourers.

5.As Williams reminds us "The very idea of 'seascape'landscape implies separation and observation."(1973:120) According to Stilgoe,(1994) over the years writers and painters have erected a "pedestrian coastal aesthetic, something resembling a pair of spectacles to be worn when observing the seashore."The British have a long history of gazing on the seascape. In 1775 ,William Gilpin published his Observations on the Coast of Hampshire, Sussex,and Kent, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty. It was a didactic work which taught one what to look for when seeking the proper constituents of coastal zone scenery. The coastal zone was choreographed and subject to analysis according to specific aesthetic qualities derived from the arts. Seekers of the coastal picturesque were required to make distinctions and exercise aesthetic judgements when sea gazing.

Schama (1995:12) has pointed out that Magritte's painting-La Condition Humaine, in which a painting has been superimposed over the view it depicts so that the two are continuous and indistinguisable exemplifies the deliberate enframing logic of Claude-glass gazing upon nature."In a 1938 lecture, Magritte remarked that,"We see it as being outside ourselves even though it is only a mental representation of what we experience on the inside." What lies beyond the windowpane of our apprehension,says Magritte, needs a design before we can properly discern its form, let alone derive pleasure from its perception.

6.Lefebreve. 1991. pg.360.

7. The preservation of both nature and cultural elements of so called wild places has a long history." In 1835 Catlin argued that "The Indians, buffalo, and the wilderness would not have to be destroyed completely by civilization if the government would only protect them in a magnificent park-what a beautiful and thrilling specimen for America to preserve and hold up to her refined citizens of the world,in future ages-

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A nation's Park. Containing man and beast, in all the wilderness and freshness of nature's beauty." (Quoted in Ferkiss,V 1993. Nature, Technology and Society

8.In these "postfordist times" dominated by themeparks and info-taiment, it is important to remember that Ford's Greenfield Village was a precussor to our contempoary Disneyfied landscape

George Brown Good of the Smithsonian acknowledged that intitutions devoted to social memory would have to be populistic. In a lecture titled Museums of the Future, he advocated that "the peoples museum should be much more than a house full of specimens in glass cases." (Kammen 1992:20) See Kishenbaltt 395

9.Meaning is a basic component of place.In the dialectical interrelationship between the material world and the world of symbols, economic processes are culturally encoded and cultural process are embedded in material conditions. The social process of gazing on a place and endowing it with symbolic and cultural meanings can have very real and material social and economic impacts. According to Watt "Particular representations ..emerge from specific material spatial practices and from certain forms of domination and control of space, yet they can become material forces in their own right,a sort of spatial habitus to appropriate Bourdieu's language.

10. The recent "traditionalization" and marketing of the image of the Long Island baymen has a long history. Hal Fullerton pastoral photos of oyster sloops and fishing boats can be found in many of the Long Island heritage museums. Some of his photos are in the book Men's Lives.

In his promotional activities with the Long Island Railroad he emphasized the Island uniqueness Its natural beauties and perfect conditions are suited to every requirement.Rest and recreation, Sport and Pleasure,agricultural and Industrial Pursuits,and chief of all healthy homes reached quickly and with comfort."35 He was involved in promoting and advertising events,activities,or plans that would bring public attention to the Island's potential for sport ,recreation,business,and residential development for both the middle classes and the urban elites.36 He was interested in technology, outdoor recreation, transportation and road improvements, and the promotion of Long Island's resource potential.39
He became famous for his expertise in cultivating the press."41He travelled extensively about Long Island by train, bicycle, auto,and boat,documenting the events and scenes about him,as well the railroads own facilities and equipment."42 He became familiar with the workings off a

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variety of businesses and industries He also developed an appreciation for a broad expanse of the American Landscape and a sensitivity to regional traits and differences.In particular ,he grew aware of the critical importance of railway operations and transport networks and the possibilities of the emerging fields of advertising and sales promotion."

11.Interpretation is in many cases an adjunct to industrial tourism. While the interpretation of'extinct industry'is a commonplace, thriving industry promotes itself through interpretation. The heritage of the product-it's constituent properties and its manufacturing process, along with the philosophy and ethos of the company and the industry-are increasingly regarded as marketable commodities like the product itself." According to Uzzell,the wedgewood company has a small display on the heritage of wedgewood china at Alton Towers,Britain's largest theme park."It's function is to clearly add weight to the commercial product.

12.According to Uzzell,"More controversially,interpretation can also be used for public relations,or,more provocatively, as propaganda.The aims of farm open days has been defined to increase the visitor's understanding of farming,leading to improved standards of behavior and a greater respect for the farmed countryside with a greater respect for the importance of farming as an industry. Sometimes, paradoxically,farm open days demonstrate the anti conservation production methods of factory farming."

Lash and Urry (1994) remark that the rise professional interpretation is emblematic of the postmodern consumer society with its emphasis on visualization of place and the re-enchantement of consumption. Instead of evaluating to interpretation

Visitors to places are encouraged to look with interest on an enormous diversity of artifacts, cultures, and systems of meaning. None of them are presumed to be superior and the main role of expert is not to evaluate them but to interpret them to the visitor.

"Breen,a professional historian hired to excavate and interpret a historic site in East Hampton points out" Once I have published a history of East Hampton,my interpretation will be used in any way that my readers please. They will pick and choose among the facts.They will transform a community that I have imagined into one that they imagine. No matter what I do they will tell themselves their own stories about themselves. At some point I will probably not even recognize my own invention."289

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13.One heritage manual stresses the need to place interpretations in a "cultural context" which it defines as: a body of information drawing on ethnographic and historical sources about a region's settlement patterns,social organization and folklife. A cultural context will provide information about the daily patterns of activity experience by people of different social groups at particular periods of time, covering such elements as occupational, domestic, religious, and social life,;sense of place; and attitudes towards, interaction with the built and natural environment. The definition of cultural context is meant to guide tourist to the situated meanings of history and heritage for residents in the regions.

14.According to a "old-time"baymen or Bonacker from East Hampton ," The fishing shanties were considered by many as being picturesque, and many were captured on canvas."

15. Salaman points out in Working, that industrial sociology contains some classic studies of a classic phenomenon"such as the "idealized object of sociological and more general nostalgia-the pit village,the fishing village,the railway town,the steel community.".He points out that these types of traditional communities at work are no longer on the research agenda having become objects of historical interest.(Salaman 1986:76) While they aren't on the research agenda, they are increasingly making there way into tourist brochures.Increasingly, some of the classic research sties of occupational sociology are being resurrected as tourist sites for an emerging new niche market-occupational tourism.

16.Practicing Anthropology. 1992.pg.27

17.He draws of Hofstader's notion that the more commercial American society, became,the more reason it found to cling in imagination to noncommercial agrarian values. Dorst on Living history. Bronner,Simmon J. Grasping Things:Folk Material and Mass Society in America(p.216)

The Horse of Pride offers an excellent illustration of the commodification of heritage in rural France. The author offers an haunting vision the dark side of the fetishism of heritage by alienated urbanites seeking authenticity in the country.

"After the peasants had abandoned the countryside, all the villages ,towns,and small cities had fallen into ruins. As for the seashores, which had been covered by cement form end to end, and transformed into marinas, only the top executives and big contractors were allowed entry. They had worked hard to gain that privilege by having built the low-cost housing developments in the cities, where it had been possible to reclaim the land by felling trees. There obviously wasn't one bird left in the skies over any of the metropolises, and not

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a fish left within a hundred miles of the ocean.

The new masters, however, were residing in the country. They had been townspeople, and as shrewd as their funds were substantial. They had begun by buying up abandoned houses and tumbledown mills, which they restored in order to have a place in the country. The wealthiest of them had acquired entire farms and villages, where they could receive their friends. But they could no longer find anyone around to keep up their large estates or to serve them,so they themselves were forced to cut their own lawns,prune their own trees, care for their animals and fight against wild vegetation. And what happened then was bound to happen. They began to love the land, They took pride in planting, picking,harvesting, and eating what they themselves had grown. They rediscovered the taste of fruit and even the taste of bread, Since they were businessmen,they got the idea of selling their choice produce to the city people. A thousand francs an apple. Their country homes soon became their only homes. And so it was that the former bourgeoisie became professional peasants, while the descendants of the former peasants were consoling themselves with electronic toys.

18.In an article entitled "New Functions for Old Cargo and Fishing Boats in the Annals of Tourism Research 1990, Martinus Kosler points out that In the Netherlands, a new breed of non-traditional skipper has emerged who are involved with the "sailing into history business." 1985 more than 300 such ships were restored in the Netherlands. The process is similar to windmills and tulips. These sailing monuments provide work for more that 1000 young people. They need the right atmosphere for the old picturesque facade.

19.Proceedings of Oyster Workshop 1991

14 The construction of the primitive is a common tourism strategy. The primitive is historically prior, the authentic original,the simple folk, whereas the ex-primitives are former primitives some of whom play at being primitive in performances for tourist and who make their living producing folk handicrafts for postmoderns."Ex-primitives have a part in a postmodern drama, a script in which they are actors in a fantasy about their hypothetical former selves,a reconstructed pseudo -gemeinschaft. Tourism is theater,and the performers are ex-primitives and postmoderns."(Bruner American Anthropologist Vil 95 #2 June Pp.459)

21.Duncun Hilchey-New York Times (9/4/93)

22.Discuss Buck on how the Amish engage in staged authenticity for tourist and many Amish allow tourist to visit their houses and farms. This has stimulated the growth of cottage

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industries geared to the tourist market.Many are beginning to rely on tourism as their farms can no longer support them and economic diversification becomes necessary. Without tourism young Amish would have to seek work outside the community.it helps maintain the community.

23.While the museum describes differences in the way the coast is used, it seems to downplay conflict. The positive depiction of mariculture fails to mention how it coflicts with the traditional harvesting methods of the baymen.The proximity displays of recreational and commercial fishing seems to downplay the conflicts between the two different fishing styles.

The hunting exhibit is controversial because many of the local residents who support the plight of the baymen are very unsympathic to their "historic rights to hunt wildlife.

24.(EHS 9/30/93 11-22)

25.According to Ryan, the Maine Windjammer's Association is able to maintain a fleet of sailing vessels which recreate the past by catering to the heritage tourist trade.139 According to Swain"Ethnic tourism when manipulated by the people themselves,can serve as an "identity maintenance mechanism"for group cohesion. The marketing of Cuna heritage provides an economic livelihood and a rallying point for ideological solidarity.In particular, sustained mola production has the potential of being a powerful symbol of ethnic pride to the Cuna while simultaneously being a marketable symbol of the Cuna.76-Host and Guest Cuna Women and Ethnic Tourism:A way to persist and an Avenue to Change.Margaret Byrne Sawin.

Similarly Reginald Bendix refers to a the marketing of culture in the Swiss Alps as a form the invention of tradition from below. She takes issue with those who argue that local color has become commoditized.

Contrast this with Church and Foster.For Church,the shetland identity which is constructed and marketed is fake-like so many other commodities on the market Hyperreal-For Foster,regional identity emerges in the process of conflict in which local residents engage in rhetorical strategies

According Grahn, in discussing a Project in Swedish Lapland argues that tourism has helped to maintain Lapp culture."As reindeer breeding is being rationalized, there are fewer and fewer of us who will take on the responsibility for our cultural heritage."We have to concentrate on tourism if we want to save our cultural heritage.

26.Up until now, baymen have been free from any type of economic dependence of processors. Since their product is easily transportable and requires little effort to keep fresh,

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baymen don't have to depend on ice, packing and storage facilities which are typically in the hands of processors. The baymen's simple technology and the 'wild nature'of his product,enables them to exert a great deal of control over the conditions of their labor. Mariculture and other shellfishing improvements such as depuration would profoundly alter the relationship between producer and the consumer as well as the baymen's independence.

27.There was one in 1981 which was also a success. In 1981 there was a oyster festival celebrating the opening of the exhibit for Dutchman, Oysters and the Bay. Many of the character's of Lawrence Taylor's ethnohistory were participating - giving interpretive tours of the old oyster shanty,shucking clams and oysters mending nets.

28.Some baymen pointed out that they would have participated in the event but decided against it when they found out it was organized by local seafood dealers and retailers. While these people are locals, and are a vital part of the local fishery economy, many baymen regard them as a separate class. Even though many seafood dealers and clam buyers started at a "baymen," many baymen feel that they are exploited by them.

29.According to Toffler, as mariculture becomes an established industry "Cultural we can expect new words to stream rapidly into the language..."Water "itself a term freighted with symbolic and emotional associations ,will take on wholly new connotations. Along with a new vocabulary, will come new symbols in poetry,painting,film and other arts. Representations of oceanic life forms will find their way into graphic and industrial design. (Toffler 189) In New York City's Soho district a store called Aquasource specializes in selling farmed seafood, while exhibiting art with fish and mariculture themes. Epcott's Living Seas exhibit which contains the worlds largest fish tank, a 90 million ocean display which is meant to "sort of trick you into learning by providing a grand assault on the senses." As we eat, we watch the fish we have just seen from the observation module. The food is pretty good but eating seems like cannibalism."(Fjellman 1992:344)

30.According to Stoefel, Lake Michigan has been a physical and psychological social security system for the industrial workers of Southeast Wisconsin since the beginning of industry there in the late 1800's. When lay offs occurred many workers became subsistence harvesters. The Friday fish fry at the local bar is an important blue collar tradition. Fish was the sole source of protein for thousands of families during the depression. After the lakes decline, many people contributed towards the restocking of the lake and paid for an

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inordinate percentage of the fish now in there. They nurtured their fish . The salmon have become a nutritional backdrop for laid -off industrial workers, replacing the deer that used to be hunted.(Stofel 1985,Pp.113)

31.According to Zukin,"The material landscape was mediated by process of cultural appropriation, and the history of its creation was subsumed by visual consumption."

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CHAPTER NINE

EAST HAMPTON, BAYMEN AND STRUGGLES OVER PLACE IDENTITY.

Photographers don't simply document or record the past, they invent it.
Susan Sontag

The appreciation of nature begins in the city.
Roderick Nash

I didn't move into the historic district the historic district moved into me.
East Hampton Bayman

The South Fork, or the idea people have of it - perhaps they are the same-actually outparodied parody during this mind-bending summer
East Hampton Star

The more elusive and ambiguous a symbol is, the more it gains significance and power.
Umberto Eco

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Introduction

While romancing the bayman is widespread, it has reached a level of passionate intensity on Long Island's "East End", particularly in the town of Easthampton, where the fight to save its few remaining baymen from vanishing is at the forefront of struggles over the meaning of place, tradition, and development. Reflecting on the meaning of its past and a concern with tradition occupies the mental life of many of the town's residents. As Jason and Barlow remark in" East Hampton: A History and Guide" (1975:11)

> More than most American Towns, East Hampton's past remains vital part of its present life....an incalculable part of its energy comes from a continuing involvement with its origins, whether among its farmers whose ancestors, in some cases worked the same farms three centuries ago, or its fisherman, some of whose techniques are no much changed since Indian times, or from its continuing and often stimulating struggles with the pros and cons of modern development..."

As it's longstanding interest in tradition has intensified and given way to an obsession with its "heritage," Easthampton has become a self conscious "historical society writ large."In the minds of many who live and vacation there, the "East End" has come to represent the last holdout against the forces which have turned the rest of Long Island into a crowded suburban sprawl and destroyed cultural and natural resources. According to Robert Yaro, executive director of the Regional Plan Association, "the uniqueness of the place seems to change along the east-west gradient.

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Nature and livable communities to the east, a congested development disaster to the west." For many people who live and vacation in East Hampton, the vast body of Long Island to the west or "up island ",is something that has to be bypassed. According to Historian T. H. Breen:

> "East Hampton is not an easy place to reach. The highway leading from New York City to the eastern end of Long Island cuts across what I regard as some of the duller stretches of contemporary America. The road is lined with fast-food restaurants, gas stations, shopping malls, A depressing sameness rules until at some point well out on the island the landscape abruptly changes. Nondescript buildings give way to scruffy evergreens, to patches of sandy soil. There is more open space, cleaner air."

Increasingly, East Hamptonites are fearful that their special community is losing its traditional character. For many of the town's residents, cultivating a sense of local history and tradition is an attempt to hold to a sense of identity amidst the steady "malling"of the island. Editorials in the local paper constantly warn of the perils of selling out local traditions. "Look what happens-ugly little stores, fast food outlets, tasteless housing developments. Our history is the only thing that will save us from becoming a giant mall."[1] Many local residents fear that without a sense of tradition, East Hampton would be just another suburban "placeless" town lacking a distinct identity.

> "There are generations growing up on Long Island who no longer identify themselves as Islanders. They're growing up in the mall." [2]

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> "Among the younger set in East Hampton, history is relatively meaningless, barely providing some form of identity for the few of us who are able to remain here. The past, in one sense, ceases to exist. Gone days cease to be thought about except by those active with the various historical societies, antique dealers hawking imported furniture to customers who do not know or care about the local identity, and real estate sharks."

In recent years, East Hampton has been undergoing a perpetual identity crisis as many of its residents have come to feel that everything that is special and unique to the place seems to be under threat from uncontrollable and relentless outside forces- especially baymen.

The rhetorical image of the baymen plays a large role in the frenzy to preserve the rural character and sense of place on the "East End." Baymen are very much a part of the discourse on place and regional identity and have come to symbolize an aspect of the town's heritage and traditions that distinguishes it from the culturally flat and placeless suburban towns scattered throughout the rest of Long Island. Baymen are on the front lines in the battle of the last stand which is continuously being fought in East Hampton. For many local residents, newcomers as well as people with deep ties to the area, the fight to save the baymen from vanishing and the fight to preserve the traditional culture and character of the town is one and the same. Many East Hamptonites have persuaded themselves that if only the baymen's traditional culture can be preserved then the

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town's special identity won't vanish.

"If the baymen go, a vital part of South Fork will be gone-a sense of the place will be missing. For me it will be a very sad day when there are no baymen dories on the beach."

" Baymen are part of the fabric of the place. You always knew your were entering a seacoast town when you saw trucks trailering dory's laden with net's driving down main street. Now this is being threatened. They are a vanishing breed, a vanishing heritage about to pass away."

"What little integrity of place which still exist on Long Island's East End is held in the calloused hands of the regions fisherman and farmers, what few there are."

I'm helping to support the baymen because they are a bulwark of the community. They actually define what this area is. They symbolize and represent a lot of what made Long Island great...If the baymen go, we won't have a community anymore. We'll have a lot of separate home owners and some merchants.The area won't have a soul anymore. That's what the local fisherman and farmers who preserve the integrity of the land and water represent."

If the baymen's way of life disappears, a lot of history disappears, and so goes Long Island "We're not just fighting for here for a small number of people who are living in old communities that would be nice and quaint to preserve. We're fighting for our soul. What we're attempting to do is keep a particular thread going in the fabric which is in danger of being cut off here in this century after three centuries of existence."

If the baymen's way of life goes, the genius loci of the South Fork will vanish with it-to be commemorated, not doubt, by some future restaurant called the Bonacker, serving bluefish-and-raddicchio pizza to baby arbitrageurs in Reeboks.

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Imagining the Bayman and the Sense of Place

East Hampton-it's so Sturbridge
East Hampton Star
What heritage is there in the Hamptons? Nobody was born here. East Hampton Star

The romance of the baymen and the heritage aura which surrounds their way of life is in large part the creature of the urban imagination.[3] While geographically distant from New York City, East Hampton is socially and culturally close. Many of the towns residents have addresses in New York City. Since the 18?? the "East End" has been a refuge for harried city dwellers seeking peace and solace in the countryside. The cultural constituency which supports the baymen's plight on the East End is primarily made up "city folk".

In the struggle to preserve the local character of the East End and it's vanishing maritime heritage, ironies and ambivalence unbound. The pros and cons of outside, urban influence are constantly debated by local politicians, people in the local press and media, and community residents. While some argue that the invasion of the East End by "city slickers" and "up island carpetbaggers" has completely homogenized the special flavor of the place, others argue that it is city folk who have helped to preserve the East End's "sense of place" and rural character.[4] While many lament the fact that" New Yorkers

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have brought New York to the East End," it is hard to deny the fact that it is city money which keeps the local economy alive.

> While farming, fishing and vineyards are the most visible industry of the area, there is no other area in New York State which has benefitted from such a huge capital investment devoted to recreational and leisure purposes.If the beaches of the East End became polluted, if agriculture and fishing vanished, these second homeowners would have no reason to maintain their investment on the East End. They would choose to relocated to a less spoiled second-home area. If that should occur, the East End economy would crash."

According to Helen Rattray, a publisher and editor of the local paper and fervent supporter of local heritage and tradition, "Without the kind of influence (rich outsiders) have had, it would have been much harder to preserve what we have."Others profoundly disagree.

"We have felt only too well the influence of the "rich outsiders" We have seen the dramatic diminution of many of the charming amenities that drew us to this delightful place to begin with...Your observation that the "rich" have saved what we have begs the question: Many of these rich outsiders have created a milieu solely for themselves and their own, or for those sycophants who, for the sake of rubbing shoulders with a few overblown and overexposed celebrities

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attempt to buy their way into this disingenuous circle."9/2/93

Many of the supporters and "friends of the baymen" are "city slickers" who have helped to bestow a privileged status on a dying industry. Over the years, many of the so-called urban "invaders" have befriended the baymen and taken up the cause to preserve their endangered way of life. According to Henry Horn, executive director of Guild Hall, a cultural center in East Hampton:

> "In certain ways, the East End is just an appendage of Manhattan. What balances that is the grit and integrity of the baymen and farmers, to the extent which they are respected, and they've got the summer people feeling very much on the defensive."

There is a long history of cosmopolitans wanting to preserve the differences that make cosmopolitanism possible. As Hannerz notes" there can be no cosmopolitans without locals." (1990:250) Baymen lend themselves to aesthetization because they are distant enough to be exotic but close enough to be noticed. Baymen help to remind urban refuges that they have left the city and arrived in the country, where they can get in touch with their rural roots and cultivate their fondness for nature. For many city weary urbanites, baymen have come to symbolize the very essence of the imaginary place close to nature that they have escaped to.

> The baymen appeal to anyone with pride in Long Island's heritage and who cares about its future. To ignore that heritage is to ignore much of the devastation that has destroyed the island

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> in the last 40 years. With farms disappearing- and when the commercial fisherman disappear-this island will be no different from Manhattan island, Staten Island or Coney Island. I will no longer want to live here. This true for anyone who cares or has ever cared about this place.

According to Ralph Carpentier artist, teacher, ex part-time fisherman and ex-director of the marine museum dedicated to preserving the East End's fishing heritage,

> The loss of East Hamptons commercial fishery and the lifestyle of it's people wouldn't particularly effect one's tennis game or real estate investments but I suspect it would be the end of an aspect of East Hampton life that attracted all of us "non locals in the first place. Some things should never change.
>
> "Causes such as protecting the way of life of traditional baymen became popular not so much as attempts to preserve local economies, but rather they attempt to maintain the elusive country ideal that makes this place different than elsewhere in the metropolitan area....Open space, baymen, even mosquitoes are tolerated and, in some cases, protected in order to maintain the myth of country, like a "Traditional American Ways" exhibit at some academic Disneyland.

In the discourse on place identity, opposing images reference one another. The countryside needs its "other", while the city needs the "burbs" or the "country." The important feature of the gemeinschaft--gesellschaft distinction is not so much the opposite worlds each term represents in any objective sense, but that one cannot be understood without the other. Each term resonates with meaning about the other. They are intimately related on a conceptual level, by an antagonistic tension: They are part of a single state of mind which praises progress by

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eulogizing tradition. According to Tuan,(1970:34)

> The city dwelling nature lover as a social type is almost as old as the city itself. We owe to the city our aesthetic appreciation of nature: Directly because it is in the city that artistic sensibility is cultivated; indirectly because to be keenly aware of something we need to have the antithesis of nature...throughout the millennia of written history we repeatedly find sentiments for nature expressed in reaction to the failings of urban life."

In East Hampton many of the "locals" who are obsessed with preserving the area's vernacular sense of place and protecting it from city influence are in fact "city slickers"and "outsiders." According to Jackson, vernacular architecture and sense of place which suggest "something countrified, homemade, traditional was for the most part a definition derived from the mid-nineteenth century exploration of rural life by antiquarians and those dissatisfied with urban, industrialized life." (Jackson 1984:85) As Charles Decay observed in 1903 "it is rare to find "city folk" building with so much feeling for the landscape as one observes in East Hampton...the simplicity and sobriety of the scenery appear to have influenced the architecture." According to Robert Stern-a champion of postmodern vernacular, East Hampton architecture provides a useful mirror in which to see the relationships between architecture, landscape, and culture which can foster rather than diminish a sense of place." He argues that the one hundred year long tradition of resort architecture in East

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Hampton illustrates a simple thesis-a sense of place and a sense of style need not be mutually exclusive in American architecture.

Urban "outsiders" are more "local" in their orientation than real "locals". In many cases, it is these outsiders who are some of the most ardent preservers and champions of local heritage and tradition. Yesterday's tourist are today's native. In towns such as East Hampton where a preservationist ideology has taken hold, new arrivals immediately feel threatened by the general movement they have just realized for themselves. While the attractions of natural beauty pose a threat, the envy of people who want to move to the place helps to validate the residents appreciation of it. Tourist may be a nuisance but their presence is a constant reminder that one is inhabiting a "real" authentic place. [5]

The growing emphasis on style and imagery, has made preserving East Hampton's cultural and natural heritage an uphill battle as of late. Increasingly, aesthetically pleasing, "countrified styles" and rural facades have begun to overwhelm the countryside.[6] In East Hampton, nature, tradition and the "country" haven't been preserved as much as "designed" and "quantified". It isn't the past which has been preserved but an image of the past. Editorials and letters in the local press constantly lament the loss of the country and it's replacement by the "country look." "We seek

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country charm while the real country is increasingly charmless."

The "East End" is a physical as well as a mental region -it is a culturally constructed region of the mind that corresponds to the image of the country that city people love to escape to. New Yorkers have brought New York to East Hampton"and transformed the "country" into an urban space with more room. According to architectural critic Paul Goldberger, "The final proof that East Hampton is no longer the country, was the arrival of the Ralph Lauren Country Store."

> The designer, who has a house in East Hampton setout to discover an American past, and not finding any, invented his own. On visiting his new store on opening day, he announced that he'd started his country-store line after searching with no success for "old, worn-out clothes" for himself."East Hampton is the town that looked most like the town I was thinking of."

In a letter to the local paper a concerned resident anxiously pondered the significance of the store for the future of the town. "After hearing a person remark that the country store was 'so East Hampton', I wondered if the opposite will some day be true- Will people soon be saying of East Hampton,"It's so Ralph Lauren."

Eric Kraft's imaginary seaside village called Babbington- "the clam capital of the world" very much like East Hampton is having image problems."The zoning board was a powerful entity in Babbington, and it was growing more and more powerful as the available land ran out and questions about

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the character of the town, the face that it ought to display to its audience, the outside world consumed more and more of the time and energy of Babbingtonians of all stripes and sizes."(Kraft 1994:209)

In recent years, the town of East Hampton has acquired a reputation for being a living history museum without walls- a historic district writ large. In attempt to maintain its particular "country look," the towns local preservation programs and architectural review bodies are involved with interpreting and seeking out areas with "strong historic district potential." While heritage interpretation programs tap into and reinforce a sense of history and tradition already present within a community, it helps when these latent traditions have market potential. An architectural historian who worked for the town's historical society " mentioned that "it is always easier to get support for an archeological project if we can make the enterprise of preserving a historic structure fashionable." For example, it was only after a local barn in the care of the East Hampton town historical society began to "yield history", that it was declared an "architectural treasure" by the state. The director of the local historical society remarked that,"Until recently the barn was never considered anything rare or unusual. It wasn't until historic preservation experts 'read' the building that they realized just how significant the barn is." An architectural expert,

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who "got into barns a few years ago" has been involved in " antiquing" some of the shingles so that they look like their original 18th- century predecessors. "The educational aspect of the stabilization project is paramount. LTV (the local cable station) has filmed the process, and the Historical Society hopes to have a video presentation available for viewing at the site."

Such information helps to attract heritage enthusiast and tourist for "historic district walking tours" and "lantern tours" and other "historic happenings, events " to the area. In such interpretive endeavors, "local baymen and farmers find common ground with metropolitan professionals as well as artist and craftspeople."

> Several times a year it is possible to leave the usual confines of the 20th century and step back into the past, back as far as 1680. Costumed interpreters will give festival goers a taste of what life was like for the Mulford family. There will be a lot of "hands on history" at the festival. For revolutionary war buffs there will be a encampment. A local interpreter and teacher will preside over the festival posing as an 18th century trustee and the entire event will be staffed by volunteers in costumes. There will be lots of food, ice cream and Restoration cakes chowder and soup." The town marine museum will also offer living history demonstrations. Boats, fishing and the creatures of the sea will be discussed. 'Sailhistory' boats will offer expeditions by sea delving into the local history of the deep. There will also be whale boat re-enactments, following the lead of oldtime whalers.[7]

The process of determining the historical and cultural significance of a building or artifact is inherently

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contestable. At a recent public hearing in the town of East Hampton an embittered local resident remarked that"I didn't move into the historic district the historic district moved into me." In a similar vein the "downtown association" of Montauk chose an "Old Style" called Nantucket to enhance its image for summer tourist. When planning officials announced that they were considering issuing "certificates of appropriateness" to people who wanted to make renovations in the historic district, an editorial asked, "Are certificate of appropriateness appropriate?" According to a local architectural critic, "East Hampton is a town with an image problem."

> "As we begin this new decade ,it remains unclear as to just what kind of image the town will seek and exactly who will set the criteria for that image. Considering all the different interest and influences at play, it may help to resolve the town's identity crisis by including in next years elections a public referendum on just what the image of East Hampton should be over the next 10 years.
>
> There could be a row of buttons on the ballet, one for Bonac, one for Experimental, one for Weekend/Sporty, one for Neo-traditional, and one for Suburban.
> Beneath the first bouton marked "Bonac" there would be a man in waist high fishing boots, holding a clam rake and standing on a sandy isthmus with a small Bonac-style shack behind him.
> The second would have a disorderly-looking artist in paint-spattered jeans standing in form of an oddly-shaped studio.
> The third would show a man and woman in tennis outfits standing beside a Mercedes-Benz sports coupe in front of a beach house with an enormous sun deck.
> Number four would show another couple dressed in Edwardian costume, standing in front of a

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> Shingle-Style house surrounded by an earthen Berm. And the fifth would show a whole family with kids and pets standing on the front lawn of a split-level house, with the Long shadow of a satellite- dish antenna falling across the lawn.

Bonackers, Outsiders and the Politics of Heritage

> You can take a Bonacker out of Bonac but you can't take the Bonac out of a Bonacker.
>
> Old Bonacker Saying

> Old Pete was a quintessential Bonacker, a romantic survival from an earlier, perhaps, simpler time. He was the last of the Baymen, a symbol rather than a man.
>
> East Hampton Star

Categorical distinctions between people are variable, polysemic, and ambiguous. Depending upon the context, a person's social identity can be either an embarrassing stigma of social and geographic marginality, or a valuable resource for the maintenance of cultural distinctiveness. The baymen of East Hampton are often called "Bonackers" or "Bubbies." A Bonacker describes any local person whose ancestors were born and bred around Acobonic or what is now called Springs. According to Rattray the name Acabonic came from the Algonquin word for "root place". It acquired local meaning as a place where deep roots are...Today,"Bonac means home ,and everything homey and dear and familiar to Eastern Long Islanders .... particularly when they are far away.[8] In the now defunct "Baymen's Newsletter", a Bonacker suggest that, "perhaps the name indicates where man is rooted to the sea."

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> "The native people of East Hampton like to be called Bonackers because they are rather proud of their heritage and feel that there are no others quite like them. Even when one moves away for a long period of time and then returns, he is more of a Bonacker than the person who move in thirty-five or forty years ago. Anyone not born in East Hampton ,but has made it his home will never be a bonafide bonacker, regardless of length of residing.

To the hard core Bonacker he world beyond the East Hampton is place known as "away." Baymen Stewart Lester refers to his wife Madge who grew up in Queens, as a foreigner who came from "away."

When it first gained currency, the term Bonacker was a derisive epithet akin to hick, lazy clamdigger. To the welldressed "upstreeters" who began to populate the area, the fisherman of the Springs were backward and uneducated "seaside hillbillies" beset by shiftlessness and drink. Many "upstreeters" regarded the baymen (especially those clam diggers who peddled clams and scallops from door to door, as "semi-comic figures"(Matthiessen 1986:122) While a few people in the town viewed the Bonackers as a fiercely proud and independent group- some of the most extraordinary people I've known"- most "upstreeters" derided them as good for nothings who "knew only how to raise large families and hard luck." According to Peter Matthiessen " the Bonackers worst offence in a comfortable community was chronic poverty." While there still lingers among many people of the town an

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idea of most Bonackers as hidebound and procrastinating people lacking ambition, overtime this negative stereotype has taken on a new meaning and acquired a positive status.

Where artist go others follow. In the 1947, the Springs was an isolated farming and fishing community with 360 residents. By the early 1950's, New Yorkers had discovered Springs. An article in the Sunday news of Sep 31,1952 portrays a Springs that's lazy and bucolic, its yards picturesquely strewn with fishing gear being invaded by city folk.

> To the city people,the natives of Springs are barely out of the woodland stage: They hunt deer, and capture waterfowl,they farm,clear trees, and graze livestock:they fish just off the ocean beaches and gather shellfish in the bays; they make simple homes in waterfront settlements The city people are a vigorous new population..and gradually they begin to outnumber the native bonackers...Empty lots become sits for contemporary saltbox ever frailer than the rickety authentic saltboxes they're loosely modeled on. Other houses -assertively "modern" ones- follow suit. Where tradition was once the real architect for most of the structures in the Springs, the designers of these newer ones are "creative "and "imaginative". Clusters of older Springs houses become de facto historic districts, enclaves of times past.."

Gradually, with the steady influx of outsiders and upstreeters" the term Bonacker became a chauvinistic badge. The East Hampton Fire department and the sports teams refer to themselves as Bonackers. According to Epstein (1975:138) there is a thriving business in Bonacker bumper stickers. At the present time, being called a Bonacker is fashionable and

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regarded as the highest compliment you can give someone in East Hampton. As Arnold Leo has said, "It means your a local."

Many outsiders have fallen in love with the Bonackers peculiar speech patterns which supposedly can be traced to ancient times. As Bill Lester says,"you can always tell a Bonacker by the way he talks. Whether we don't know how to talk or we talk better, I don't know." In discussing his sense of loss for the disappearing baymen, Peter Mattheissen" has said that:

> "the baymen are tough, resourceful,and also (some say) hidebound and cranky, too independent to organize for their own survival. Yet even their critics must acknowledge a gritty spirit that was once more highly valued in this country than it is today. Because their children can no longer afford to live where their families have harvested the sea and land for three hundred years, these South Fork baymen, old -time Americans who still speak with the Kentish and Dorset inflections of Elizabethan England -may soon became rare relics from the past,like the Atlantic right whales..."(5)

Bonackers themselves have developed a strong interest in preserving their heritage. In 1992, a well known Bonacker published a book about his vanishing heritage which was received favorably in the town. In the introduction to My East Hampton, the old time bonacker mentions that "I felt an obligation to write about all those wonderful old-timers so they would not pass into oblivion."

> "Overtime, Bonackers have become more articulate making it more difficult to detect their heritage.Once in a while, though a colloquial expression can be heard,mostly among the

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fisherman.Nearly all of the youngsters acquire at least a high school education, and all.both young and old,have been exposed to television,through which they have become more sophisticated. People form elsewhere are moving into town bringing with them a different way of life, a part of which, no doubt will rub off on the Bonackers. Let us pray, that it is not the beginning of the end of a special group of people."298 [9]
A local reviewer has written," while at times it seems like he is painting a picture of a "mythical Mayberry",the countless details from everyday life "saves the book from unreality"." My East Hampton is a good local history, a rare commodity today, when we are surfeited with self-conscious appraisals and critical probes because they are 'fundable projects'. My East Hampton appears as an antidote to restore a sense of tradition and continuity in the community. How welcome it is."[10]

While baymen constantly speak of their traditional roots and unique heritage, their sense of pride about their special identity is somewhat paradoxical. The Bonackers heightened self consciousness regarding their special identity is the result of being able to view themselves from an outsiders point of view. Bonacker pride and identity is a highly mediated form of self-consciousness and awareness presupposes no longer being fully in the group. According to Meyrowitz (1985:135)

the recently popular search for "roots" and "ethnic" identity may not be a sign of rising group identity in the traditional sense, but an indication of its decay. Extremely powerful group identities are unconscious and intuitive. The active search for one's "unique" background may suggest a conscious identity crisis and a sense of relative rootlessness. Further, the search for one's unique background is now couched in terms of the shared right of everyone to his or her own

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heritage."

Key words take on symbolic meaning in conflictual social interaction. Since boundaries are inherently oppositional, almost any matter of perceived difference between a community and the outside world can be rendered symbolically as a resource of its boundary. (Cohen 1986:17) In recent years, the term Bonacker has become an emotionally charged symbol which plays a large role in struggles over the meaning of heritage and place. History in small communities such as East Hampton, provides a yardstick for self- measurement. The past, a belief in a common background and perhaps shared qualities gives local people a sense of separateness from others, outsiders. Today, this sense of identity may be limited to calling oneself a Bonacker. Following W.I. Thomas's famous dictum that if social actors believe a thing to be real then it is real in its social consequences, one must take the country /city distinction seriously. "The subjects view of the situation ..may be the most important element for interpretation."(Thomas 1951:80) There is nothing like a threat, real or imagined to forge a sense of identity. While a great deal of the erosion of the Bonac community has come from within-throughout it's history, Long Island's cherished ideology of home rule, local control and traditional rights have wreaked havoc with the natural environment- many locals place the blame for the loss of community on "outsiders". Despite the ambivalent and contested meaning of the term outsider, it plays a large

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role in the rhetorical strategies by which people construct boundaries and define their identity. "Outsiders" help to strengthen the boundaries of the Bonacker's culture and identity. Billy Havens, a 12th generation Bonacker and descendent claimed, "I know how the Indians feel. They were driven out weren't they? The same thing is happening to us.

Even though many locals have benefitted from the influence of outsiders, for the most part they regard the "invasion" by city slickers as a form of cultural genocide.(Endnote occupational pluralism and service work) While many locals have sold out and auctioned off their heritage, the dominant place myth of the community is a narrative of decline which cast outsiders as greedy invaders who have forcibly appropriated and enclosed the imaginary moral economy of the Bonackers. Bonackers and their sympathizers have constructed a historical narrative of a golden age of abundance and community solidarity before the fall into social and economic divisions. Many baymen speak of history in personal terms and talk of times when the resources of land and sea were treated as a commons.

> "There was no private property then. You could go anywhere you's want to-set trap for animals, take hound dogs, bird dogs-and no one cared because you didn't destroy anything...There were no

> "I grew up here and one of the nicest things was that there were no social divisions-no matter who your parents were, no matter what their income, you could go where you liked. They were no chains up, no trespass signs It not the same now. People are very private about their property. So we must protect what is public for the public."

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> There is growing in East Hampton a fortress mentality that will eventually ruin the area for us all...Trails that have been used by local people for quiet enjoyment for over 300 years are now fenced off. How dare they?..Land can't belong to anyone. We're all caretakers of our land for a very short while. The beauty and repose offered by a trail through the woods should be shared,not kept for the exclusive use of a select few.
>
> The oldtimers allowed free passage over their acres for others to go clamming, or to get salt hay or wood. The newcomers put out their berms, place their tennis courts over long-used trails, and put up barriers with "no trespassing"signs. Next step, barbed wired? Spotlights? Towers? Guard dogs?Machine guns?

According to a sympathetic observer of the baymen's plight, The liquidation of the baymen's local culture by outside forces and "the systematic destruction of a community, a way of life, a proud history is an act of "genocide"."People with a lot more money than the Bonackers, and a great deal more political clout wanted the Bonackers land, the Bonackers fish, the beaches from which the Bonackers launched their rigs from unpicturesque trucks. For the Hamptons to blossom, the Bonackers had to be got out of the way."

Such a narrative removes ambiguities in the historical relationship between local people and the natural environment. It is a form guilt free history which denies and displaces their own ancestors exploitation of the natural environment onto others. There are parallels between the decline of the whales and the decimation of the forest and the current decline in the fisheries. It was the

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environment that finally betrayed the people of East Hampton.pg 198 Then as now, fisherman placed the blame on the interference and excessive regulation by "outsiders." In the face of environmental decline, people who depended on nature tried to make sense of what was happening to their lives. According to Breen "Everyone seemed to have an explanation for the disappearance of the right whales. The one that local whaleman found difficult to accept was the one that raised questions about their own culpability.(Breen 199) 202 They blamed everyone but themselves."And as the Bonackers find themselves driven off the land by rising real estate prices,so too were the Montauk Indians by the same surnames as the surviving twentieth century Bonackers.

Bubbies vs City Slickers. In East Hampton, the symbolic politics between locals and outsiders takes many forms. At times, seemingly benign incidents can become symbolic springboards for all sorts of latent hostilities. The dispute which flared up in 1991 over the showing of a locally produced television sitcom called "The Bubs" is a case in point. The "Bubs" portrayed a local Bonac family of six, by utilizing exaggerated stereotypes. While the characters were meant to be humorous, many people in the community took offence. For some, the very idea of an outsider using the word "Bubby" was scandalous.

According to a self proclaimed Bonacker, "Bub is a word used by the Bonackers of old when they didn't know the

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name of the person with whom they were having a conversation.They figured it was much easier to call a man "Bub" than it was trying to remember his name...At time the word was used to emphasize a statement and was not uttered until after a definite pause, so that meaning would be fully

understood,i.e "Put that in your pipe and smoke it .....Bub! The word also stress common sense and country "street smarts." Bubs are sharp as tacks. An oldtime Bonacker once said that as he goes through life, he would discover there are more horse asses in the world than there are horses."

The television controversy sparked off a letter writing campaign in the local paper between "City Slickers" and "Bubbies".

> I'd like to put forward a modest proposal that ask for Federal monies to turn the Springs into a Bubby reservation. If Southhampton can have an Indian reservation, East Hampton can have a Bubby reservation.
>
> A place protected from "the City Slicker," where Bubbies can come and go freely calling each other Bub forever, without changing their ways.
>
> We can call the proposed reservation Bubby Land.To do a step further,we can arrange to allow Bubbies to sell cigarettes to City Slickers without charging tax. They can call their store Bubby Lane.
>
> I discussed the above proposal with my friend George, who said, "Be careful, I believe once you teach a Bub to read and write he's going to think and write letters to the Star." The letter is signed
>
> Truly yours,
> "City Slicker"

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Many took offense at the letter writers idea to start a "Bubby reservation." A series of letters ensued.

> I agree that there should be a Bubby reservation. Since Bonackers can now be considered a native minority, they should be able to fish, clam, and scallop without licenses, stamps, tags, or permits...All non- Bonac-owned homes would be condemned, and the owners paid a dollar to keep it legal. Then all those Bonackers exiled from the Springs because of over-inflated property prices could return...
>
> The Bonackers would stay in Springs calling each other "Bub" not because they don't know each other's name, but as a friendly term .And Springs would go back to being an extended family.
>
> P.S. For a small yearly licensing fee,the Bubby reservation will allow the East Hampton Fire Department and the East Hampton High School football team to use the name "Bonackers."
>
> " Bonacker"

> Bubby Schmubby!I wrote my proposal to make a Bubby reservation of the Springs jokingly, in response to those self-proclaimed voices of the community that continually complain about the "city slicker"the Hispanics, and any sign of East Hampton joining post-1932 America. Clearly my letters represent only my point of view and intends to impose no hardship or discomfort to anyone. It's simple :if any of the self-proclaimed voices of the Bubby Community wish me to go and "never come back" they can by me out at a fair market value. My friend and advisor George said,"Don't expect an offer right away.They will come up with a price in a day, but it will take them a week or two to learn how to use a postage stamp.
>
> truly yours,
> "Slicker"

Another person angry with the "slicker conspiracy" defined himself as "A "Bub" Who Takes Offence."

> "I am a 12th generation native of Springs and firmly believe that our Bubby land must flourish

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> in spite of the slickers' unyielding encroachment. After all, it was the preservation of our once-pristine environment that resulted in the insufferable migration to the Springs.
>
> It is my opinion that the inevitable changes of our environment have had a serious negative impact on this rather fragile community. Not too many years ago livestock grazed in the open fields and the waters of Acabonac Creek were clean with an abundance of fin and shellfish.Springs was a close-knit community. Everyone knew and appreciated one another and the glory went to God. Presently the good of the community benefits reek with the "me" mode.
>
> "Yes,yes Bub!"The tides have changed for the worse...Unfortunately .like our foremost native Indians ,my children may never have the opportunity of fulfilling the American Dream in Bubby Land. It is an endangered heritage that merely exist in the depths of our hearts and souls; however, it's a way of life worth preserving for the next generation.
>
> Truly yours,
> " Bonacker"

A self proclaimed slicker writes of how he understands that" the departure from tradition is seen as a plot on the part of greedy "slickers."

> One may regret the disappearance of livestock in open pastures, of fin and shellfish from inland waters, and cattle- round ups in Montauk...Some rural old-timers remembering a different East Hampton will want more pasture than people, and will resent the loss of the one and the gain of the other....
> A slicker can sympathize with this type of nostalgia, but not with being blamed for it...There are few slickers in East Hampton who do not assiduously adopt some native ways and acquire local lore. Locals might reciprocate by learning to enjoy some urban pastimes...
> If a Bonacker tells me that he demands unbridled liberty to drive vehicles in beaches, I oppose him, albeit his claim that his people have always done so. The slicker is at liberty to argue that the native is not only endangering dunes and nesting sites, but is also creating unlovely ruts in the world's most beautiful beaches. May the

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slicker not remark that an appeal to time-hallowed practice fails to reckon with the most recent profusion of 4-by 4- vehicles that are not unused in the aid of the fishing industry(and constitute a " change" which natives ,not slickers, have introduced.)

The city slickers to move out here to live in the country style that we live in. It wasn't too long ago that East Hampton wasn't the in place to go.Now people flock in every summer to come here. Why don't you just leave us Bubbies alone and never come back here?

I'm sorry that we all can't drive Mercedes. But every time you sit in a restaurant and order seafood, do you ever stop to think who went out and got the seafood for you to enjoy? Do you ever look out your yard and see the nature, instead of slums that you see in the city?

I am proud to be a Buuby, and always will be, If you don't like the way we live,then why not go west?

Plenty of people form the city are trying to stop the ways of how we make our living. You built houses on the beach dunes,and then blame the local trucks for eroding the beach.

Why come to East Hampton, the most beautiful town, and put us down? I speak for myself and I thing for many of the locals.

"Proud to be
a Bubby"

Stripers, Dories and the Politics of Heritage. The closing down of the striped bass fishery in 1986 by the New York State Department of Environmental Conservation (DEC) represented far more than a loss of income for the baymen of East Hampton. The baymen's struggle over striped bass struck a responsive chord in the wider community and unleashed several residual fears and anxieties concerning the identity of place, and the deterioration of the environment. On the East

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End, the striped bass has acquired almost totemic qualities, as if its fate were somehow symbolic of East Hampton's struggle to survive further development. The decline of the bass fishery has been the impetus for a great deal of reflection and debate on the cost of progress and the meaning of place. Editorials and letters in the local paper used the striped bass as springboard to talk about the loss of traditional values by the spread of commercialization and cultural homogenization.

> "The pitch for what is chic from the Hamptons seems chillingly timed to coincide with The State Department of Environmental Conservation's closing of the bass fishery in the State last week. It almost says look, now the Hamptons are the real South Fork, give up the old pursuits and make shopping bags out of your seine nets. We have uyers!...
> Perhaps, as the advertisements claim, the Hamptons are a fable American idyll, celebrating the good life. But as this essentially small, delicate place becomes more and more varnished with an image projected solely by those who would sell things, the more depleted anything left to save or preseve has become. Yes, there are wave-splashed beachs,still ponds and rolling farmlands in the Hamptons. But there should be a scythe or a fyke on Fifth Avenue as a reminder that they are still used and not all for sale.

Struggles on the part of the baymen to preserve their traditional harvesting methods for catching bass were bound up with the conflict between locals and outsiders. Many community members who might have regarded the baymen as mo

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more than a nuisance took up the cause and joined their fight against "outsiders". Many newcomers, intent on enhancing their status as locals were suddenly transformed into Bonackers. When asked why he was sympathetic to the baymen, a local writer remarked,

> "It's simple. People who love this place, who love nature, who love the spiritual, who comprehend the delicate balances that make up this piece of geography, and who know the Baymen, who they are, how they fish, and that they are so rooted in the early history. They are like the great keel of a great sailboat that makes this place what it is. To destroy their origins is really to deprive us. Let's not destroy the essential elements that continue to bring character to this place. I'm so against getting rid of anything. And most of the people who want to get rid of the haul-seiners are outsiders."

At a demonstration protesting the DEC ruling, the East Hampton town supervisor, a fervent supporter of the baymen's "traditional"rights, told a crowd, "Over 90% of the people who are in favor of outlawing the baymen's traditional harvesting practices come from elsewhere. So what a lot of this boils down to is they should realize they are guest here." At the same demonstration a local celebrity remarked:

> "I'm a member of the community-not a summer person, my kid goes to school here and I pay my taxes here." As a community we have to band together to support our neighbors and friends from unfair and discriminatory legislation which benefits outsiders."

With the decline of bass fishing the dory has become hallowed symbolic artifact, a "melancholy object".(Sontag) The small boats which baymen launch into the surf when they

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go haulseining for "stripers" has come to symbolize the loss of tradition and community on the East End. Images and representations of the dory have become a way of symbolically inscribing a culture on the threshold of its disappearance" (Hufford:1991) Peter Matthiessen has remarked that "It will be a sad day when there are no dories on the beach. The whole character of the place will be gone." A local politician expressed similar sentiments.

> "When I went out each morning and saw the dories being pulled by trucks through town, I knew where I was. Now there is a sense of loss."

According to playwriter Joe Pentauro:

> "The baymen are simple people. They are the original people who lived out here before any of us, and haulseining from small dories is their method. It's difficult, primitive and beautiful. Why aren't we taking care of a variety of mankind in danger of extinction? Shouldn't we benefit from tradition, from continuity, instead of erasing it. Is it wise to do that? Isn't it callous and crazy?

In response to the ban on haulseining a local resident remarked that:

> I have never been in a dory loaded with fishing net rocking through the breakers,or strained, pulling the net out of the surf. My livelihood does not depend on how the stripers run this year,but for some deep and irrational reason I feel diminished. The times I sat on the beach and watched the men in the glistening waders pull the fish form the nets and toss them onto the beach are precious, They connected me to a past my ancestors never lived, and , although I wa only an observer, those moments, made me feel a part of this place. To think I will never know them again is a real loss to me. What is more important,

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> however is that it is a loss to my community and my country."

Although dory fishing has declined, the baymen's seafaring skills and ability to launch a dory through the surf has become an important service to the community. Since it was formed in 1980, the baymen "the dory rescue squad" has become a valuable asset in the community. The presence of the dory rescue squad plays a powerful role in the public perception of the baymen and contributes to their political clout in the community . According to Peter Matthiessen, (1986:156) the high visibility of the dory rescue is one of the ways that baymen remain" a strong and respected force in the politics of the town." At a public fund raiser, a local politician and friend of the baymen praised the Dory Rescue Squad for providing a vital contribution to the community which no one else can provide. The squad wouldn't exist if there weren't skilled, tough and independent individuals willing to put themselves at risk for a good cause. Despite grave risk and weather conditions, the squad provides aid to all who find themselves in distress in the sea".

The baymen like to point out that the squad is" part of a tradition that has been passed down through the ages" After the ban on striped bass fishing, many letters of support for the baymen appeared in the local paper:

> " If we lose our baymen who will man the Dory rescue squad 20 years from now? Who will risk their own lives to save countless others with such skill and surety? Who'll know how to launch the dory? I would be very proud if it were my son...

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> Support the proud beautiful heritage of our East Hampton Town. Support our baymen and the Dory rescue squad.

A poem entitled the Dory Rescue, by baymen Milton Miller, appeared in the local paper.

> When the winds howl and blow.
> through the rain,sleet,and snow.
> the Dory Rescue Squad will go.
> Volunteers of a special kind.
> Ready to launch the dory at all times.
> chilled to the bone, on the way home.
> Wet with the spray and rain.
> Never do they complain,
> waiting for another call.
> The Dory Rescue Squad will go.

The baymen's creative use of the dory as life saving vessels, helps to keep the struggle to preserve their tradition alive.

In their struggles over bass, the baymen's strategic appeal to tradition and heritage has had unintended consequences for many of the adversaries of the baymen began utilizing the rhetoric of tradition to support their cause to defeat the baymen.

> "We're not going to be stopped by anyone. We've lost enough of our local heritage and it's gotten to the point where we're going to have to fight to protect it."
>
> We're part of an industry that contributes $2 billion to the economy. Look at the owners of tackle shops. They have as much heritage as anyone else and they are the backbone of an entire industry."

While baymen often claim that their ancestors learned to fish from the Indians and that hausleining is an ancient

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tradition that was practiced at the time of Christ, "sporties" are fed up with the baymen's rhetoric of tradition One "sportie" remarked:

> "Their constant wailing about tradition is a bunch of baloney because the traditional fishery was dories that were powered by oars...the nets were smaller and made of cotton and pulled in by hand. Today, baymen have electric motors, monofilament netting, electric winches driven by four wheel-drive vehicles on the beaches. That is not a traditional fishery."
>
> "Kissing off the recreational fishery as a mere "hobby" compared to a" way of life" certainly is news to the thousands of people whose jobs are related to sportfishing."We are talking about a handful of men who insist that it is their God given right to do things only because the have been doing them for 300 years.
>
> I'm tired of all the moaning about the baymen losing their so-called way of life." These commercial guys are motivated by greed, by the dollar. It's that simple."

A defender of the baymen has pointed out that "While many paint a somewhat exaggerated stereotype of the "sportie," there is an element of truth it. Some of them are very hostile to the baymen who really do have a territorial prerogative here. There is a get out of the way attitude. The situation is similar to the Indians. The baymen have a right to continue their time honored tradition." According to a dragger Captain who is involved in fishery politics," While I am supportive of the baymen lets be realistic," Their way of fishing is an antiquity, a picturesque remnant that has nothing to do with the modern business of fishing."The baymen are threatening their own survival

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because they want adapt to change. And times are a changing."

The decline of the striped bass became emblematic of a whole range of local environmental threats and uncertainties. The loss of the bass was another episode in saga of environmental decline and ruin along with the loss of scallops because of creeping "brown tide", and the closure of shellfish waters because of marine pollution. According to a well known environmentalist from the area "the striped bass is dying and in the process are the patterns of man's own destruction...a mysterious and persuasive metaphor".

The bass controversy, very much like debates over mariculture is about the politics of science. As we have seen in chapter, fishery laws passed ostensibly in the interest of conservation, in many cases reflect social and political interest.(McCay;Cooley) As Sagoff(1992:382) points out," politics often appears to be a larger factor than pollution ,however,in determining how well fish stocks are doing. The view one takes on the population biology of fish, in other words, may follow more from the political position one wishes to support than form the evidence (if any) one can adduce. Arguments about fish recruitment models tend to constitute politics by other means -and has brought areas of ecological science into disrepute."

In struggles over natural resource allocation and

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access, science often becomes part of a constituency's arsenal of tools. In many cases the multiple elements of the NRMS(baymen, sport fisherman; natural resource managers, environmentalist) employ inconsistent definitions of science in the interpretation of natural resource conflicts.[11] Many involved in fishery struggles feel that "science has become rhetoric in the service of policy."(Durrenburger,1990:84) Both baymen and fishery managers constantly lament that "it's all politics" and that science has become a political weapon in hands of those powerful enough to afford it. According to a local fishery biologist who has been following the bass conflict for over 20 years," in fishery politics, battles over scientific knowledge ultimately comes down to a question of who has the most power and who can get the best lawyers."[12] According to Arnold Leo:

> "In my opinion, the whole conflict over the striped bass fishery is contaminated by politics, not PCBs! The need to raise money for research has forced scientist to use their expertise as a political tool. The end result is that somebody always suffers. In this case, the commercial fisherman have been locked out of a resource that once helped put food on the their kitchen tables. It's grown to the point where I've come to mistrust science altogether."(ONW. Pp17 DEC. 1987)

> Look at me..I'm a graduate of the Bronx School of Science, and can't even regard science with a measure of absolute respect. Of course,I do admire pure theory. It's science as practiced in the real world that's so difficult for me to accept. Now, I'm not blaming the individuals. What doesn't hold up is the scientific system as a whole. Look at where we've come as a result of scientific advancement. Look at the great plagues, the environmental catastrophes, the nuclear

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> contamination. You know ,we once had priest who led us down these paths of self-destruction. Now we have scientist!"

The conflict between baymen and natural resource managers is a conflict between two environmental views ,one based on empirically generated data and scientific models, the other on local knowledge with a long history of personal testing and observation. According to Stuart Vorphol, a baymen who has read extensively on local history and fishery legislation,"History has shown that commercial fisherman have always been able to survive nature's periods of scarcity and abundance. What is not survivable are fishery laws enacted by "experts " whose zeal surpasses their knowledge of the marine world and its long history of scarcity and abundance of fishes."

> "Teddy Roosevelt broke up the monopolies early in this century with good reason. Our national bounty should not be controlled by big money alone. It belongs to everyone or to no one at all. After all no one is trying to ban sportfishing. The baymen are simply looking for a fair deal, based on well researched and proven scientific data.(9/3/92)

Baymen have become cynical about the "objectivity" of scientist when men's lives are at stake." For us the ban on commercial fishing is real, not just paperwork for a bunch of bureaucrats. Many politicians have a tendency to say "what the hell." or "what's 100 families in a small town on the east end of Long Island?" But these are people we're talking about. These are communities whose livelihood are endangered."[13] Many baymen regard governmental

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regulation of the town's natural resources as an act of "political genocide-the destruction of a culture by government action." In the words of a local politician "It seems we're constantly waging an uphill battle against the unreasonable rules and regulations that devastate our fishing community."[14]

> "Every spring, our fishing boast pass by the Town Dock in Montauk for the official Blessing of the Fleet. On the dock stand a rabbi, a Catholic priest, and a Protestant minister. Hymns are sung and each boat passes by the dock. It is a gesture acknowledging those who have died- and expresses the fervent hope that nobody else be taken from us and that this year all our fisherman be safe. The blessing should be changed. It should protect our fisherman not only from the elements, but from the environmental Protection Agency, from the sport fishing lobby, from general electric and other big business and from all the tinkering bureaucrats that the New York State legislature can throw at them."[15]

Framing the environmental problems of the bass fishery as a conflict between the local indigenous knowledge of the baymen vs the abstract knowledge of outside scientific experts and bureaucrats, helps to reduce complexities and ambiguities of the situation. It helps to sustain the myth of a self sufficient and autonomous community being undermined from without by outsiders when a great deal of the erosion of Bonac culture has come from within.

Baymen and the Image Economy

People robbed of their past seem to make the most fervent picture takers

Susan Sontag, On Photography

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While commercial fishing has declined, traditional images of the baymen have become a harvestable commodity for people in the culture/heritage industry. The nostalgia associated with the baymen's vanishing heritage, and the impulse to capture it on film, has spawned a semiotic orgy. T.R. Breen, a historian who has written about the area has remarked that "you can't publish a book about East Hampton if it doesn't contain a picture of a fisherman." Harvey's claim that "The photograph, the document, the view and the reproduction become history because they are so overwhelmingly present" applies to the few remaining baymen of East Hampton whose image grows stronger as their physical presence receeds. According to an influential friend of the baymen:

> the interest in preserving the baymen is much stronger on the East End than on the rest of the island because the place is filled with people who work in the media and the film business. We've turned the baymen into celebrities. Some of them even have their own publicity agents."

The imposing presence of the artist, writers, photographers, film producers, and others who work in the image economy has been a mixed blessing for the baymen of East Hampton. The cultural spotlight has simultaneously revitalized and eroded the culture of the baymen and their dying way of life. As Sontag (1979:)has pointed out," The attempts by photographers to bolster up a depleted sense of reality contributes to the depletion....Cameras are the

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antidote and the disease, a means of appropriating reality and a means of making it obsolete." Over the last 10 years, the baymen's plight has become an ongoing media event. Being the subject of books, documentary films, a rock song, and a local theater production, has made baymen well aware that their heritage and traditional image is appealing to others. According to the secretary of the baymen's association, with all the publicity and media exposure, we've come to understand the power of images- people pay more attention to us now." Empson's notion that pastoralism is "about but not by or for the people (Baymen) is only one side of the story in East Hampton. Over the years, the baymen of the East End have actively participated in perfecting their pastoral image and marketing their traditionalism. According to local environmental writer John Cole, "like everyone else, (baymen) have begun"... finding reasons to join the crowd and start making money from the super-rich who have declared the East End their summer playground. ..." As fishing has declined, staged authenticity and pastoral performances have become a survival strategy for baymen. Dramatizing the backwardness and going native for artist and other tourist has contributed to their cultural capital.[16]

To a large degree the baymen's pride in their vanishing heritage is the outcome of outside influences and stereotypes which have been internalized. Many of the local color artist, writers, photographers, and film people became

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involved in salvaging the baymen's heritage and elevating their cultural status, while vacationing and "doing summers" in the "East End".

> For the past twenty years I've been a resident of Amagansett, finding inspiration for camera and pen in the local surroundings. My neighbors Stuart Vorpahl and his family are rugged individuals determined to earn their livelihood at a vanishing life style, trap fishing. The scarcity of fish makes it no longer dependable a craft as it was for the American Indians or even past Vorpahl generations.But Stuart and his family continue putting the stakes and nets into the bay bottom every spring. their tradition and determination compelled me to document the work and their devotion to the sea.

The maker of the documentary film entitled "Baymen-Their Waters Are Dying", first became interested in the baymen when she moved from Manhattan to the "East End" and found herself admiring the baymen's rugged individualism and fierce independence.

> I was drawn to the fact that the baymen were very much loners, working and struggling for themselves. Too few people have the courage to live that kind of life and I wanted to film them before they vanish" [17]

> In the summers of the late 1960's my girlfriend and I spent a great deal of time out on Napeague beach, While there we met and got acquainted with the baymen. There was always a few free bluefish given to us to bring back home for dinner...I've never forgotten their generosity. It'd be nothing less than bureaucratic injustice to remove the right of these decent guys to ply their historic trade... I'm more than ready to offer my artwork in (quid quo pro) support of the plight of these fisherman.

Although people often self consciously identify themselves as locals or outsiders, the boundary between

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these categories has become blurred. Over the years, many of the writers and artist who have helped to publicize and document the plight of the baymen, were city weary upstreeters" who sought solace by fishing with the baymen. Quite a few of these"upstreeters" have gone native and actually become baymen. Arnold Leo, the secretary of the baymen's association is a case in point. He is the ultimate outsider who became the quintessential insider. While Arnold is not a typical baymen, in their last- ditch fight to preserve their vanishing culture, he's just the kind of bayman they need.

Arnold, is the son of an advertising man, college graduate and former book editor who forsook Manhattan years ago for the "Springs". In 1970, when the publishing business was facing economic problems, he left the city and retreated to his summer house on the "East End" where he spent years trying to figure out what to do with his life.

> "I wanted to come out and get rested up. The company had fallen apart, my marriage had broken up. I had always been around the water. I had some money, but I began fishing just to feed myself....At first I had a partner, another New York expatriate who had worked on Wall Street." We tried some gillnetting and made a few hundred dollars. My partner eventually drifted back to the city.

Arnold recalls those years as cathartic, a shaking of what he calls his "city gloom." His literary talent, and desire for a non-standard job made him a unique historian and representative for the baymen. Arnold has a knack of

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having the baymen's case put forward, particularly in the press, television and the courts. With his city-bred polish and public relations skills he has become the self proclaimed "voice of the baymen."

In the battle to preserve the baymen's heritage, he has drawn upon his own roots and family tradition which in Arnold's case is the culture of promotion. According to Arnold, his father was a successful advertising copywriter, who had "a great genius for making things seem like they were always part of the American tradition."

> "I grew up with a completely instinctive understanding of the media, and it took me a long time to understand I possessed it. I was always exposed to those people and those ideas-of the power of image and suggestion and, in the extreme how what the public wants to believe could sometimes become more important than what is true."

As a former New Yorker, Arnold was drawn to the baymen's deep love of nature."People from the city and suburbs don't have the same feeling of oneness with nature.."

> "I haven't fished for very long myself, but I love every minute that I spend on the water. They say fishing enters your blood after a while and I believe this wholeheartedly. You'll still see me fishing even if I get only $50 for three nights work. This might sound crazy, especially coming from an ex-publisher, but the fishing industry is more a way of life than a way of earning a few dollars..."

When he first became secretary of the association Arnold admits he was quite a novice and didn't know too much about the issues facing baymen.

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I had general notions of environmental issues, but here was this amazingly rich history. What was a haul-seiners experience on the beach? What was a fyke? I talked to them at great length and in great detail, and their voices started coming together, And when I got up to speak at a public meeting, it was their voices that would come out."

He is part advocate, ethnographer, and chronicler of the baymen's plight. Overtime, the fusion of his public relations background with the baymen's natural lore and storytelling ability, has made him a powerful adversary in fishery politics. According to Billy Havens, a 12th generation baymen,

> "When he first came out here I didn't think he was going to amount to much. He was from the city. And he didn't look like a baymen, at least not to me. He was just different. Arnold's very book smart. Most of us baymen are not highly educated. We have more common sense than most people, but when it comes to the books what I learned, I learned from my father and from other fisherman who tell you all their secrets. But when dealing with the politicians, you need someone like Arnold. He can talk to these guys where I would be cursing and swearing at them because to me, they're all a bunch of crooks."

According to East Hampton Town supervisor Tony Bullock, "Without Arnold the baymen would have been in a museum of natural history somewhere as a stuffed exhibit."(1,25,1990)" While not everyone involved with fishery management issues on the Island is fond of Arnold, everyone seems to know him.

According to an official from the DEC "He is a savvy image-

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maker who speaks in perfect sound bites." He makes our job much more difficult. Reporters and journalist like him because he makes their job easier. Baymen from "upisland", who are otherwise envious of East Hampton's political clout and cultural prestige, acknowledge Arnold's role in getting the press to favorably focus on baymen issues. Even some East Hampton baymen who claim that "Arnold doesn't speak for the baymen, he speaks for Arrnold", admit that he does them a lot of good. "None of us wanted to do his job." In short, for some he's "finest kind" for others he's a zealous charlatan who exerts too much influence.

According to Tom Knoebel, another baymen with roots in New York City," In terms of doing things on the water, Arnold might not have the same feeling as someone whose family has been doing it for a thousand generations. But in terms of having our feelings at heart, everyone would agree he's been accepted."

At a lecture at the local marine museum, Arnold spoke of the irony of fleeing Manhattan to escape the world of advertising and public relations only to find himself in "...involved in the largest media campaign of my life."It's getting harder and harder for me to get the baymen to pose for photo opportunities and publicity shots. They are becoming discouraged and are sick of being hounded by the media which they feel hasn't helped them." [18]

Arnold has written a screenplay about the baymen which

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he calls a "Tale of the end of the century," "It is about how the working man is betrayed, with values of community, loyalty and integrity abandoned. It depicts baymen as men who live in affinity with God and nature. While the are of humble origins, with coarse manners perhaps and without education, they possess peace, happiness and joy."[19]

Big Fish Productions. While Billy Havens, a self proclaimed 12th generation baymen and Bonacker was being interviewed and filmed by a woman making a movie about his vanishing way of life, the film project took a unexpected turn. She became so involved with the baymen while filming them that she ended up falling in love with one and marrying him. In a letter to the Baymen's Association, the president of Big Fish Productions, an ex- Manhattanite mentions that:

> " As you know, I worked as a film and T.V, producer before moving to Amagansett. One of the reasons I came to The East End was to develop a documentary about the baymen, Along the way, I married a baymen and the project was put on hold...We are now putting together a film on the Baymen...As the wife of a baymen, I feel that it's important that the story by told by someone who really understands it.
> We would like to meet with you to talk about working with the baymen's association on the documentary. We feel strongly that the Baymen's Association should have a voice in the entire project from start to finish."

It is the hope of Big Fish Productions to make films and documentaries that will change the people who see them."

Although the film was never completed, the couple moved to California where they both began working in

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the film industry. "

Men's Lives. Peter Matthiessen's 1986 book Men's Lives" has played a major role in mythologizing the baymen. The book which documents the plight of the baymen and their vanishing way of life , has been described as " a kind of elegy - a long and loving farewell to the life of the fisherman." The title, which comes from a Sir Walter Scott's the Antiquary- "It's not fish ye're buying ,it men's lives."- have come to symbolize the baymen's plight and their ongoing struggle to preserve their heritage.

The book owes its existence to Adalaide De Menil, the quintessential East Hampton upstreeter and patron of the arts, whose friendship with the baymen brought to life an idea put forward by fisherman-photographer Doug Kuntz. In 1981, Doug Kuntz ,expressed a desire to make a record of the people he knows and loves. He feared that their way of life was disappearing and would soon be forgotten. He wanted to do a photography book about the fishing community in the documentary tradition pioneered by Matthew Brady and the Farm Security Administration to bear witness to the baymen. I agreed to sponsor the project."

According to a folklorist who worked on the Men's Lives project, "while she had always observed the baymen plying the waters in their dories from her beachfront mansion, it wasn't until she actually talked to them and found them to be charming and exotic that she became involved in their

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plight. According to local legend," she was so impressed after talking to the baymen that the next day she bought herself a used pick-up truck and became a bubbie."

> "At the time, some of us felt that her interest saving the baymen was just a momentary whim and that we had better take advantage of her philanthropic spirit while it lasted. Wealthy people in the arts take on causes and drop them when they are no longer fashionable. Some of us involved with preserving the baymen's culture were surprised she stayed involved with the baymen as long as she did. Her concern and interest was and is genuine."

One person involved in the project remaked that he always kidded around with her by calling the "guardian angel of the baymen's community." The Baymen archival project involved many people from within and outside the community. A photographer herself, DeMenil paid eight renown photographers, most of them from New York City, to live among the baymen and record their life-style. Peter Matthiessen, naturalist, writer, and novelist, local resident, ex-fisherman and "upstreeter" was hired to write the text.

In the 1950's Peter Matthiessen helped out now and then on a small haul-seine rig led by person who came from a local "up-street" family of nonfisherman. Although he was an educated "upstreeeter" Matthiessen has remarked that:

> "I had a certain amount of acceptance among the baymen who were normally distrustful of outsiders. There were a group of us who were the first outsiders who were ever let on the crews, and everyone remembered us because we were kind of a curiosity at the time..." As a writer they weren't wary so much of me as they were of the experience:

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> People taking pictures of them, taking notes and asking questions. Any traditional people are leery of that; I've run across a great deal of it working with American Indian people."

Over time the baymen have gotten quite used to being photographed and filmed by the "camera people." According to one of the photographers the baymen are "naturally photogenic".

At times he would crew with friend and fellow writer John Cole, another New York "upstreeter" fed up with the city who would who would eventually right a book about the plight of baymen and the striped bass. Cole who now lives in Key West Florida, has fond memories of his days as a baymen."If I hadn't worked on haul-seine crew myself, I wouldn't understand the values the baymen represent. The baymen are truly and endangered species."

Matthiessen, who has made a long career travelling around the world and documenting vanishing landscapes and traditional ways of life, identifies strongly with the baymen's sense of loss about not being able to work at what they love.

> "I loved fishing myself. When I was working on the crews and writing, that was the happiest time of my life-not in terms of writing, necessarily, but the life really suited me to a T. And when my hands were all sore and I was worn out, I was very happy to get back to my desk. I like exercise; I write better if I'm tuned up."

When the book was published, Ms.De Menil organized a big benefit party and invited plenty of celebrities,

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politicians and reporters. The event was a far cry from the clam bakes, fish dinners and other local fundraising events organized by the baymen and their families in their pre-celebrity days.

> On Saturday, appropriately near the ocean's edge, Adelaide de Menil and Edmund Carpenter will host a celebration of Peter Matthiessen's Men's Lives to benefit the East Hampton baymen's association and the East Hampton Historical Society. In addition to a tour of their historic houses,..and a dinner prepared by guest chefs".After drinks, a torch-lit path will lead the way to dinner in the compound's pond. There, Christopher Idone, a Manhattan caterer and author of "Glorious Food," will have been directing a bevy of notables in preparing a Long Island fish chowder...A list of luminaries follows...Produced for the dinner and hors d'oeuvres are to be donated by local farmers and fisherman.

The Men's Lives being celebrated was not the trade edition but a limited special edition of 500 published privately by Ms.De Menil. Patron ticket purchasers, who paid $500 a couple, were given a copy of the limited edition. The boxed, two- volume sets, including a separate volume of photographs, were signed by Mr. Mathiessen. Recently, when I tried to buy a copy of the "original" to no avail, I was told that a rare book collector might have a copy and that it "it will probably cost a small fortune...it's become a collectors item."

> Dinner on the lawn was accompanied by sea chanties. A host of performing artist, painters, writers, and film directors tended bar along with Doug Kuntz, the fisherman and photographer who conceived the idea for "Men's Lives" as well as several of the baymen whose photographs appeared in the book. While the atmosphere was festive, with jazz, dancing, and salt water taffy the message was somber. Folklorist Alan Lomax,

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> introduced the affair with a brief speech "For the last 30 years I've have been studying the decay of cultural variety in the world...What Men's Lives has done is to show that in the middle of the most exclusive resort is the disappearance of an important culture." Peter Mathiessen spoke of how "the baymen are the very backbone and character of area which we all love."

In 1989 singer/songwriter Billy Joel, after reading Matthiessen's haunting elegy of decline, vowed to help the baymen he had seen following the water from his East Hampton Estate. I'm an islander," says Joel, ."I once made a living as a clammer,it was part of our birthright. So now I'm digging in and taking a stand." He launched his campaign with the music video" The Downeaster Alexa", whose proceeds have gone to the baymen. It's lyrics read: I was a baymen like my father was before, Can't make a living as a baymen any more. There ain't much future for a many who works the sea.. But there aint no island for islanders like me."

The music video incorporated a lot of the photographic images from the Men's Lives project. According to a baymen," because of Billy Joel, we have more clout and we can more readily bring issues to the forefront. Some baymen regard such outside support as patronizing and precarious.

> " we need to develop long term plans that will sustain us instead of relying on philanthropic spirit and benevolence of rich celebrities. What if Billy Joel gets sick of the Hamptons and moves to Martha's Vinyard? Then we're in trouble."

The celebrity has earned the wrath of the sporties."We are sick of baymen wanabees like Billy Joel and their Men's

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Lives mythology"

> "No one would have given him adulation if he were a baymen. Maybe his actions made him feel for a while akin to the baymen. Maybe that's what this is all about. Billy Joel wanting to be a baymen.Maybe he wanted their approval ,their acceptance and entree into their clannish lives."
>
> Baymen claim it is their god given right to plunder. precious natural resources...they have relentlessly shed allegator tears about "their plight," meanwhile feeding voraciously at the trough: first by selling their ancestral land so that developers could build luxury houses--which now percolate raw sewage and runoff into the inlets and bays, poisoning the shellfish, pulling links out of the food chain and screwing up East End ecology permanently. In short, the 30 families and other "divine- rightist peddled their assest to the highest bidding consumer, vociferous folks like Mr. Joel who can afford live out here."[20]

Performing Men's Lives. In 1992, Men's Lives came to the stage. The play, like the book which it is adapted from, focuses on the gentrification of the coastal zone and the destruction of the baymen's way of life by wealthy upstreeters and outsiders. According to the playwrite Joe Pantauro, writing the play was "more than a literary decision". "The book Men's Lives had become the banner of the baymen's plight and I felt l'd like to pick up the banner and run some more with it." Writing a fictionalized drama about a non-fiction chronicle " was a complex delicate existential swim in which a work changes its form."

While the book Men's Lives is a nostalgic tale in the social picturesque tradition, the dramatic adaptation of the book treats the pastoral impulse, and some of the inherent

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ironies attached to it, as its main theme. While the play, like the book glorifies the virtues of rustic simplicity and working close to nature, it goes a step further by addressing the contradictions which emerge when intellectual sophisticates engage in "writing local culture" from a distance. The difference between the play and the book illustrates the distinction between what Leo Marx refers to as sentimental and complex pastoralism. Complex pastoralism brings irony to bear against the illusion of a return to a golden age or a reconciliation with nature. It reflexively addresses the conflict between nostalgic yearnings and reality-it acknowledges the impossibility of harmonious relationship between man and nature. Complex pastoralism is tragic view of life which addressees the persistent longing which will not cease and which can never be fulfilled.

The play concerns a archetypical fishing family-a fictional composite drawn from the non-fiction book-consisting of a mother, a father, and their two sons, and their doomed struggle to hang on to their threatened way of life amidst the invasion of the coast by upstreeters and sport fishing interest. Parallel to the drama of the families demise, is the story of Peter Matthiessen, the narrator and real life author of the book from which the play was adapted."I wrote the play about Peter's writing this book-and fighting to keep a law to destroy these people from being passed,"the playwright said.

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As the play begins, Peter the narrator is sitting in the ruins of a shack on the dunes writing Men's Lives as he promised the family he would. The tone is haunting and elegiac. The family has died or dispersed, haulseining has been banned in favor of sportfishing, and the shellfish waters are polluted. The spirited sense of community which used to exist is dead. "I'm writing about the family that used to live here," he announces." I was the outsider trying to break in and make a living off the water too." 16

The character Peter is a likable and sympathetic outsider or "upstreeter" who tries to break inside and live the life of a Bonaker. Peter is not a typical "upstreeter". He is a poet and a fisherman, who loves the sea and the written word. Because of this he is the baymen's witness and their hope. As a writer he is simultaneously detached and involved. Nevertheless, while he is a friend to the baymen and knows them intimately, his is a privilege of seeing them from a chronicler's distance. While following the water is an activity Peter loves, it is not his life as it was for the baymen. While his concern is genuine, he can never fully relinquish an outsiders point of view.

Lee, the oldest son of this "archetypal family, is too old young to retire, to old to retrain, he has no future. When he's not drunk he simultaneously encourages Peter, to "storify and glorify" his vanishing way of life and reproaches him about his motives, suspicious of an outsider

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telling the tale of the baymen.

> "Hell, bub, lets see your qualifications, and I mean the callouses on your hands. Eh? He looks at the hands and says Naaah, too much studying."

Lee ask Pete "What made a smart man like you want to be a fisherman the likes of a stupid oaf like me?"

> "I'm not content behind a desk. I want to touch and feel life with my own hands. I want to know it's secrets."

At one point Lee remarks,

> "What did an Upstreeter ever do for you or your forebears? They ate your scallops and clams at the roadsides, givin'ya back a little change for your trouble, eh? A few Pennies from his kind who drifted out here with their skimpy bathin suits and beach umbrellas. Now you're all set to kiss their backsides and mow their lawns."

When Lee derogatorily refers to Peter as ane "upstreeter" and "outsider", he retorts:

"You call yourself a Bonacker but your blind to the beauty of the place."22

Lee's is a doomed character whose awareness can't save him. He is painfully aware that he is facing a losing battle and embraces his condition with that spiky defiance that victimized people habitually employ to flaunt their stigma. "If a man doesn't earn his rest," says Lee, "He turns to hating himself."55 Peter recalls the day when Lee, drunk and discouraged went out scalloping never to return.

> America was taking on a harder shape, New Populations had descended upon a pristine world and were feeding on it, like a great white shark.
>
> Their little community became Heaven for the rich and hell for the baymen.

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When he tells Lee that "You might have had a wee bit too much to drink to go out and work now Lee retorts:

> "I ain't got no college education to fall back on."

When he asked if he could come along Lee shouts back

> "We don't need you to be a fisherman, we need you to be a writer." 83

Throughout the play, Peter is haunted by the ghost of the baymen while he is trying to write a book about their lives."The characters overtake him in a sort of Pirandello fashion and decide that they are the ones that can tell the story best. They sort of push Peter out of the way and come forward and do this."

Most of the people who attended the performance of "Men's Lives" and gave it a standing ovation were "upstreeters" like the ones painted as villains in the play. They were upscale consumers and "outsiders", who in the process of turning the Hamptons into their playground, have simultaneously romanticized and destroyed the baymen's way of life. A marine biologist is sympathetic to the baymen's plight and is involved with trying to reverse the fishery decline remarked that:

> It's something that rich people to do to ease their guilt. They don't work, so they glorify those that do. The irony is that baymen can't make a living on the water because these same people have helped to destroy the natural resources which they depend upon."

The simultaneous glorification and destruction of a way of life isn't new. Throughout history people have become

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nostalgic and mournful for that which they have destroyed. Sir Walter Scott's words, "It's not fish ye're buyin,it's men's lives, have taken on a new life in Long Island coastal zone. There are interesting parallels between the romance of the baymen and the Highland myth which Sir Walter Scott helped to create. His historical romances, "which gave a sentiment to Scotland as a tourist attraction", were read by many who became involved in resurrecting traditions which they helped to destroy. In the contemporary gentrified coastal zone, much like in the Scottish countryside transformed by clearances, aesthetic consumption and tourism became an urban pasttime. In both cases, the appetite of outsiders for the romantic, picturesque aspects of an alien culture," distant enough to be exotic and close enough to be noticed" has made local people into objects for the tourist gaze. In 1840, Queen Victoria a keen reader of Sir Walter Scott, purchased a laird's house in upper Deeside and converted it into a pseudo gothic "Disneyland for the monarchy." It became a place of make believe, a never never land, a tartanized Scotland emptied by forced clearances. Beneath the genuine interest was a soft gooey, center, a sentimentalization of the Scots'historical experience.. The country had become a playground.(Short 1991:74) [21]

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On the beach. In late July of 1992, the day after I purchased tickets for the performance of Men's Lives, Arnold invited me to the baymen's upcoming civil disobedience action to protest the ban on haulseining and the way the DEC divides the harvest." We are becoming outlaws because the DEC discriminates against the commercial fisherman and favors the sportie." He said to get their early because they were expecting a huge turnout. People in the press and television had been notified well in advance that rock star Billy Joel was going to join the baymen and break the law. There were rumors going around on the "Bonac tom toms" that the "sporties" were planning to disrupt the event. Some spoke about the possibility of violence.

When I arrived at Indian Wells beach in the early morning, there was a great deal of activity as the baymen prepared the dories in front of a growing crowd of camera-toting spectators. Press people and film crews were scurrying about as the conservation officers were getting in position. When I mentioned to an ex-baymen who was videotaping the event that the timing of the two performances was quite a coincidence, he laughed and said, "Nothing coincidental about it Bub- Arnold and the boys have been very busy." The protest action was carefully coordinated to coincide with the premier performance of Men's Lives at the newly established Bay Street Theater. On

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opening night the owner of the theater, spoke of how the baymen have been forced to take desperate measures:

> "their only recourse at this point are media-oriented acts of civil disobedience to focus more attention on the issue. It's an uncanny life-imitating-art-imitating life kind of thing going on."

After the play Arnold Leo told a crowd of notables and reporters of how,

> "the political system isn't working for us, but now the theater people are, and all this -the play, the demonstration, the cause -is converging with an amazing display of synchronicity."

Arnold was in peak form, speaking perfect sound-bites as he led the press and media people around the set. The conservation officers were carefully coached on how to "perform the arrest" so that the cameras would capture the right look. One of the baymen who was about to be arrested said the scene on the beach reminded him of the time when they filmed the Down East Alexa music video with Billy Joel. "We used a lot of props and simulated events for that one but this is the real thing."

As Danny King's familiar American flag dory crashed into the surf, hundreds cheered. "Finest Kind" " Go for it Bub." As the baymen cast their net, music from Billy Joel's Downeast Alexa played in the background.

> I was a baymen like my father before
> Can't make a living as a baymen anymore
> There ain't much future for a man who works the sea but there aint no island left for islanders like me

When the baymen hauled in the nets they gathered up the

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bass and held the fish high for all to see. Like everyone else I was trying to capture the moment on film. As it turned out I wasted a lot of film since all I had to show for my efforts were photos of people taking photos. No baymen, no celebrities, nothing. "Don't worry about it," said a fellow onlooker, "we can catch it one the evening news."

While waiting in line to be arrested, Billy Havens posed for the cameras by holding the contraband bass against the clear blue sky. His wife, president of Big Fish Productions was filming him for their upcoming documentary on the baymen. Doug Kuntz, the fisherman-photographer and a local artist were also capturing the scene for their upcoming exhibit in the fall. While the baymen didn't catch much fish, Doug Kuntz landed some real beauties. One of his photo in particular would soon become quite renown in the local community. A reviewer of the show entitled "Winding Up the Wind" commented about his much talked about "bass shot".

> There are two versions of Billy Havens Holding up a Striped Bass," one from 1976 and one from 1992. In the former, Mr. Havens is seen on the shore, working with other members of his crew, A bass tossed by a baymen flies through the air,and heads, arrow-like, toward the sand. The men are seen in silhouette against the sea. In the latter photo, Mr Havens, his back to the viewer, again holds a bass by the gills, but this time he is surrounded by officers from New York State Department of Environmental Conservation(DEC) The irony of the two photos hanging side-by-side is delicious."

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The protest action and the dramatization of Men's Lives galvanized the community and generating a great deal publicity for the baymen. Two local politicians participated in the protest action. A front page editorial in the local paper, came out in favor of the baymen:" Keep Haulseining Alive." For several weeks a heated debate took place in the letters to the editor section of the paper on the plight of the baymen and what it means to people in the community.

> Heads up, Bonackers and head over to Bay Street theater festival to see Men's lives. The evenings entertainment brings back memories of the people who used to, and still roam around Amagansett,Springs and the waters of East Hampton. The production was well researched and has a hometown flavor. The actors are wonderful,the scenery is stunning in its simplicity , and the topic is timely.

> The death of haul-seining is a tragedy for us all. It is especially tragic for the families who eke out a living at the back-breaking and dangerous occupation, but it is also an incalculable loss for those of us who live in this community and have for as long as we can remember seen beat-up trucks lugging dories behind them, heading for the beach...

In response to a letter which referred to the baymen as "wasteful dinosaurs", a member of the cast of Men's Lives wrote that,

> "His is the voice heard through the ages which has demolished, in the name of progress, any small independent group who stood in the way of Big business interest. It is these voices who have, little by little eroded the quality of life for us all...

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> For myself, as a Wainscott homeowner, meeting these fisherman and their families while researching this play has given me what we all seek, a sense of place, the history of this beautiful area,its roots, a way to understand the true essence of where we are and where we have been."

After witnessing the haulseining event on television and being deeply moved , a group of up-Islander high school students formed a youth group to support the plight of the baymen. At a baymen's meeting their leader told the baymen that " We are the next generation and we want you guys to be around. You guys are the last Island treasure."

Not all publicity was favorable. A few reporters made sarcastic comments about the "scene". "Wealthy vacationers and the smart set enjoyed a bit of Americana as they watched the local baymen. It was the place to be on this beautiful sunny day."

Environmentalist against all fishing and as well as sympathizers of the "sporties" claimed to be sick of the "bubbies and their local yokel snobbery."

> It's trendy to break the law in East Hampton these days particularly if you can get your picture in paper in the process."

> The baymen are wasteful dinosaurs who don't even realize they are extinct. Their way of life is archaic and out of touch with modern times and our present economy.The obstinate refusal of the bubs to enter the 20th century like the rest of us should not convince the DEC to forgo sound conservation measures in order to accommodate a few stubborn families who refuse to adapt to change.

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> Billy Joel is trying has embraced the "bubs" to convince people that he is "one of guys," a real genuine local.

> The baymen claim to be a quaint example of provincial-Americana. What about the poor striped bass? They have a heritage too.

"Upisland" baymen expressed envy and resentment over the Hamptonite "love affair" with its few select baymen. Several baymen who work the Great South Bay were quite upset that one of the celebrities cheering on the baymen's protest was wearing an upisland baymen hats and tee shirt. Several upisland baymen leaders mentioned that Billy Joel had turned down several request to do a benefit concert for all the baymen on the island, not just those on the East End."

> " He talks about his clam digging days in our waters but he doesn't care about us clammers. He's into the Bubbie scene. Let's face it, glorifying the baymen is the trendy thing to do on the East End. Baymen have become "pets" for the rich and famous.

A historian who frequents the area, described the "East Hamptonites love affair with its baymen a contemporary version of "the noble savage game. "Cast Arnold Leo, the city slicker turned baymen as Kevin Costner and substitute striped bass for buffalo, baymen for Indians, bureaucrats for soldiers, and we have a local maritime version of Dances With Wolves. This obsession with the baymen is beyond parody."

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Men's Lives: the second season. The message of Men's Lives had a political impact in the local community. As the play opened for a second season, a new chapter in living history was unfolding. The baymen reached a settlement in their seven year legal battle against General Electric over dumping PCBs in the Hudson River.[22]

I received an invitation to the opening night benefit for the second season.

> "As one of the lucky audience members who saw the powerfully moving drama Men's Lives last summer at the Bay Street theater festival, you know that you witnessed a rare event: The portrayal of the dramatic struggle of an entire community of working people to survive in the town where you yourself live and vacation. This summer Men's Lives returns and on opening night, Christy Brinkley and Peter Matthiessen are hosting a gala celebration at Bay Street to benefit the East Hampton Town Baymen's Association....
>
> The Baymen's Association needs the help of enlightened individuals such as yourself who realize with us that although life on the East End will never be as it was 25 years ago, it is possible to save significant strands of our living history-an important spiritual component of our small town.
> Tickets for the event are $100 each, and 80% of the proceeds will go to the East Hampton Baymen's Legal Defense Fund.

On opening night, the lobby was filled with photographers and people from the press. Several oil paintings and photographs depicting the 1992 civil disobedience action were hanging on the walls.[23] As Arnold worked the press and welcomed celebrities, several baymen tended bar and opened clams for the guest. An "up island" film maker was filming the event for as part of her upcoming

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documentary, "The Vanishing Baymen." Tom Knobel, a baymen running for town council was trying to stand in front of the cameras as much as possible. In between smiles and handshakes he handed me a campaign button and with his name and a picture of a baymen dory on it.

Celebrity Christy Brinkley delivered a sincere plea for baymen's rights, warning that the audience would be moved and disturbed. Peter Matthiessen, urged people for help in safeguarding this extraordinary place against the homogenization of culture, and of preserving the baymen whose spirit is the breath of this land. Don't let the legal settlement fool you- it was only a symbolic victory. There is still a long way to go."

He also mentioned that several big time film producers were interested in story of Men's Lives."Pretty soon we're going to put the baymen on the map good and proper."

The Last Baymen:Soon to be a Major Motion Picture

> With the invasion of Bonac by Hollywood,baymen have learned that doing lunch can be as dangerous as a sudden northeast blow.
>
> The East Hampton Star [24]

The" Baymen" was produced and directed by an Upislander", who started out to make a film about the baymen of Long Island baymen, but changed her mind after meeting the East Hampton Baymen. After getting a special promotional tour led by Arnold Leo in the baymen's new publicity boat(denoted by a local celebrity) she decided to go with the

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"Bubbies" and focus exclusively on the East End.

> Filming them was easy. "The baymen were very supportive. They were set up and prepared. They've had a lot of experience with film and helped to facilitate the project. They acted perfectly 'natural'on camera.

In the beginning of the project, she observed that some of the baymen were sick of being on camera. She spoke of her disappointment after being told by one of the more prominent and much filmed baymen that he was sick of posing as the last of a vanishing breed.[25]. She was very sensitive about being intrusive and felt at times that the baymen just wanted to be left alone." They are clannish and private. Many of them are resentful of all the publicity seekers- after all it hasn't helped them much." I found her statement puzzling since I had just seen the particular baymen she was speaking about on a public television documentary.

At the reception for the premier of the Baymen at Guild Hall, a local cultural center, one of the baymen who appears in film remarked that the "place was crawling with suits, upstreeters, lawyers and film people." The film producer told the audience "I made the film because I've seen things on the news, and read articles about them, and I was always interested in it, because I know its a really important part of Long Island. I knew it was a part of our heritage. "They're very private people," she said. "But I hope somehow going through all

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that intrusion will help them with their cause." In introducing the film, she said:

> "The Baymen represent what America was built on:independence, hard work, strong spirit, tradition and community. The loss of this way of life is not only about the loss of men's livelihood, its about the loss of identity, community, tradition and our own Long Island heritage."

While the documentary was well received by people in the community, on more than one occasion I heard some people complain that "the baymen nostalgic trip is getting to be too much." "It's same old story which is getting to be an old story."

> "These guys are crying over spilt milk. Why don't they go out and get real jobs. They are just feeling sorry for themselves. The saga of the baymen has become a bit sentimental and nostalgic- it is starting to bore me."

A few baymen thought that it was too negative-" It gives you the impression that we have already vanished. It's not that bad."

While the baymen are vanishing, the drama of Men's Lives keeps unfolding. In late 1993, just as the cable documentary of the baymen premiered, Bonac began to be invaded by Hollywood. Several "big time" film producers began to express a strong interest in the baymen's story thinking that it would appeal to a larger audience.

At the December Baymen's Association meeting, a film producer in charge of "Mythic Films", introduced himself to the baymen and told them about his plans to make a "blockbuster" feature film based on their plight. The film

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producer who resides in Vermont, spoke of how he became interested in making a film about the baymen after reading Men's Lives and talking to Peter Matthiessen several times. He spoke passionately about his love of the sea and how he was deeply moved and outraged after reading the book.

> "The media is a powerful weapon which could help to get you guys back to work. If we use it correctly, the politicians will be swayed and the regulations will be changed." He mentioned that the recently shown cable television documentary about the baymen was "small time."
>
> "It was a good but for the most part it was your basic nostalgic Americana piece. It was a sentimental and quaint story about lost way of life that poses no threat to anyone. That's why the cable company produced it. It wasn't controversial."

He went on to say that:

> "People need to see the real story- the tragedy and injustice being perpetrated on you guys by the privileged class. They need to be shaken up. In order to get your message out effectively you have to reach millions of people."
>
> You guys represent the tragedy of the working man. The privileged, educated, intellectual class looks down upon people who work with their hands. You guys are the real producers-like the farmers- And this country is turning it's back on you."

James tried to win the baymen over and assured them that many of them would be hired as consultants and extras in the film. He also stressed that he would rent the baymen's dory's, trucks and equipment. A baymen asked if Mythic Films would fix his truck up so it could be used in the movie. "Fix it up hell-If this film deal goes through we'll buy you another one."

After mentioning that others were interested in making

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a movie, he tried to persuade the baymen that his concern was genuine and that they would be better off with "Mythic Films"

> "A lot of the other people are outsiders who don't know much about you. I plan to get to know your stories. We're talking about people's lives and history, not just something you can sell to the highest bidder. A lot of these other people are writing stories from their own heads. They are writing their own stories- not the baymen's. I've read some of the screen plays. They don't capture the energy and spirit of the group- the zen of the whole community."

After the meeting, Danny King, the President of tbe Baymen's Association announced that they would carefully consider the different offers. "We told him that when we go down to set on bluefish and we see bass sown the beach, we're going set on the bass, bub." Arnold Leo told a reporter who attended the meeting with all these film producers running around, Baymen have suddenly discovered we're what Hollywood calls a hot property." As the offers began to pour in, the baymen became concerned with how much the story of their lives was worth and the image that would be portrayed. According to Arnold Leo"We should not only be portrayed we should be doing some of the portraying." One independent film producer and director set out to do a film about the baymen but the project evolved and changed form."I didn't have much luck with the baymen after they were promised big production money." I couldn't compete with the several offers made by would-be film producers with big

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budgets who began to descend on "Bubby Land". Instead, he has written a fictionalized screenplay called "Moon of Honor" which is an off-beat romance with "fisherman-types" as characters. "It's a simple story about an outsider, the ultimate feminist, who drops into this 'place of roots' and falls in love with a handsome baymen who loves to fish and won't give it up." "The plot, he said is "a simple story, but interesting, a combustible makeup."

In an attempt to protect their rights in regards to the story of their way of life, the baymen hired an entertainment lawyer who specializes in the art and of movie deal-making and breaking to cull through the ever-growing number of offers and proposals and toadvise them "on what rights you have or don't have when someone is doing a story on your life..and what they're worth." While baymen are always joking about the fact that with all the regulations and paper work it's getting to the point where you have to law school to become a commercial fisherman these days," some are beginning to wonder when it will end. I thought after our legal victory with G.E. we would be finished with lawyers-it seems like it's getting worse."

The growing interest in filming the baymen and the heightened concern with imagery has added a new meaning to the enclosure of the commons. In the new image economy, baymen are learning how to barvest and protect their symbolic capital. Who owns intellectual property in the

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symbolic commons? The baymen are learning a lot of new terms: public domain, exclusive rights, and another definition of net. According to Arnold Leo, " net is very important to the baymen. We've learned the importance of asking for a percentage of gross, because in a film there may not be any net."

The Irony of victory. Over the years, the seemingly endless environmental, political, and economic threats have simultaneously eroded and revitalized the baymen's culture. The ongoing struggles and conflicts with upstreeters, "sporties", and bureaucrats, served as a unifying force which helped to counteract their rugged individualism. As their image politics and legal battles started to bear fruit, the community began to unravel. The baymen seemed unprepared for success. A siege mentality, which is appropriate and perhaps necessary for uphill battles and struggles, can become a straightjacket when the fight is over.

As the community turned inward, dormant hostilities, and antagonism began to flair up among the baymen. In the scramble to make the movie about their way of life, some baymen feared that they were being left out of the picture. The image economy, much like the marine commons which could not sustain their community, rest on scare and limited resources. Just as the commons can only sustain a few "highliners" it is likely that in the movie about their

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lives not all baymen will get a chance to play the "finest kind." When the "Last Baymen" finally hits the screen, the imaginary community will be divided between actors and spectators." There are a lot of sharks swimming in the waters around Bonac these days" remarked a baymen. "this movie about our so called close knit community is starting to rip us apart."A "friend of the baymen" who became very involved in the politics surrounding the making of the film remarked in a letter to the East Hampton Star:

> Over the years, one of the many things that I've grown to respect and admire about the baymen is their commitment to stick together. They live and work together as a community, just a they have for over 300 years. Suddenly their is someone in their midst who is trying to divide them.... Why? Ego...greed..corruption..all working plots for the much-covered film script about the baymen."

Conclusion

While heritage is an allusive term, however it is defined the phrase under threat has to be included in the definition. Every imagined authenticity pressuposes and is produced by a present circumstance of felt inauthenticity. As MacCannell has suggested:

> "For, moderns, reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere:in other historical periods and other cultures,in purer simpler life styles. In other words, the concerns of moderns for "naturalness,"their nostalgia and search for authenticity are not merley casual and somewhat decadent, though harmless, attachements to the souvenirs of destroyed cultures and dead epochs. They are also components of the conquering spirit of modernity-the grounds of its unifying consciousness."

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In a similar vein, Baudrillard (1983:12) has remarked,"When the real is no longer what it used to be, nostalgia assumes its full meaning. There is a proliferation of myths of origins and signs of reality; of second hand truth, objectivity and authenticity."Photographs actively promote nostalgia as Sontag has suggested, then the baymen are fast becoming living history. While the baymen are vanishing, images and representations of their way of life are proliferating. In the Don DeLillo's novel White Noise, Jack and Murray pay a visit to "the most photographed barn in the world." They pass five signs advertising it before the site, and when they arrive they find forty cars and a tour bus in the parking lot and a crowd of people taking pictures. Murray delivers a commentary:"No one sees the barn," he says:

> Once you've seen the signs about the barn, it becomes impossible to see the barn..we're not here to capture an image, we're here to maintain one. Every photography reinforces the aura..We've agreed to part of a collective perception. This literally colors our vision. A religious experience in a way. like all tourism ..they are taking pictures of taking pictures...What was the barn like before it was photographed?. What did it look like, how was it different from other barns, how was it similar to other barns? We can't answer these questions because we've read the signs, seen the people snapping the pictures. We can't get outside the aura. We're part of the aura. We're here, we're now.

Has the plight of the baymen gotten out of hand? Does it make sense to transform a couple of dozen people into a multimedia spectacle? Despite the seemingly endless

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explosion of images and the thousands of pages of legal briefs, the saga of the baymen is still going strong. In a letter to the East Hampton Star, a baymen ask:

> "Why have so many books and films been produced focusing on these men and their families? To some viewers I guess it's fascination, to others the haul-seiners are a rigid bunch that belong in a museum... The baymen transcend time and history, and are a path weaved into tradition and beyond. They are as much a part of the East End as the existence of Long Island itself....What they are is an underlying link to the past, breathing people hanging on by their fingertips."
> If this motion picture takes off, the townspeople should rally behind the baymen and take some of the weight off their back. This may be your one and only chance to support an event in tradition's purest form and larger than life.[26]

Perhaps as an editorial claims," East Hampton out parodied parody this year." By a rough count there were 110 benefits here this summer, more than ever before, Many of them were for causes, politicians, or cultural groups connected to the South Fork by the thinnest of ties,or connected only in a philosophical sense..." Is that a contradiction in terms or an apt description of the postmodern structure of feeling. Postmodernism spells the end of irony(Jameson) It is post ironic "All the worlds a heritage stage and we are all players."

An upstreeter who remarked that "The baymen represent a living connection with the past"

> In an effort to recapture what used to be, the Rockefellers have had Williamsburg reconstructed. One can go to Sturbridge in Massachusetts, or, I guess, to dozens of similar places across the land where performers are paid to wear old-fashioned

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> clothes, engage in defunct occupations, and speak in the manner off former times so that customers get an idea of what it was like then.
>
> These ventures are commercial successful, because as a society we are aching to form a connection with our country's past, even though our forbearers may have arrived on these shores recently...
>
> It is not difficult to imagine that in years to come, when it is too late, our beach will host romantic "reenactment of haulseining. The wonderful old way of doing things that has sadly fallen victim to progress. I can see scantily clad Bonacker Beauties waving to the Fearless Fisherman as they plow bravely through the surf in their specially designed jet launches, Next performance at 3 o'clock

In the ongoing debate between the Bubs and slickers, cosmopolitanism is regarded as the inauthentic other to all that is "local" "lived" hence "real". In the words of folklorist and friend of the baymen James Ellman, an outsider who has become a local, "city folk come out here and spend time in nature to recharge their moral battery's and heal their harried souls."[27]

A self proclaimed enemy of the baymen and their "local yokel snobbery" made similar remarks."

> Celebrities from Manhattan glamorize and identify with the "Bubbies" because they are parasites who live and work in the artificial unreal world of images and hype. To them, baymen are real people engaged in real down to earth work. In any other place -these guys would be treated as ordinary working trash. Pretty soon they are going to put the baymen in lucite and hang them up on main street."
>
> According to Joe Pentauro, his play Men's Lives addresses ".. what men have to to do to be what they are."

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> "As such it relates to the plight of blue-collar workers and the victims of urban gentrification....When men of craft and artistry are mistreated and wiped out or laid off in record numbers by the capitalist monster leaving workers and their skills in the dust of profit over everything, the artist must make a statement about how important it is to preserve a style of life, so that we don't lose everything to those computers."

One writer lives in both New York City and East Hampton has remarked that he appreciates the fact that,

> The baymen rely entirely on the work of their own hands....they seem to exemplify the ancestral independence that fat cats preach but seldom practice...The baymen's problems epitomize an irreversible misery of American life-the destruction of real trades which have clear and practical relations with history, environment and social need, and their replacement by a service economy, which caters only to fantasy and leisure. It is the business of resorts to deny reality,..Bad luck for the baymen to live within three hours drive of Manhattan.(Hughes)

Bad luck if they want to be anachronistic fisherman in a service economy devoted to leisure ,good news if they want to use their fishing skills to provide a service by becoming "living history" heritage performers. Baymen have become active participates in the heritage/image economy. As heritage performers they have had to meet the needs of an audience seeking "naturalness". They have to become an rhetorical image of a tradition rooted in nature. The irony is that in presenting an image of themselves as people who are outside of the image economy, they have had to use the strategies and tools of the image economy. They have to use technological and instrumental means to nurture their traditionalism and appearance of "naturalness".

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In the modern image economy, folk culture, the symbolic production of a relatively powerless group has become a consumer artifact. The consumers of folk culture do not live it, yet in consuming it they create a role for the " folk" in their society.(Batteau 1990:82-83) In East Hampton, the rhetoric of community, tradition and heritage has become a strong feature of local discourse, as it has become a less certain and viable social entity." We seek country charm while the country is charmless. Although its impact may be somewhat dissipated, the past continues to supply a tool for understanding ourselves and our traditions." Pure traditions are a fictions. According to Clifford,(1990:12) claims to purity are always subverted by the need to stage authenticity. All traditions are constantly invented and reinvented according to contemporary circumstances. Tradition and heritage has become a cultural tool that Bonackers and Slickers both use to express their sense of what social life should be, what it can be, and possibly what it was once upon a time. Both insiders and outsiders participate in the process of mutually imagining community. Beneath the antagonism, both share a common narrative of decline. In taking sides in the battle to preserve a vanishing tradition, both help to sustain the myth that there is a tradition left to be fought over. Both perpetuate the "cloud of community." As Bauman (1992:138) has pointed out:

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"Tonnies style communities fall apart the moment they know of themselves as communities. They vanish once we say how nice it is to be in a community. From that moment on, community is not a secure settlement; it is all work and uphill struggle, a constantly receding horizon of the never ending road; anything but natural and cozy. We console ourselves and summon our wilting determination by invoking the magic formula of tradition-trying hard to forget that tradition lives only by being recapitulated ,by being constructed as heritage, that it appears, if at all at the end, never of the beginning of agreement."

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NOTES

1.Accepting that baymen and the country/natural ideal exist primarily as a constructed representation and not an ascertained reality does not deplete the rural subject. Its subject may be defined as the set of processes through which agents construct a vision of the rural suited to their circumstances, defined themselves in relation to prevailing social cleavages, thereby find identity and through identity, make common cause." (Mormont 1990 :41)

2.According to a editorial in a East End publication, "The pine barrens and their precious aquifer are a very real place and vital to our region's eco-system. They also symbolize the great divide that separates visionless, run rampant development reflected in the sociological nightmare called Long Island's West End, from the place the Nature Conservancy rightly describes as one of the last great places in the Western Hemisphere-Long Island's East End. "

3. Regional identity is perceived as an aesthetic quality primarily by visitors to places that have it."Aesthetic values have little to do with the creation of vernacular landscapes." Yet they have much to do with gentrification of the countryside and the construction of a "country look" by outsiders. A vernacular sense of place is in large part a social constructed domain spurred on by nostalgic yearning and a desire to construct a particular image of place.

4. A poem by John Hall Wheelock of New York and East Hampton ,titled "Bonac," appeared in the Fall 1952 issue of the quarterly Georgia Review. It is very beautiful ,if a bit ""elegiac as the author says, in view of the rapid changes here.

5.Their are many theories on the particular speech pattern of the fisherfolk. Matthiessen has remarked that, it is more pronounced among the men because they are isolated at sea and have less contact with modern life on land. It is possbile that in their interaction with people in search of quaint speech, baymen have quantified and embellished their speech patterns.

6. Many locals were upset by the publication of a local history book written by an "outsider" who had some rather unflattering things to say about East Hampton's obsession with its past and the way many of the town's residents glorified the Bonackers. One local reviewer remarked that the book has a great deal of "unsupported theorizing" .Although the author claims only to present a "personal

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reading "of how people saw the past, this rather patronizing outsider with neither ties to,nor affection or responsibility for the locale, unwittingly presents yet another symptom of the crisis of preserving our past."
"My impossible dream(?) when slamming this book shut was that the Lost Tribe of Acabonac," bows and arrows at the ready, would invite the author to their next meeting as guest listener."7/13/9

7.The influence of scientific culture in fishery affairs had not purged folk views and myths of nature from policy discourse. Scientist are similar to lay people in that they are also guided by predominant cultural images, metaphors, and folk ideas in constructing research and in maintaining the boundaries of science. According to Pialisson and Durenberger (1990:138) "Biological modes are not simply descriptions of nature, they are cultural artifacts ,too." Policy makers sometimes forget that scientific models emanate from a particular professional milieu-a fisheries management subculture having its own theoretical ethos,initiation rites,linguistic usages, styles of communicating and strategies for enhancing their professional interest.

8. At many of the Baymen association meetings a great deal of time and energy was devoted to reviewing articles and media accounts about their situation. They were constantly concerned with how their articles and letters were positioned in the local press and constantly debated whether or not they should use their money for public relations purposes.
The increased concern with imagery, performance and public relations is a double edged sword. For baymen and fisherman, bad press can be devastating. " How will we appear? Will we look like pro environmentalist or will we come across as reactionary redneck rapers of the sea?

9.A small group of social scientist who summer in the region have befriended the baymen. In a recent book review of Robert Merton,a psychologist writes nostalgically about the days when East Hampton was a very different place and "Fame hadn't quite been invented and wasn't yet measurable by the number of lines accumulated in the local paper and the New York Times. However those of us who frequented the Amagansett Atlantic Avenue beach did have our heroes. We (the beach crowd) were a group of academics, mostly social scientist, psychiatrist, writers, and artist who hadn't hit the big time,and theater and television people...Our heroes included the seine fisherman, the late Jeannette Rattray, who kept us informed of the doings of the Ladies Village improvement society, a variety of leftist politicians and intellectuals, and in the mid and late 60's Robert. K.

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Merton. (The East Hampton Star July 1 1993)

10.At the end of the talk, a summer resident and magazine editor, who was moved by Arnold's plea, offered to help in the baymen's struggle."I have a great deal of experience with public relations. I'd like to help if I can. Here's my card."

11. Arnold is a cultural intermediary who went native.According to Whisant,(1990:82-83)"Without educated interpreters folk culture would not exist per se...Folk culture is the symbolic production of a relatively powerless group, selected for its distinctiveness and specificity and presented to the audience through the intermediation of a properly credentialed authority so that the audience will know it is "authentic." The consumers of folk culture do not live it, yet in consuming it they create a role for the folk in their society."

12.Raymond William's has remarked,As the exploitation of nature continued, on a vast scale..the people who drew most profit from it went back, where they could find it(an they were very
ingenious) to an unspoilt nature, to the purchased estates and the country retreats. And since that time there has always been this ambiguity in the defence of what is called nature...
Some of these people are those tho understand nature best, and who insist on making very connections and relationships.

But a significant number of others are in the plainest sense hypocrites. Established at powerful points in the very process which is creating the disorder,they change their clothes at week-ends, or when they can get down to the country; join appeals and campaigns to keep one last bit of England green and unspoilt ; and they go back ,spiritually refreshed, to invest in the smoke and spoil."In an article entitled "celebrity thugs toss local fisherman off public beach" In that act, all of our rights were violated.
The secret wedding was, of course an elaborately planned media feast in which the local fisherman became an unwitting pawn....How shallow. How sad. Now well paid gestapo-like thugs are being hired to toss local fisherman off the public beach. Talk about liberal hypocrisy. You can attend the performance of the play "Men's Lives," having wedding contributions sent to aid Midwest Flood victims, then hire thugs that toss a local fisherman off the public beach when they think he is getting too near your celebrated person.
Jim Devine 8/30/93

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13.A front page editorial celebrated the baymen's victory,"In art the story is moving, but romanticized. In the courts, the story was realistic, and financial."8/19/93 "

14. The paintings of baymen on display consisted of the following:
1) Bub ((8" 12") $450
2) Stripers $750
3) Haul Seiners Ford Truck
4) Beaching the Dory
5) On the Beach
6) Calvin's crew
7) Bonac Forever
8) Flag Dory at Two Mile Hollow

15. After this quote appeared in the local paper, the baymen voted to ban the reporter who wrote it from their association meetings. Some of the baymen complained that the press was biased. The President complained that paper did a "sensational front-page story out of our sensitive ongoing negotiations."

I was surprised because the paper had always portrayed the baymen's message in a favorable way. When I first began attending the monthly baymen meetings I was very impressed with the fact the a reporter always came to the meetings and said pretty much what the baymen wanted him to say.

16. I said that he play such a big role in Men's Lives and that I was surprised he was sick of publicity-It seems he actively participates in being portrayed

17.East Hampton Sta. Letters to the Editor 12/23/93

18. Best remarks about Appalachian folklorist and do-gooders has relevance for out story "They come here more to be healed then to help-to partake of the psychic nurture that"...Appalachian soul can help heal the split of the psyche caused by over indulgence in things material,quantitative,and conceptually abstract,and the concurrent denial or suppression of feelings,spiritually, and the arts."18 In turning negative stereotypes, rural idiosyncracies which were once stigmatized into virtues. He still relies on a particular narrative structure.

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CHAPTER TEN

BAYMEN AND GENDER

"The sea is easily loved and a very demanding mistress"

Long Island baymen

For the sailor, the sea is a woman, dangerous, treacherous, hard to conquer, but cherished the more for his effort to subdue her. The proud mountain, rebellious, virginal, and wicked is a woman for the alpinist who wills, at the peril of his life, to violate her....Man expects something other than the assuagement of instinctive cravings from the possession of a woman: she is the privileged object through which he subdues Nature. ...The Other can be incarnated in the sea, the mountain, as perfectly as in woman; they oppose to man the same passive and unforseen resistance that enables him to fulfill himself; they are an unwillingness to overcome, a prey to take possession of. If sea and mountain are women, then woman is also sea and mountain for her lover.

Simone de Beauvoir

He even pined for home and Mother, the two things that he had run away from as far as ships would carry him. Home and Mother. The two things that were his damnation.

D. H. Lawrence

"It's not fish ye're buyin, its men's lives"

Sir Walter Scott

Men's Lives

In the early fall of 1992, after a summer of intensive political work on the part of the baymen, the East End fishing community suffered a major loss when Tom Lester, a life long baymen, town trustee and one of the key members of the baymen's association died suddenly of a heart attack at

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the age of 52. His death sent shock waves through the East End fishing community. On the day that he died, the town Supervisor Tony Bullock ordered the town Hall flag lowered to half-staff. The obituary for this quintessential Bonacker and baymen appeared on the front page of the local paper.

Tom, along with his wife Kathy-a town Councilwoman, was very active in local politics and played a major role in helping to preserve the environmental quality, sense of place, and local heritage of East Hampton. He was involved with making sure that fisherman had access rights to the water and was deeply concerned about the loss of wetlands caused by docks and others structures."Tom had a great love for history, especially of Native Americans and archeology," said his wife. "He read books on prehistoric cultures. He thought Indians had the right religion--the earth, moon and stars. He believed in the water. He was close to life. "She said that his last day was a good one"he went fishing."

At Tom's funeral, family and friends sang hymns of eternal peaceful waters. Despite the mournful and somber mood, the eulogy became an occasion to celebrate the baymen's fierce determination to preserve their way of life from the encroachment of "outsiders". The town Supervisor spoke of how honored he felt when he got arrested along side Tom in the recent baymen's civil disobedience action on the beach. "His fighting spirit will not die with him- we won't disappoint Tom." Fellow baymen also spoke about Tom's love

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of nature and his devotion to preserving Bonacker heritage. "With his straightforward Bonac delivery Tom delighted in making local history and nature come alive." "Tom had Ph.D in basics which shook the confidence of more than one upisland Lawyer."

The minister who was the last to speak, made biblical references to fishing and spoke of Tom's return to the sea- the mother of eternal life. In discussing the great loss to the family and community, he turned to subject of "Men's Lives."

> "There is a lot of talk of Men's Lives these days. While the book and the play helped to bring the bayman's plight to the public attention, I dislike the phrase Men's Lives and feel that it does the fishing community a major disservice. The emphasis on Men's Lives downplays the important role that women play in the fishing community. Fishing isn't just about Men's Live-it's about women's lives too. Tom didn't stand alone. Kathy was his mate, friend and partner."

The phrase Men's Lives comes from Sir Walter Scott's novel The Antiquary. Specifically it refers to a passage involving a spirited argument between Monkbarns and Maggie Mucklebackit, a fisherman's wife over the price of fish.

> How much for the Bannock-fluke and cock-padle?' demanded the Antiquary.
> Four white shillings and sapence' answered the Naiad.
> 'Four devils and six of their imps, retorted the Antiquary,'do ye think I'm am mad Maggie?'
> And div ye think' rejoined the virago, setting her arms akimbo, 'that my man and my sons are to gae to the sea in weather like yestreen and the day,-sic a swas as it's yet outby, and get naething for it. Its no fish ye're buying its men's lives.

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In the novel, Scott is careful to point out the dependence of fisherman on their wives. He shows how the women's responsibility for both preparation for the fishery and sale of the catch gave them a clear practical basis for power. While the men do the actual fishing work, it is their wives who exert power and authority in what are essentially matriarchal communities. In another scene in the novel, Jenny Rimtherout, maid to Monbarns remarks she doesn't want to marry a fisherman because:

> "I maun a man that can maintain his wife."

Lady Mauklebackit retorts:

> "My certie! fisher-wives ken better-they keep the man, and keep the house, and keep the siller too, lass...Ca the head o' house slaves? Little ye ken about it, lass...Na,na, lass- them that sell the goods guide the purse-them that guide the purse rule the house.

Shortly after the above lines appear, Scott provides a documentary footnote of some length to establish that "in the fishing villages in the Friths of Forth and Tray, as well as elsewhere in Scotland, the government is gyneocracy, as described in the text."

Scott's prescient observations concerning the sexual division of labor within fishing still rings true in many coastal communities. Several studies of contemporary fishing communities throughout the world show that the division of labor between the sexes is quite sharp with work at sea being done by males and work ashore in the hands of women. When, women do become involved in actual fish harvesting it

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is usually as shellfishers or collectors of other marine fauna close to shore. When women do work aboard fishing vessels, it is usually as "day trippers" in inshore boats which work for comparatively short periods of time.

Nevertheless, the conventual view of fishing as a male occupation obscures the large contribution which women play. While men do the actual fishing, women play a exceptionally large role in what is usually considered to be a male-dominated occupation. In many fishing communities, women play a very active role in organizing and participating in political interest groups which voice the concerns of fisherman in local legislatures, and in lobbying for legislative action. This is clearly the case on Long Island, where many of the politically savvy people involved in the politics of fishing are women. The Concerned Wives of Shinnocock fisherman is a case in point. At the time of this writing, a woman is the president of the Brookhaven's baymen's association. In terms of fishery and environmental politics, East Hampton councilwoman and ex-baymen Kathy Lester's involvement and achievements can not be over emphasized.

According to Gilmore in many places, fisherman's wives exert a great deal of authority in the family. They often exert strong control over the distribution of the fisherman's income; they frequently handle the fishing business's bookkeeping and in addition hold full-time jobs

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of their own, raise the children and maintain family and community ties. Although fishermen exert a great deal of control "on the water" away from the domestic sphere of the home, "It is the fisherman's wives who wear the pants in the family." (Gilmore 1992:36)[1] A study of Takshima, a Japanese fishing community, noted how the need for fishermen's wives, to take economic decisions while their men were at sea gave them more freedom of speech and action than wives in farminng communities. Raymond Firth found one of the notable features in a Malay fishing community was the freedom of the women, especially in economic matters. In addition to fish-selling, they launched other independent trading and craft-enterprises of their own.

Such patterns aren't peculiar to maritime communities. Whenever men work away from home the power of women is likely to be emphasized. According too Kathy Lester the wife of baymen isn't much different from the wife of any self-employed man who runs his own business. A study of the Real World of the Small Business Owner, emphasizes how frequently women are the real financial decision-makers in such firms, acting as secretary and accountant as well as undertaking most domestic responsibilities singlehandedly. But for their pains women will get little personal recognition or reward. Real money will rarely be paid to them" As we shall see, this pattern is clearly the case in the play "Men's Lives" where the lead character, a woman is

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clearly in charge of the household economy and "wears the pants in the fishing family."

Women in short, have almost everywhere made a central contribution to the fishing enterprise through their roles in processing and distribution, and in preparing for the fishery: and in some few districts they have actively participated in the fishing itself. While the fisherman's dependence on women is a characteristic feature of fishing families everywhere, the social position of women varies from place to place.

The commercial fishing industry of Long Island is quite typical in that its division of labor is structured along gender lines much as it is throughout the world. Nevertheless, while men do the actual fishing, it their wives who earn the income. In many fishing families, women's work is much more than an adjunct to their husband's fishing work-it actually subsidizes it. Many people, from within and outside the fishing community acknowledge that the while the baymen's "independent" lifestyle is praiseworthy and honorable, it wouldn't pay the household bills if their wives didn't work. In most cases the men are able to follow the water because their women folk support the household.[2] According to Brookhaven town shellfish biologist and environmental manager:

> "Women sort of tolerate their men playing around on the water. They humor their husbands about their so-called rugged individualism and independent life-style knowing that in reality

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> clam digging no longer pays the bills. If it wasn't for their wives paying the bills, most of the men could not work on the water. In short, baymen are able to follow the water because their wives are the bread winners."

According to a East End artist who fished with the baymen in the 1960's:

> The guys for the most part didn't like the women becoming involved in the actual fishing work. There are a few women who fish, but they are mavericks. For the most part the fisherman's wife is an appendage to the man's career. The women pretty much subsidize the fishing industry."

One ex-baymen and fisherman who became an owner of a commercial fishing dock and wholesale operation remarked that:

> "Most of the baymen who work on the water don't make a decent living-their wives do it for them."

Richie, a second generation baymen from Islip, spoke of how times have changed so that it has become impossible for a baymen to support a family.

> When I was single I made enough money to get by. Times have changed. My father was able to earn a good living on the bay and support the family but I can't do it. If a baymen gets married, then his wife has to work at a job that has benefits.

Another Islip baymen pointed out that "being a fisherman doesn't help my family life any." He spoke of the constant pressure his wife- an account who commutes to New York City, was giving him to get a "real job" .

Comments such as the following are quite common;

"He doesn't have to worry, his wife is a teacher."

On one particular occasion, I heard a baymen make the following remark about a friend of his who had a good week

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fishing.

> "He had a good run this week but last week was a broker. It doesn't really matter, it's all gravy- his wife is a nurse who brings in the big bucks."

One ex-bayman pointed out that "you can't afford to be a baymen anymore-its a luxury."

Similar notions can be found in Baykeeper, a novel about an declining fishing community. In one scene, a local woman tells a man who is visiting the community:

> "You could get yourself a mess of attention here big boy."
>
> "Why do you say that?"
>
> All the guys in town want to be waterman. Rugged and independent, work on their boats with the wind in their faces and all that. Long as they're still living with mom and dad they can do it, but there's no future in it. The girls are looking for someone they won't have to support the rest of their lives. You'd be a prize even if you were short and squabby with a big wart on your nose." (86)

According to Kathy Lester:

> A fisherman couldn't make it alone. fishing is a family affair. While there is a division of labor and most husbands do the actually fishing work, their wives are partners. A man couldn't do it alone in this business.
>
> Woman have to make the sacrifices in order to make ends meet. She has to nurture the family and manage the finances in order to keep food on the table. In many cases that entails holding down a job as well as raising the family so the men can work on the water.
>
> In the old days there was more of a sense of community. Everyone participated in fishing. That way of life is disappearing. With more population and development there is less land to be passed on from father to son.
>
> Today it would be difficult for a fisherman to make a living solely from the water. In many

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> cases, women have to become the bread winners and carry the economic weight so their husbands can continue to work on the water Sometimes the baymen have to leave the water and take up landscaping or some other shore work.[3]

When I asked the secretary of the East Hampton baymen's association if women are involved in the fishery, he gave me a copy of the now defunct Baymen's Newsletter special issue devoted to women in fishing. In one article Ann Haven's remarked,

> I think it's up to a woman to make her place important. Because this is her husband's livelihood. If we don't step behind him, who's going to step behind your husband and give him a hand."

> Another wife of a baymen made similar remarks: I think it takes the fisherman and his wife to work together to make anything out of fishing. Its true with any type of business, but more so with fishing. If they work together it makes for a better life as well as a little more income and a little easier going for the fisherman... When the woman's movement started they kept saying, what do you think of Woman's lib?' and I said,'Well, I'd like to be unliberated for awhile because I'd like to have somebody' pamper me and treat me like some of these women get treated."

In the 1993 documentary film "The Baymen", a local school teacher speaks of how the decline of fishing effects the whole family. " We're not just talking about Men's lives - we're talking about children's lives too." She gathered eight children from traditional fishing families to discuss their feelings about not being able to follow in their father's footsteps. Kristy Eames, remarked that:

> I always dreamed that I was going to have a commercial fishing husband and do the same thing that my family did but now everything has changed.

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> It's not going to be that way... My job wasn't taken away- but my heritage was."

Women's immense involvement and contribution household economy doesn't necessarily result in recognition or enhanced status. As Thompson (1985:) has pointed out,"Neither the mere absence of men, nor a vital economic role, on the other hand, necessarily bring women increased independence or standing." Despite the powerful economic role of women in the fishing economy, the stereotypical imagery of fishing as a masculine endeavor undertaken by rugged individualist and independent men is quite strong.[4] Erikson's remarks regarding Appalachian masculine stereotypes could very easily be applied to the Long Island coastal zone.

> "The women of Appalachia had a remarkably difficult life, not only because they were expected to do a disproportionate share of the work, but because they were also expected to free the men to exhibit the character traits on which their reputation rested...The women may have been self-sufficient in the sense that they could cope with virtually anything, but the brawling independence and bravado that are supposed to have characterized mountain life were hardly their lot...(Erikson :76)[5]

The aura of individualism and independence which surrounds the baymen obscures the reality of dependence in their life. In short, despite the fact that in many cases it is women who enable baymen to enact, display and embellish their much cherished but illusory aura of independence and rugged individualism, fishing is still regarded as a masculine pursuit about" Men's Lives."As Kathy Lester

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remarked in our discussion about the role of women in fishing, "When it comes to understanding the baymen's world, there is a lot more going on then meets the eye."

Men's Lives, Mother Nature and Modernization

Just as traditional capture fishing is marked by the conspicuous absence of women, mariculture is marked by a strong female presence. On Long Island as in other areas, mariculture has generated work opportunities for women in fishing. [6]

Modern mariculture doesn't lend itself to romanticization in the same way that a lone baymen in a small dory crashing against the surf does. When I asked baymen and others along the waterfront, why you don't see many woman fishing, many thought my question quite absurd. "It's obvious, it's the nature of the business." It's all physical work, pulling in nets and lifting. It's men's work." Mariculture's reliance on scientific and technical knowledge as opposed to physical endurance dramatically changes the masculine imagery of fishing. Mariculture's emphasis on brains over brawn, disrupts the taken for granted appeals to nature and natural differences between the sexes reflected in such comments. There is nothing natural or "manly" about science workers engaged in marine biological field work and survey research.[7]

As we have seen, much of the baymen's pastoral appeal is their luddite-like refusal to become involved with

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mariculture. The rhetoric surrounding maricultural improvement, both pro and con, like so many debates arguing for or against the natural order of things, is gendered. Advocates claim that science and technology frees us from depending on mother nature and her erratic whims. Opponents argue that the introduction of hybrids, aliens species disrupts the natural balance and reproductive cycles of mother nature. Hybrid fish and shellfish are alien off-spring, freaks of nature. Science has mixed, blurred and confounded the "natural order of things." As Jane Flax has pointed, out the more humankind disenchants and utterly transforms nature so that it becomes a social and cultural product, the more people seem to need,

> "..something that remains outside their powers of transformation. Until recent developments in medicine like sex-change operations, one such area seem to be the anatomical differences between men and women... Thus in order to save nature from ourselves we equate sex, biology, nature, and gender and oppose them to the cultural, social,and human. Concepts of gender become a complex metaphor for ambivalence about human action in, on, and as part of the natural world."

According to Kathy Lester mariculture replaces natural lore and local knowledge with scientific knowledge and technology.

> Mariculture is a hybrid of fishing. Mariculture removes the challenge associated with fishing. It is no longer a one on one relationship with nature. It relies on book knowledge instead of local lore which is passed down from one father to son form one generation to the next.[8]

As we have seen, it is the baymen's local lore and "natural

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knowledge" that is romanticized by many people in the heritage industry. Folklorist, and local color writers such as Peter Matthiessen are enthralled by the baymen's "salty argot". For the most part it is men, not women who speak in a traditional manner. According to Matthiessen the men have retained their traditional way of speaking because they spend more time at sea away and have less contact with people. "No doubt because of exposure to outsiders, most young Bonackers of the present generation are losing the strong Bonac accent; this is most noticeable in girls. What remains of the Bonac accent is perpetuated by the young men who give up school at an early age and work with older baymen on the water."(ML139) While folklorist regard the baymen's lack of education as a quaint reminder of vanishing age, such qualities are not particularly conducive for mariculture work. When it comes to improving nature through technology, gender displays of masculine strength are irrelevant if not detrimental.

Men's Wives: Women the Worrier

The sea, as Whitman has written in Fish Shaped Paumanok is both the brine of life as well as a place of "..unshovelled yet always ready graves." In the early March of 1992, the maiden voyage of the Anne Louise, a small commercial fishing boat ended in disaster off the shores of Montauk. Just a few hours before dawn, with perfect weather and a calm sea, the vessel began to take on water. An

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emergency call went out to no avail. When help arrived fifteen minutes later, the boat and its two-man crew had vanished.

Although baymen had pushed for a fisherman's monument for several years, the March drownings galvanized their efforts to build a fisherman's memorial. During a ceremony near the Montauk Lighthouse, in which baymen, their families and others gathered to celebrate the plans to construct a fisherman's memorial, a mother whose son was lost at sea spoke:

> "Living near the sea, you come to respect the awesome power of wind and waves, You know that gentle splashing surf can quickly turn into thundering towers of water when Mother Nature bares her teeth. Most of us appreciate this exquisite drama from a distance, but for the commercial fisherman, confronting the two faces of the sea is an everyday battle and sometimes the sea wins. "

A committee was formed to choose a design for the monument. Twelve artist submitted 22 designs, several of which were women and children frozen in an eternal pose of watching and anxiously waiting for their men to return. In the end, the committee chose a bronze statue of a lone man, standing at the prow of his small dory which has been ripped in half, his muscled arms pulling in the sea's treasure as he is going down. The 15-to 18 foot statue will be mounted on a granite block, which will list the names of those who have died at sea. From the sea, people will be able to view the fisherman towering above, eternally pulling his line from

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the sea. Alice Connick a committee member who lost a son at sea said the statue will be a beacon that would stand there and represent fisherman, storms and danger."

In speaking of her son who was lost at sea, a mother remarked "He wanted to be a man of the sea, he wanted to work with his hands. He was caught, he never had a chance to grow out of it." Ann Havens many similar remarks about the ocean's hold on her son's.

> "This is something our son's grew up in and I don't think you could ever change them. This is something they want to be. As they grew up we kept saying they had to go to school, but still in all you can't stop them when they once get out of high school and say, I'm going fishing.'Then when they once go fishing you've got to stay behind them all the time and say, Good,! Even in hard times. That's the way I believe in-if you give them faith and tell them, Tomorrow will be better then what today is."

While husbands are away at sea, their wives are equally plagued with worry, and uncertainty. Fisherman risk their lives daily in the drama of the fishery, but it is woman who bear the emotional brunt of this danger. According to Davis(1985:133) "The image of women the worrier" is clearly articulated in both male and female spheres of the fishing community. This quasi-spiritual support dimension is an important part of the social structure of many fishing communities.

> Women play an important role in the symbolic life of the community. Their major duty as fisherman's wives is to worry about their husbands at sea. The burden of worry is left to the wife. In a way it is the women's worry that symbolically keeps his boat afloat. By leaving the worrying to his wife,

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> the fisherman is freed to get on with the mechanical aspects of fishing. Men deny the danger of their job. Women almost seem to revel in it."

The Lure of the Sea: Seduction, Fever and Danger

The danger and unpredictability of sea isn't so much denied as much as it is symbolically embellished. While fishing is indeed dangerous and risky, in the mythical imagination, such risk taken on a great deal of symbolic meaning. There is a great deal of ambivalence underlying the "independent" baymen's precarious reliance on "mother nature." The celebrated " rugged individualism" and fierce independence of the baymen suggest anomalous feelings and behavior- strong elements of dependence. As Lakoff points out that our very language defines something as anomalous.[9] Such dependence is a source of anxiety and ambivalence which finds symbolic expression in metaphors of sex and gender. Metaphors of sex and gender have a curious way of slipping into seemingly genderless situations. As Goffman has pointed out "Every physical surround, every room, every box for social gathering necessarily provides materials that can be used in the display of gender and the affirmation of gender identities"(1977) While the baymen's passion to follow the water and work close to nature might take him away from the domestic sphere of women, it doesn't take him away from feminine symbolism. In the world of fishing, masculine pronouns and symbolism are used to describe the people and the work, while feminine ones are used to describe the

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natural environment which the baymen depend on, cherish and fear. Women may subsidize men's lives economically, but it is the watery world of feminine symbolism that nourishes their souls. While women are physically absent on the water, symbols of feminine "otherness" have an enormous presence.[10] As we shall see, the feminized sea of symbols which surrounds the baymen is a realm of ambivalence and ambiguity.

Baymen and their interpreters often refer to themselves as a separate breed who can't give up fishing because it's "in their blood." The phrase "in your blood" obscures the important distinction between those baymen who were pushed onto the water and those who chose the sea as a way of life. In the play Men's Lives, Alice, the powerful matriarch of a local fishing family speaks of the difference between choosing the seafaring life and having it forced upon you at a young age. In a conversation with Peter, an educated "upstreeter" who speaks fondly of his days working on the sea, she says,

> "I'm glad.. that you're free and able to choose your work. My boys, they love the water just like you, thank God, because they are not free to choose. There's nothing in my boy's future but for that ocean out there. 34

When baymen nostalgically reminisce about the past, they often down play the lack of mobility and occupational choice in their lives. As John, an "oldtimer" who does volunteer work at the local marine museum remarked,"Young

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men didn't think about following the water-it was a given. People didn't reflect on how beautiful and free their lifestyle was. Fishing wasn't a form of therapy or self-expression-it was your station in life."

At times, baymen describe their intense feelings and deep love for the sea as a form of fever, a emotional state which they have little or no control over. Fishing fever can cripple a man by making him unfit to work on the shore away from the sea. Their love for the sea is like a physical addiction. "Once you get a taste of the freedom of the sea it's hard to give it up." "Once fishing gets in your blood there is no going back." Some spoke about withdrawal pangs and the need to stay away from the water "Once you get a taste of her, your trapped." Baymen also speak of the seductive and curse-like power of the sea which has ruined them and made them unfit for "real jobs" on land. [11]

The emphasis on being pushed and pulled toward the sea suggest that much of the baymen's talk of independence is an attempt to defend or ward off ambivalence and anxiety associated with feelings of dependence - of being trapped and held captive by mother nature's powerful grip.

• The dramatic version of Men's Lives, which we have discussed in chapter 9, addresses the dark side of pastoral longing for a simple life close to nature- i.e, how being rooted in mother nature is simultaneously a source of joy as well as a source of destruction.

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While women are mentioned sparingly in the book, in the play a woman plays a powerful role as Alice the one true fighter in the endangered fishing family. Alice is a driving force who tries to protect her husband and sons from being devastated by the forces of "progress." According to the playwright," I actually created a woman who plays a very powerful force. She is a frightened and infuriated woman who is fighting like a tiger to give her kids the only thing she can give them, and that's this life, because if they don't have this, they really have nothing."

Early in the play, Walt, the soft spoken father of the family talks about the important role of women in fishing."Fishin's got to be in your blood even if it's just bein' a fisherman's wife. It takes both men and women in a fisherman's life, to get through it happy, but especially women. They have to have a certain understandin' of the love of the life..or else." (12) Gradually, as the play unfolds, we come to see how Alice's love of the sea life and her fighting spirit is a mixed blessing- a sign of strength as well as a curse that will wreak havoc on the imperiled fishing family.

When her husband Walt speaks of giving up the fishing life -"Maybe its time to give the ocean a rest,"she scolds him with her noble bearing:

> "Your people always took the way out that don't require speakin' up. Just take guff without a whimper. My ancestors were whalers, captains of ships. We come from a tradition..."

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When Walt responds by pointing out the harm his domineering wife is thrusting on the kids who are still young enough to escape and get off the water:

> "And what happened to their grand houses?..Your've dreamed up this life of the water and the open air for your kids and now they're following you and all your ancestors like some pied piper into some kinda hell."

Alice retorts:

> No into the light is where I'm sending them. Let them stand in front of the Govenor's cannons...

Walt tries to get his wife to face the severity and destructive consequences of her self serving and defiant stance:

> "My dear Alice, look out that window, Beautiful, spaklin' ocean. The birds are still workin', but in my heart I know that water is dyin'. Do you want our sons to die with it?

"Yes. Let them drown" remarks Alice.

> "Better than my sons stayin' alive to clean out the smoke stacks of some dirty city and windin' up sleepin' on the street. Yes let them die drownin', or let them fight to live the way they were born to live. Not the way someone orders' em to do."

Walt is no match for Alice. She is the plays moral center and the person who embodies the baymen's spirit of independence and hard work.

> " You've been orderin' them to live your way. You have, Alice. They 're young men, You're sending them back into that same dark hole we crawled out of." (69)

Alice helps us to see through the cant typically associated with fisher"men's lives" - their so-called "rugged individualism" "fierce independence." When it comes

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to "following the water" and catching fish the men are the masters of the sea but when it comes to performing on land, they are more like helpless children who are resigned to their fate. The men can fight fish but when it comes to people they at a loss-like fish out of water. When they aren't following the water, the men hardly have an identity. There are no women in these men's lives. The only love in the baymen heart belongs to their mother and the sea- the sea which is slowly killing them. Alice is the fighter and the tough one of the family. She tells the men to fight against injustice and the invasion of the "upstreeters". She commands authority and respect among the men, but she can't save them. Towards the end of the play as she mourns the loss of her husband and her oldest son" she laments, "A man's work can kill him or it can keep him alive for a hundred years."

Towards the end of the play, William the youngest son and the last of the baymen begins to question his mother's stubborn refusal to keep on fighting a losing battle.

> No matter how hard we fight we've already lost, Ma. It's like you want us to be like them Civil War soldiers, that walked in a line into gunfire, and let themselves get shot and stampeded....as if by the sheer push of your body against that evil force you could overcome it. But that force is too strong for me Ma. And I ain't gonna play its game no more. And if this means I have embarrassed you, or that killed your dreams, well better you dreams dead than me.

Such remarks reveal the ambivalence attached to" Men's Lives" who follow the water. The sea, like their mother, is

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both nurturing and suffocating. It is a safe place, a refuge, as well as a realm of uncertainty danger and death.[12] The pastoral fantasy of a return to mother nature speaks to the longing to be connected as well fear of being engulfed and devoured. Such a longing is a form "incestuous nostalgia." rooted in the "geography of the body." (De Beauvoir:146)[13]

Pastoral Nostalgia, Mother Nature and Ambivalence

As we have seen, metaphors of nature and the landscape as feminine, which are ubiquitous in the history of western thought have played a large role in the social construction of the various imaginary landscapes and seascapes of the Long Island coastal zone.[14] At the core of the pastoral structure of feeling is a yearning to respond to nature and the landscape as feminine. As Leo Marx and others have pointed out the pastoral realm occupies a virtual cocoon of freedom from anxiety, guilt, and conflict- a shrine of the pleasure principle. It is a space which evokes a feeling of "encircled felicity". The machine, the counterpoint which disrupts the pastoral idyll is invariably associated with crude, masculine, aggressiveness, in contrast with the tender, feminine, and submissive attitudes traditionally attached to the landscape."[15]

It is precisely this symbolic and metaphorical linkage between woman and nature which causes people to simultaneously fear and idolize mother nature. In the

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cultural imagination, woman are closer to nature and inferior to men. Men simultaneously long to immerse themselves in nature and fear being dependent on "her". In discussing the symbolic ambiguity attached to the otherness of nature, De Beauvoir has remarked(1953:144)

> Man seeks in woman the Other as Nature and as his fellow being. But we know what ambivalent feelings Nature inspires in man. He exploits her, but she crushes him, he is born of her and dies in her, she is the source of his being and the realm that he subjugates to his will;Nature is a vein of gross material in which the soul is imprisoned, ...Now ally, now enemy, she appears as the dark chaos from whence life wells up, as this life itself, and as the over-yonder toward which life tends.[16]

Mother nature is a constructed other which springs from the landscape of the mind. "He projects upon her what he desires and what he fears, what he loves and what he hates."As De Beauvoir remarks, "Through the fact of his birth, murderous Nature has a hold on him." She goes on to say, "All nature seemed to him like a mother: the land is woman and in woman abide the same dark power as in the earth...In woman are incarnated the disturbing mysteries of nature, and man escapes her hold when he frees himself from nature.(Simone De Beauvoir, p.75)

Several psychoanalytically oriented theorists trace the personification of nature as female and the ambivalence towards nature to infantile experiences with the mother. The mother as a monolithic representative of nature is a source, like nature, of ultimate distress as well as ultimate joy.

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She nurtures and protects the child from a dangerous world, as well as forces him to confront it. The experience of infantile helplessness, of pain, loss, and the fear of separation that accompanies the route to adulthood, is a universal feature of life which leaves a permanent scar on the adult. She is both the source as well as the destroyer of infantile illusions; she simultaneously nurtures and disrupts feelings of "encircled felicity", the object of pastoral desire that forever haunts the adult.

> "The very hopefulness that a person sustains himself is a bottom an impossible illusion, nothing less that the wish to return to maternal fusion, and so to negate all that independent and autonomous living has gained. The wish must be perpetually frustrated, and the frustration must perpetually generate aggression. Hence from the state of separation onward.. the infant becomes ambivalent, hating as well as loving, and will remain so throughout his life.

Underlying pastoral nostalgia, is the myth of a harmonious return to a lost childhood and vanished Eden. In many pastoral works, nature, the past and childhood are temporarily fused into a single powerful emotion.[17] "The yearning for nature amidst society" is according to Maurice Halbawchs."essentially the yearning for childhood among adults. As Gans has pointed out, "Those who sentimentalize the past are principally comparing the responsibilities of adulthood with the freedom and spontaneity of their youth."[18] (224) As Williams has remarked:

> the idea of the country is the idea of childhood: not only of local memories, or the ideally shared communal memory, but the feel of childhood, of

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> delighted absorption in our own world, from which eventually, in the course of growing up, we are distanced and separated, so that it and the world become things we observe. With the expulsion from the imaginary bliss of childhood, "what was once close, absorbing, accepted , familiar, internally experienced becomes separate, distinguishable, critical, changing, externally observed."297 [19]

Although the green fields of childhood are forever beyond our reach, nostalgic yearnings to return to that state of encircled felicity, remain powerful. The longing for a golden age, for a time before the fall, is an illusion, a longing for a time that never was. It is a "nostalgia for the present"- a yearning for a world that never existed and therefore was not there for the losing." (Jameson).Instead of sseking a state of pastoral bliss in mother nature we should heed the words of Melanie Klein, "The fundamental goal is not to achieve a reconciliation with nature but with our own ambivalence.Pg 159

The Sea Whore's Revenge and Other Stories

In his historical analysis of changes in attitudes and symbolic meanings attached to the sea, Corban has shown how the seashore became a liminal zone for romantic sea-gazers who projected their fears and desires onto "mother ocean". In discussing how the sea" became incorporated in the rich phantasmagoria of borderlands from which perils and magic spells spring", he points to the romantics fascination "exercised by the rising tide and the temptation of slipping passively away." The sea was both a boundless realm of beauty and a seductive monster; a realm of nurturance and

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suffocation. According to Corban, the ambiguity underlying the wish for a pantheistic merging with mother nature and the " longing to "undertake a journey from which no one returns helps to explain the impact of the seashore on the collective consciousness of the times." The yearning to escape into in the direction of nature is not so much the desire of a raggedly independent man, as much as it is the helpless response to the sea's sweet sounding but dangerous siren call.

Despite their physical absence, Woman's symbolic presence is ubiquitous in the watery world of men and fish. In the baymen's and fisherman's occupational folklore, stories, expressions, and jokes, metaphors and symbols of sex and gender abound. In many cases, baymen and fisherman name their boats after important women in their lives. "It's good luck to name your boat after the woman you leave behind, but it is bad luck to bring a woman onboard." In many cases working aboard a fishing vessel is off limits to women and is regarded as a form of pollution. According to Peter Matthiessen, some of the baymen regard women as Jonahs who should stay off the water.

In terms of fishing and clamming, there is great deal of feminine and sexual symbolism associated with the baymen's catch. Eat "Fish live longer, eat clams love longer." "You're really sucking down those clams- do you have a hot date tonight or something?" There are several

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expressions and metaphors attached to shellfish such as clams and oysters which suggest sexual potency. The aphrodisiacal qualities of shellfish are contrasted with fish or"brain food."The powerful order of fish, commonly associated with women, simultaneously evokes disgust and desire. "Did you hear the joke about the blind man who mistook the fish market for a whore house"?

Sometimes, when mother nature keeps the boats tied to the dock, fisherman tell stories. On one such occasion the conversation turned to the subject of storms, dangerous seas and sunken wrecks. Jack and Jim two fisherman from Islip, began to wonder if the gale force winds would disrupt the bottom. Dragger fisherman have to "know the bottom of the sea like the back of their hand." In order to avoid damaging their nets, they keeps charts which mark major obstructions such as wrecks and other submerged objects which pose a threat.

"There are a lot of wreaks out by the inlet." remarked Jack. Jim nodded in agreement.

> That's for sure- yes sir. There's alot of dead whores down there too. I remember when pimps would drop off prostitutes to work the boats off-shore. Sometimes they would still be on board when the guys were getting close to home. Knowing that their wives and family would be waiting for them at the dock, the guys didn't take any chances so they threw the whores overboard. They knew damm well that if their wives saw what was going they'd be in deep trouble. Yes sir,the bottom of the sea is filled with the bodies of dead whores.

"Sounds like a bunch of bullshit to me" remarked Jack.

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"Yes sir,"It's true"

Compensatory stories abound which transform the womanless asexual landscape into a realm of sexual abundance pleasure and danger. Frank told a group of guys hanging around the dock ."She's blowing like a bitch out there." It's too rough to fish in the bay. Maybe I'll head over to the "flat"s and try treading (Digging for clams with your feet) "Treading my ass -you just want an excuse to go to the beach""You better watch your ass when you bend over Frank. You never know what you'll find over there." (Laughter) "That reminds me, maybe I'll take some eels over to the beach. One time I went over there with a tank full of eels on my boat and a guy asked me what the hell are those slimy things?
I told him that people use them as sex toys and he said if that's the case I'll take 50 bucks worth."

Since the beach is commonly associated with homosexuality, a man should watch his backside when bending over in this zone of sexual otherness and promiscuity. In discussing the Homan Avenue dock in the old days, baymen spoke of over abundance of gin mills and sexual debauchery. "Sometimes when you woke in the morning up you'd find a whore sleeping it off on your deck. It was that kind of place."(laughter) Baymen often tell stories of working by themselves on the bay when a pleasure boat full of women runs out of gas or breaks down in front of them. In such

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stories, the sexual desert of the bayman's lonely world becomes a realm of sexual abundance- a symbolic landscape of the mind.

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NOTES

1.Gilmore has pointed out that fisherman's wives are highly responsible for securing the respectability of the fisherman's land base as well as his personal reputation in terms of land lubber aesthetics.

2.In the past, women from the GSB and East End area worked as domestic help for the wealthy class.

3.In discussing the political role of women Kathy remarked "While women are involved in political and legal aspects of fishing work, it's hard to generalize. While women have more time, then the men who work on the water,not all of them become involved in political affairs. Some do, some don't. Just like any other small community.

4.In discussing the inevitable simplification and selection involved in constructing cultural accounts of a social group Erikson remarks"The men and women involved are changing at the very moment their portrait is being done, and in that respect,at least, thee portrait is instantly obsolete. The people portrayed here do not exist..portraits like this tend to seek a measure of symmetry and homogeneity in the scene they portray and thereby understate the many contrast."(1976:77)

The qualities of resignation and traditionalism are by no means local to Appalachia. Gan's Urban Villagers bore a resemblance to the mountain folk. Gilmore suggest that fisherman stereotypes resembles those attached to Appalachian mountain folk See also Ellis on the similarities between Chesapeake Bay waterman and Appalachian mountain folk.

5. According to Erikson, "The women are apt to better educated, shrewder about money, and certainly the bulwark of the home itself and in such situations it is not difficult maneuver lightly around the predictable utterances of the men.89 Erikson quotes a woman who says "Any man likes to "feel"he's the head-You know when to go along.

The surface independence of adult males was more or less subsidized by a corresponding dependence on the part of women and children. In much the same way that it takes a number of soldier troops to maintain one soldier on the front line,it takes a number of seemingly compliant people to supply and make room for one individualist at home to honor his whims,provide and audience for his acts of self-expression, and populate the world over which he has dominion. In this ,as in so many other respects, one person's freedom of action can easily become another's

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bondage.91
According to one mountain woman,"the men folks mostly sets on a fence and chaw tobacco and talk politics."76

6. There are several women working in both private and public mariculture facilities throughout the island.Kathy Lester was instrumental in setting up the East Hampton shellfish and fish hatchery. A woman manages the Shinnocock's tribal mariculture project. Dr. Valenti of the fish farm is a biologist and a women. Several of the fishery scientist who are actively involved in rehabilitating the declining resources are women.In the Women's Fisheries Network there is a strong emphasis on mariculture and other fishery technologies which require formal education and knowledge as opposed to local knowledge and traditional skills. A brief comparison between the major fisherman trade journals such as National Fisherman and Commercial and the Woman's Fisheries Network shows that the former emphasis the disruptive aspects of mariculture whereas the latter emphasize potential opportunities.

7.Interestingly enough, one fishery biologist I spoke with remarked that women fishery biologist do not very well in the field. I found this puzzling because Rachael Carson was his personal hero and role mode.

8.Mariculture isn't a panacea for the fisherman. There needs to be as sense of balance in the community. If everyone left the water and started working in the service economy there would be a lot of conflict between those who are presently involved in the service sector.

9.Lakoff points out that the expression working mother is an expression that suggest something anomalous is happening. Mothers do not work.

10.In Woman's place Norwood quotes novelist Mary Austin who wrote of the Southwestern landscape "The men were "seduced" by the landscape to believe always in lost gold mines, tomorrow' luck, which was most often seen to be female-for instance mines name after women,"lady luck".
In a similar vein, Foster,S 1990 explores some of the strategic uses and functions of the gendering of the nature as feminine in an Appalachian region.

11.In the recent documentary film, The Baymen, the children of baymen spoke of their father's fishing fever caused by the seductive lure of the sea and the sweet smelling salt air.

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12. One baymen remarked that the "The sea is easily loved and is a very demanding mistress. At times it can drown people with her love".

Such ambivalence can be seen in representation of the baymen's shack." It is simple but pure." I wouldn't give up this shack on the dunes for all the silly mansions those rich upstreeters have stuck here.9"

"This place is more than just a fisherman shack, its the tip of the world to me. This is my lair. The wild animals-- the fox,deer,and rabbits, they know what we're doing here. Just like them."12 The shack occupies a liminal space that is at the heart pastoralism. It oscillates between being a place of refuge and a place of suffocation. It is a melancholy site which evokes a place before the fall.

13.While the local communities respose to the performance of Men's Lives was favorable, many people I spoke with felt uneasy with the way the baymen were portrayed. "The baymen were a bunch of wimps who had no guts. A bunch of loosers." "The mother was the boss who wore the pants in the family, she was the boss while the men were totally passive and helpless.""How does the writer come off with that stuff-the castrating domineering woman and the weak and silly baymen."

14. The city/country opposition so central to the pastoral structure of feeling is also gendered.As Rose has remarked (Rose :93:62)"Concepts of place and space are implicitly gendered in geographical discourse, Place is understood by humanist geographers in terms of maternal Woman, nurturing, natural, but forever lost. In stark contrast, the discourse of time-geography depends on a transparent space, which refers to the public space of Western hegemonic masculinities."

See also (Rose 1993: pg. 72-75) Rose traces the tendency to conflat binary oppositions to the implicit gendering of the oppositional terms.75(is this a form of essentialism or the longing for origins.

Such distinctions do not allow difference because the opposite is the other of the same. Binary oppositions are illusion of difference. The two sides of the various dualisms are"not two discrete alternatives, because the feminized side is defined in relation to the masculine.The two sides are not oppositions between two unrelated terms,which might represented as A and B:what I have outlined is not a relationship between men's space and woman's place, say in which each is accorded an equal epistemological status. Rather,this is a field of knowledge divided between two related terms. Woman is described in terms of Man, as the Other of the Same.75

In studying (M)Other Nature there is a great deal of

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uncertainty about which side of any dualism to value over the other.76

Both space and identity are gendered. Gender plays a large role in regionalization and identity formation. As In A Place to Belong:Community,Order and Everyday Space in Calvert ,Newfoundland, Gerald Pocious focus on gender specific spatial dynamics of the community "The sharing of space , then is the metaphor ,then, for all of Calvert life.""The knowledge of Calvert's landscape is divided fundamentally by gender rules."91 More specifically, "Space is linked directly to role and identity, and these identities are governed largely by share ideologies that ensure that certain social roles have appropriate social space."91 The spatial makeup of the community is gender specific. Men follow the water In this isolated fishing community, gender-specific spaces conform to traditional gender patterns.

15.Marx has argued that Pastoralism allowed a landscape of the mind to be projected upon and perceived as an objective and external "real world "

16.In speaking of the otherness of Woman and her double and deceptive visage. De Beauvoir the otherness of nature is in related to its symbolic association with Myths of Woman, "She is all that man desires and all that he does not attain. She is the good mediatrix between propitious Nature and Man; and she is the temptation of unconquered Nature, counter to all goodness. She incarnates all moral values, from good to evil and their opposites..."

17.In the Poetics of Space, Bachelard speaks of the imaginary eden "land of motionless childhood, motionless the way all immemorial things are."PS)5-6 Life begins well, it begins enclosed, protected, all warm in the bosom of the house."

18. According to Gans "Childhood and adolescence are generally felt to be the best and freest stages of life."While many social critics regard nostalgia as a form of social pathology, Halbwachs regards it as serving positive functions for society. Engaging in nostalgia acts as a safety valve or escape hatch which enables people to find relief from the excessive constraints of society.(Suzanne Vromen:1987)

19.Williams has argued that in terms of imagining community,memories of childhood can be said, persuasively, to have some permanent significance." Williams(1976:298) remarks about the confusion which results when childhood memories of a golden is projected forward and treated as

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history can shed light on a key feature of postmodern times-the blurring of the boundaries between collective memory and history,;invented heritage and a true sense of the past.

The uncanniness of place is rooted in "body geography." Regarding the uncanny , Freud has remarked that"This unheimlich place,however,is the entrance to the former,Heim(home) of all human beings,to the place where each of us lived once upon a time and in the beginning. There is a joking saying that 'Love is a home-sickness";and whenever a man dreams of place or a country and says to himself while he is dreaming :"this place is familiar to me,I've been here before,"we may interpret the place as being the mother's genitals or her body.In this case too,them, the unheimlich is what was once heimisch,familiar:the prefix un ('un') is the token of repression."

In the Urban Villagers, Gans remarks that nostalgia is typically a selective remembering of scenes from childhood.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

CONCLUSION

> The American pastoral ideal is a quasi religious relic rapidly disappearing into the electronic mythology of the American Dream. Much of modern American is a pastoralized technological theme park.
>
> Robert Thayer

> The creation of the mental realm of phantasy finds a perfect parallel in the establishment of "reservations" or " nature-reserves"in places where the inroads of agriculture, Communications and industry threaten to change ..the earth rapidly into something unrecognizable. A nature reserve preserves its original state which everywhere else has to our regret been sacrificed to necessity. Everything, including what is useless and even what is harmful, can grow and proliferate there as it pleases.
>
> Freud

> As long as the face of the earth keeps being ravished by utilitarian pseudo-progress, it will turn out to be impossible to disabuse human intelligence of the notion that, despite all the evidence to the contrary, the pre-modern world was better and more humane, its backwardness notwithstanding, rationalization has yet to become rational."
>
> Adorno

Postmodern Versions of Pastoralism

In this work, we have explored how pastoral rhetoric, metaphors and themes play a large role in conflicts over the meaning and uses of nature in the Long Island seacoast. As we have seen, in the contemporary coastal zone, pastoralism has become both a symbolic and a material force with contains multiple meanings and serves diverse functions. It has been inscribed in the landscape and become part and

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parcel of the sense of place in the Long Island coastal zone.

Modern day pastoralism is a "selected tradition" (Williams) containing diverse meanings which are continually being interpreted and negotiated in the light of present circumstances. A great deal of contemporary environmental thought contains pastoral themes and imagery. As Leo Marx reminds us, the current environmental crisis has in a sense put a literal, factual, often quantifiable base under this poetic idea (i.e. the need for human harmony with nature).[1] As Bell has remarked (1994:240) pastoralism ".. is one of the most widespread of collective ideas. It is the bedrock underlying environmentalism in the West. This is much of what people are talking about when they speak of importance of preserving country places, wild species, and wilderness areas." [2] In short, postmodern versions of pastoralism are the most recent variation of a longstanding persistent yearning for a simpler life close to nature.

But what is the meaning of a sense of place close to nature when the natural environment is constantly being altered, reconstructed, and produced? As we have seen, postmodernity is characterized by the disenchantment and systematic obliteration of the "Natural."If following Weber we regard " culture as man's emancipation from the organically prescribed cycles of nature,"(1958:365) then postmodernity is the period when culture reigns supreme and

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the conceptual distinction between nature and culture collapses. Under postmodernism there is an intensification of process already present in late capitalism. Postmodernism, according to Jameson "is what you have when the modernization process is complete and nature is gone for good. It is a more fully human world than the older one, but one in which culture has become a veritable "second nature." (1991:ix) The creation a second nature on the geographical plane corresponds to the keen awareness of the age that identities, traditions, and "natural" distinctions are in fact socially constructed.[3]

Given the fact that "Nature" cannot survive by itself without cultural intervention it would seem that people would no longer turn to nature as a ground for meaning. The construction, deconstruction and reconstruction of "Nature" on the physical and intellectual plane, has not rendered Nature irrelevant - on the contrary. Postmodernity is the moment of a host of remarkable and dramatic revivals of nature. The more nature becomes a product of culture, the more humans long for something that remains outside their power of transformation.[4] Despite the fact that" nothing is more artificial than naturalness; nothing less natural than abiding by the laws of nature,"(Bauman 1990:165) people still turn to nature as a source of meaning.

The proliferation of denatured environments and the sense of placelessness, has generated the pastoral longing

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to become "re-embedded" in place. Despite their cosmopolitan existence, people still cling to place and locality, ethnicity, tradition and heritage. As Harvey(1990:427) has pointed out:

> There is still an insistent urge to look for roots where image streams accelerate and become more and more placeless...The forebodings generated out of the sense of social space imploding in upon us ...translates into a crisis of identity. Who are we and to what space/place do we belong."

in a similar vein, Giddens has argued that (1992:224),the 'end of nature' has released existential issues not just related to nature but to the moral parameters of existence as such. "..The specific moral arena of such debates concerns, not just what should be done for human beings to survive in nature, but how existence itself should be grasped and lived."

Nostalgia about the vanishing baymen, is a symptom of the profound sense of placelessness in the Long Island coastal zone. The plight of the baymen and the loss of their way of life resonates with many people in the coastal zone because they have come to symbolize authentic people rooted in nature, tradition and place. Struggles to preserve the baymen, in part reflect a nostalgic longing to feel at home to and to achieve a sense of place close to nature. As Jeannette Rattray has said of Bonac, the small area in East Hampton infused with the identity of the baymen, it means home and everything homely and dear and familiar to Eastern Long Islanders ,particularly when they are far away."

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Whatever its origins, "Bonac has come to mean a place where deep roots are." Bonac is both a real and an imaginary realm that has come to play a large role in struggles over the regional identity.

The long-standing pastoral ideal has survived into the modern industrial world because their is a great deal of unease, discontent and ambivalence attached to the march of growth and progress. Thoreau's belief that modern technological improvements are "but an improved means to an unimproved ends," strikes a sympathetic chord in the modern heart. The myth of the baymen plays a large role in conflicts between preservation and development in the coastal zone. While mariculture is efficient and productive, many still question the merits of civilizing the natural commons and "destroying our wild heritage." It represents the end to the baymen and their way of life close to nature. Whether that way of life is imaginary or real matters little in the local cultural imagination.

Pastoralism, Nostalgia and the Sense of Place

Modern attitudes towards nature in general and the impulse to preserve aspects of the natural and cultural heritage of the coastal zone in particular are bound up with transformations in the structural importance and character of consumerism. For several years, economic and social processes associated with tourism and recreation have been altering the way people perceive and interact with nature in

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the coastal zone. While pastoral rhetoric of nature attached to the baymen contains multiple meanings and serves several functions, one thing is clear -pastoral nostalgia has spawned big business in the modern coastal zone. The longstanding pastoral ideal has become part and parcel of the post-Fordist consumer culture which thrives on the proliferation and marketing of experiences and images, especially "natural" ones. While the" baymen's traditional way of life is declining, images and representations of their vanishing heritage have achieved a "hyperreal" status given the march of the maritime heritage industry.

Modern capitalism in its post-Fordist stage, whose overriding logic is consumption for the sake of consumption, thrives on cultural variety and distinctiveness. [5] As Bauman has pointed out,(1992:49)

> Once consumer choice has been has been entrenched at the point at which systematic reproduction, social integration and individual life world are co-ordinated and harmonized-cultural variety, heterogeneity of styles and differentiation of belief-systems have become conditions of its success....The market thrives on variety; so does consumer freedom and with it the security of the system." [6]

The marketing of heritage, nature and place has a long history in the coastal zone and should not be viewed as a recent postmodern phenomenon. Nevertheless, under conditions of post-Fordist tourist regimes, the long-standing practice of pictorializing nature and treating it as a spectacle for visual consumption has intensified and become more

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differentiated. Contemporary nature and heritage tourism, thrives on the niche-marketing of multiple vocabularies and jargons of nature, place, and tradition.

Urry's notion of the universalization of the tourist gaze is suggestive in terms of a specifically new form of postmodern tourism. "Disorganized capitalism then seems to be the epoch in which as the specificity of tourism dissolves, so it comes to structure and hegemonize contemporary social and cultural experiences. Disorganized capitalism then involves the 'end of tourism'. People are tourist most of the time, whether they are literally mobile or only experience simulated mobility through the incredible fluidity of multiple signs and electronic images."[7]

Many of the ideas associated with post-Fordism such as the emphasis on flexible identity and nonstandardized way of life, an emphasis on quality over quantity and standardization are the result of people's reflexivity regarding what and how they consume, and should not be reduced to mimicking some so-called cultural, economic or any other logic. The shift in consumer attitudes from an emphasis on necessities to an emphasis on amenities has helped to generate a concern about the quality of life, the hazards of technology and the limits to growth. Consumption thus became at once an economic activity, with a well defined set of interest associated with it, and a social

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condition giving rise to the new social movements such as environmentalism. As Lash and Urry point out (1994:296)

> The very development of consumerism itself has helped to generate the current critique of environmental degradation and the cultural focus upon nature. Ecology in part, presupposes a certain kind of consumerism. That is because one element of consumerism is a heightened reflexivity about the places and environments, the goods and services that are consumed, literally through a social encounter or through visual consumption. As people reflect upon such consumption, they develop not only a duty to consume, but also certain rights, rights of the citizen as consumer. Such rights include the belief that people are entitled to certain qualities of the environment, or air, water, and scenery and that these are extended into the future and other populations.

The concern for environmental amenities has made place a dominant and powerful metaphor within the environmental movement. As Hays has remarked, (1987:529) at the core of modern environmentalism is the aspiration for a sense of place.

> "People thought of environmental quality in terms of where they lived or worked or engaged in recreation....It was the sense of place that undergirded not only the defense of home and community, on the one hand, and a pleasant and healthy workplace, on the other, but also the protection of natural environments at some distance from home and work that were thought of as integral to one's quality of life.

In short, in the era of post-Fordist regimes, the desire on the part of many to live a simpler, more natural life, has become a powerful form of symbolic capital which has spawned all sorts of green consumerism i.e. eco-tourism. [8] The maritime heritage industry which thrives on the

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proliferation of signs, images, simulations, and "authentic replicas"of nature, rest upon the persistence of pastoral yearnings. Pastoral images and representations of the natural may be kitsch, ersatz, pseudo,simulacrum- artificial aesthetic purifications, but they are still express real human longings that have yet to be fulfilled. Pastoral myths aren't false as much as deep expressions or longings for what is denied in reality. In nostalgic images of the past there is powerful invocation of a non-repressive realm which has never existed and will probably never come into being, but is nevertheless something which people can not do without. [9] C.S Lewis offers a good defense of pastoral myths. "it would be tedious, to explain to those who object that "real country people are not more happy or more virtuous than anyone else" the many good reasons "that have led humanity to symbolize by rural scenes and occupations a region of the mind which does exist and which should be visited often. It is an ideal image of the world that people use to make sense of their lives in the present. It is not an image of the world as it was but as it should have been.[10]

The Dramaturgical Presentation of Pastoral Ideology

In this new image oriented service economy where style and surface reign supreme, impression management and dramturgical strategies have become key micro-ideologies.

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Regarding Goffman's all- the- world's- a- stage world, Gouldner(1970:380-381) has remarked that:

> "What is taken to be real is not he work that men do or the social functions they perform. Rather, human conduct is seen as essentially concerned with fostering and maintaining a specific conception of self before others....their ability to mobilize convincing props, settings, fronts or manner... Dramaturgy marks the transition from an older economy centered on production to a new one centered on mass marketing and promotion, including the marketing of the self...In this new "tertiary economy" with its proliferating services, men are increasingly producing "performances" rather than things...In this new economy, sheer appearance is important."

As we have seen, with the growth of the maritime heritage tourism, "staged authenticity" has become a lived ideology as well as a "spatial habitas" in the Long Island coastal zone. Given the imposition of the tourist gaze, pastoral performances have become a survival strategy for baymen and other local people in the coastal zone.

Baymen are constantly engaged in impression management work in order to maximize their symbolic capital in the local policy arena. As Goffman remarks,

> "in their capacity as performers, individuals will be concerned with maintaining the impression that they are living up to the many standards by which they and their products are judged...But qua performances, individuals are concerned not with their the moral issue of realizing these standards, but with the amoral issue of engineering a convincing impression that these standards are being realized. Our activity, then is largely concerned with moral matters, but as performers we do not have a moral concern in these moral matters. As performers we are merchants of morality."(1956:162)

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In their political battles to defend their way of life from maricultural improvements and the enclosure of the free bay commons, baymen have engaged in pastoral performances or what Fine (1990:30) refers to the "the dramaturgical presentation of an ideology." In their struggles to win support and preserve their culture through favorable legislation, baymen have selectively appropriated symbols from the pastoral tradition and engaged in what Merton refers to as "pseudo-Gemeinschaft" behavior, a strategic device for improving one's economic and political position.(1949:513) Berger remarks about the uses and functions of the pastoral myth in a modern American subculture are pertinent to the dramaturgical performances of the baymen, (1980:124)"..the business of myth has always been legitimation, the attempt to create moral capital out of available ideological resources (meager or abundant) to justify action, to dignify motive, to transform interest into justice, privilege into right, fate into virtue, power into authority"

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NOTES

1.According to Commoner, linked to science the pastoral ideal can become tools for restoring the damage inflicted on nature.(Commoner 44)

"When we can no longer preserve or restore, we reconstruct or invent the valued past. Many of our venerated objects, buildings and landscapes are newly coined or borrowed to meet the public demand for heritage. Antiquing has become a national pastime. Preservation and restoration are activities as virtuous as the ecology movement, and indeed, are often confused with it-nostalgia as human ecology."Lowenthal :1976,110)

2 The more development of technological and industrial machinery threatened basic rural lifestyles, the more England embraced the pastoral ideal. Macfarlane speaks of one of the "curious and paradoxical contradictions of capitalism- the contradiction between exploitation and reverence for nature is a characteristic capitalist development-part of a complex of values...the spirit of capitalism is ambivalent in that it is simultaneously the most exploitative and the most protective of nature.

In terms of nature reservations Macfarlane remarks "Their uselessness is their value. They are particularly treasured because they are of no commercial utility. The human heart caught in the restless stirring of constant calculative capitalism rejoices in these havens of non-utility.(94)

3. Jameson (1994:45) speaks of the keen awareness of the age that identities and traditions far from being natural, are constructed. Nature is surely the great enemy of an anti-foundationalism and anti-essentialist thought, yet under postmodernism, antifoundationalism coexist along side the passionate revival of a sense of Nature. Such a development constitutes the "essential mystery at the heart of the fundamental antinomy of the postmodern."

4.For Weber, the triumph of culture over nature was a source of disenchantment." For this very reason culture's every step forward seems condemned to lead to an ever more devastating senselessness."(357). "Peasants could die satiated with life because of their "naive unambiguity" of the substance of life." But the cultivated man who strives to acquire or create "cultural values" can only become "weary of life."(Weber:357) " If ambiguity is a characteristic feature of postmodernity, so to is the longing to flee from its painful grip. The steady march of ambivalence and ambiguity, has not put to rest the longing

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for those pastoral eden of "naive unambiguity."

Weber's discussion of the heroic but doomed plight of the farm laborers in modernizing Germany can help us to understand the persistence of pastoral yearnings amidst the progressive disenchantment of the world. He understood that despite the triumph of technological rationality, people still seek refuge in the"psychological magic of freedom." "It is pointless to argue about such elementary movements, which give expression to the tremendous and purely psychological magic of freedom. In good measure this is a grand illusion, but after all ... the farm laborers do not live "by bread alone" The efforts and aspirations of the farm laborers make us aware that "the bread and butter question is of secondary importance."

5. The sixty-six uses of nature identified by Lovejoy and his colleagues, have become welcome symbolic capital for the consumer-driven culture industry which thrives on diversity and difference.

6. Jameson has remarked that emergent groups are so many new markets for new products..Late capitalism thrives on differentiation and endless productions and proliferation of new groups and neoethnicities of all kinds.

7. According to Lash and Urry (1993:254)"Tourism is paragdigmatic of disorganized capitalism as automobiles were of organized capitalism. In a similar vein, Dorst argues under conditions of Late capitalism, tourist have become the postmodern paradigmatic subject.Disorganized capitalism which involves the predominance of culture, consumption, the global, the local and concern for the environment.

8.The heritage industry is not only the product of the capitalist commodification of history but also an element of an aesthetic reflexivity.(Lash and Urry:1994)

9.In many cases pastoral representations has served as an ideology which mask the repression which went into the making of rural sescapes and quaint country views. The pastoral structure of feeling mystifies the relationship between people and nature. It "naturalizes" social and historical phenomena and processes and transforms them into timeless essences. In discussing the pastoral "myth of a enamored world" Williams remarks with honest indignation, "It is not easy to forget that Sidney's Arcadia which gives a continuing title to English neo-pastoral, was written in a park which had been made by enclosing a whole village and evicting the tenants."Many of the people who speak of nature

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as a refuge, a place of healing, a solace, a retreat, are some of its most ruthless exploiters. Pastoralism covers a multitude of economic sins. It should be divested of its silver-tongued language and myths of the golden age. The Pastoral is a mythical view of the relationship of men in society, at the service of those who control the political, economic and cultural strings of society.(Barrel:1974) Thus while the pastoral is a "compensatory myth." The pastoral con-game" could not work if there wasn't a strong longing for the "natural." While it is important to distinguish between top down version of imagining community and local initiatives- it is important to stress that both attempts to create a sense of place close to nature draw upon persistent pastoral longings. While the preservation of nature and culture, began as an elitist phenomena-it has become a mass movement.

There is a tragic element of pastoralism which cannot be reduced to cultural appropriation by one class over another. Empson's notion that pastoralism is about but not by or for the people is too narrow. Pastoralism is a impossible ideal for that which is forever out of reach -a longing to overcome the feeling of separation between man and nature. The pastoral problematic turns out to be the problematic of being itself. It addresses the universality of separation and alienation in human life. In speaking of William Empson's Some Versions of Pastoral, De Man(1973:240) has written: What is the pastoral convention, then, if not the eternal separation between the mind the distinguishes, negates, legislates, and the original simplicity of the natural?...There is no doubt that the pastoral theme is, in fact , the only poetic theme, that is poetry itself. Under the deceitful title of a genre study, Empson has actually written an otology of the poetic. Poetic consciousness is essentially divided, sorrowful, and tragic. Pastoralism speaks to the impossibility of a reconciliation from poetry-of seeing the possibility of filling the gap that cleaves Being."

10.Such a view is similar to Halbawchs who argues that nostalgia serves a social function. It is a defense of utopian thinking-without ideal images of a better world, whether it was located in the past or in the future, our own world would no longer contain meaning of life.

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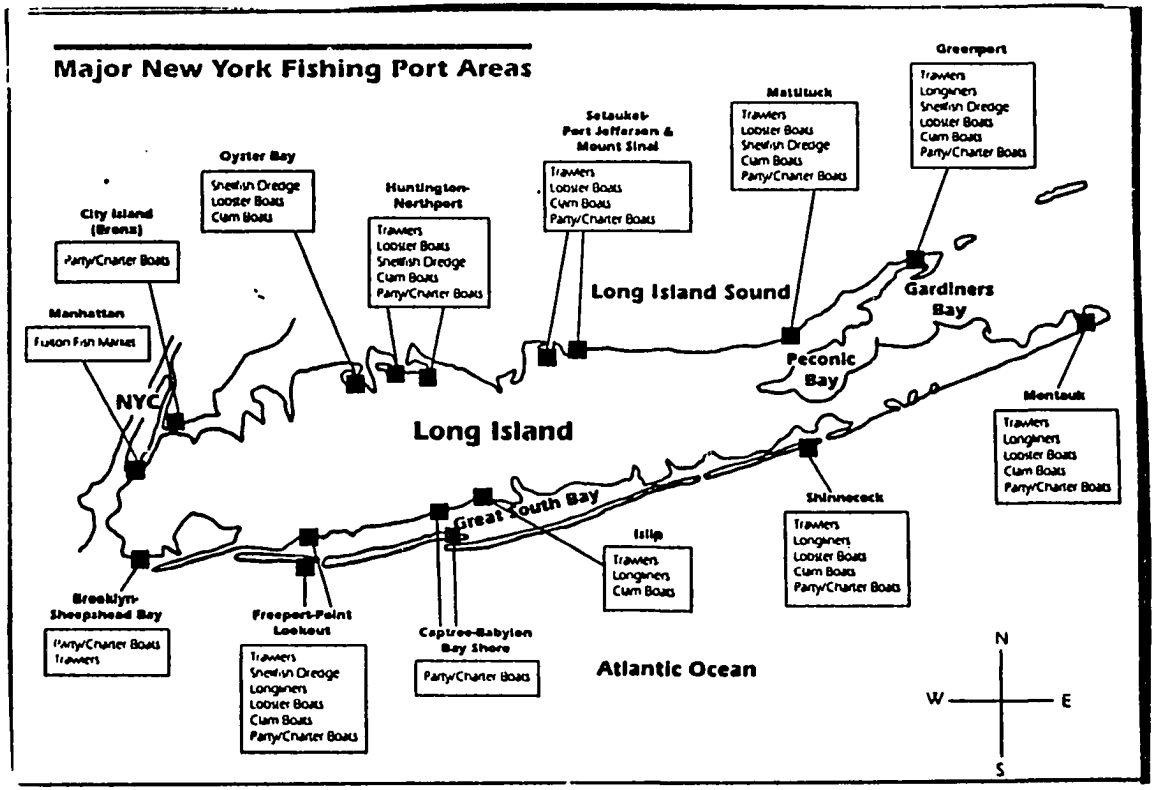

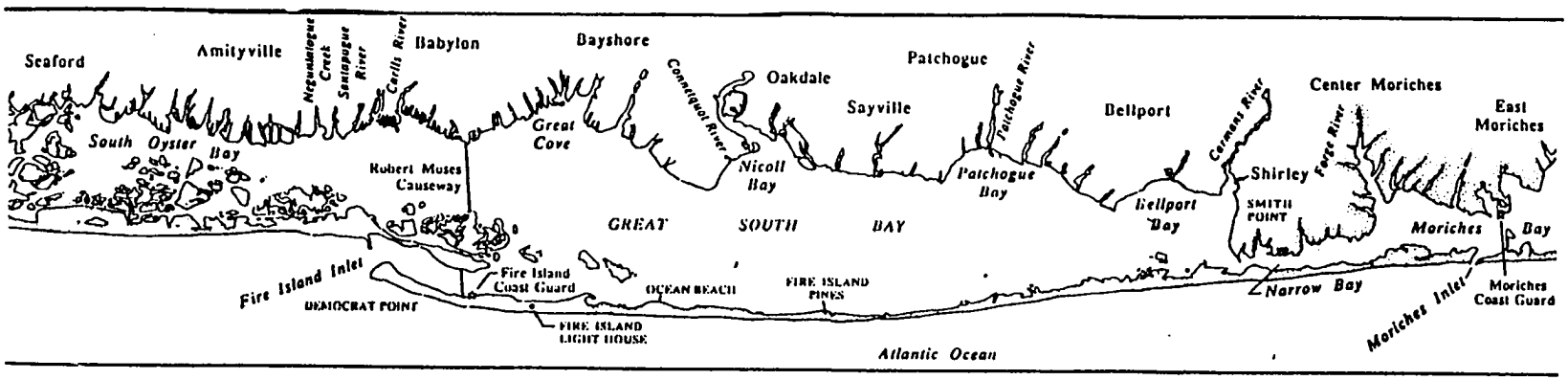

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